



CIHM



Commissione
Italiana
di Storia
Militare

MINISTERO DELLA DIFESA



STATO MAGGIORE
DELLA DIFESA

Sotto l'Alto Patronato del Presidente della Repubblica

XXXIV Congresso della Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare

Conflitti militari e popolazioni civili.

Guerre totali, guerre limitate, guerre asimmetriche

Conflits militaires et populations civiles.

Guerres totales, guerres limitées, guerres asymétriques

Military conflicts and civil populations.

Total wars, limited wars, asymmetric wars

Trieste
31 agosto - 5 settembre 2008

Tomo I - II

COMMISSIONE ITALIANA DI STORIA MILITARE



PROPRIETÀ LETTERARIA

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Nota

Il Tema del Congresso *Conflitti Militari e popolazioni civili. Guerre totali, guerre limitate, guerre asimmetriche*, è stato suddiviso in vari sottotemi, ai quali i relatori si sono riferiti nella stesura delle loro presentazioni.

Tutti i sottotemi proposti hanno trovato adeguata trattazione e si è cercato da parte del Comitato Scientifico di predisporre un programma consequenziale, attinente alle tematiche che erano state indicate. Tuttavia, negli Atti, per favorire una visione più sistematica dei lavori si è preferito raggruppare le relazioni in maniera più strettamente tematica e cronologica. Negli Atti sono state inserite anche tre relazioni non presentate in aula per sopravvenuta indisponibilità dei presentatori.

Le Thème du Congrès *Conflits Militaires et populations civiles. Guerres totales, guerres limitées, guerres asymétriques*, a été divisé en différents sous thèmes, que les orateurs ont évoqué dans leurs présentations.

Toutes les propositions des sous thèmes ont trouvé le développement approprié et le Comité Scientifique a élaboré un programme cohérent, relatives aux questions mentionnés.

Toutefois, dans les Actes, à fin de promouvoir un travail plus systématique, on a préféré réunir les relations dans une plan plus strictement chronologique et thématique.

Dans les Actes ont été également inclus trois présentations qui n'ont pas été présentés en séance par indisponibilité des présentateurs.

The Theme of the Congress *Military conflicts and civilian populations. Total wars, limited wars, asymmetrical wars*, has been divided into various items, to which the speakers have referred in their presentations. All proposed items found adequate treatment and were listed by the Scientific Committee to prepare a consequential program, relating to issues that were mentioned. However, in the Acts, to promote a more systematic work has been preferred to set papers in a more strictly chronological and thematic progression. In the Acts are also included three presentations not submitted to the Audience for occurring unavailability of presenters.

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Saluto del Presidente della CISM

Colonnello MATTEO PAESANO

Cari amici e colleghi,

Ho il grande piacere, quale Presidente della Commissione italiana di Storia Militare, di porgervi il benvenuto in Italia e nella città di Trieste, splendida località e territorio di confine interessato nel corso della storia da eventi bellici e dal respiro internazionale risultando più che mai rappresentativa del tema affrontato dal XXXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia Militare.

L'aspetto del "coinvolgimento dei civili nelle guerre totali, limitate ed asimmetriche" sarà affrontato dalle trentasette delegazioni che, in rappresentanza di quattro continenti, si confronteranno costruttivamente discutendo le relazioni selezionate dal Comitato Scientifico.

Gli argomenti proposti e inseriti nel programma accademico per la loro originalità costituiscono un valido punto di partenza per una riflessione intorno a temi e problemi di non poco conto in un'epoca in cui il coinvolgimento dei civili nei conflitti armati risulta sempre più ampio. Un Congresso, dunque, che guarda al passato per colmare una lacuna storiografica ma anche al presente per indicare, grazie alle esperienze del passato, criteri e categorie originali nella complessa gestione dei conflitti che la Comunità internazionale è chiamata a risolvere. Nel ringraziare le autorità e tutti coloro che hanno lavorato per rendere possibile questo incontro, auguro a tutti i partecipanti che il XXXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia Militare rappresenti un'ottima opportunità di confronto storico-culturale ma anche l'occasione per scoprire le bellezze dell'Italia e del Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Chers amis et collègues,

J'ai le grand plaisir, en ma qualité de Président de la Commission italienne d'Histoire Militaire, de vous souhaiter la bienvenue en Italie et dans la ville de Trieste, magnifique localité et territoire frontalier concerné au cours de l'histoire par des faits de guerre, mais aussi une ville d'envergure internationale, représentant plus que jamais le thème affronté par le XXXIVème Congrès International d'Histoire Militaire.

L'aspect de la "participation des civils dans les guerres totales, limitées et asymétriques" sera abordé par les 37 délégations qui, en tant que représentantes des quatre continents, s'affronteront de façon constructive sur les relations sélectionnées par le Comité Scientifique.

Les sujets proposés et inclus dans le programme académique constituant, de par leur originalité, un point de départ valide pour une réflexion sur des thèmes et des problèmes qui ne sont pas sans importance dans une période où la participation des civils dans les conflits armés est de plus en plus vaste. Un Congrès, donc, qui regarde le passé pour combler une lacune

historiographique, mais aussi le présent pour indiquer, grâce aux expériences du passé, des critères et des catégories originaux concernant la gestion complexe des conflits que la Communauté Internationale est appelée à résoudre.

En remerciant les autorités et tous ceux qui ont travaillé afin de rendre possible cette rencontre, je souhaite à tous les participants que le XXXIVème Congrès International d'Histoire Militaire représente une excellente opportunité de confrontation historico-culturelle mais également l'occasion de découvrir les beautés de l'Italie et du Frioul Vénétie-Julienne.

Dear Friends and Colleagues,

As President of the Italian Commission for Military History, I take great pleasure in welcoming you to Italy and to the city of Trieste, a splendid location in a frontier zone that has over the years suffered wars but also enjoyed an international air, which makes it all the more representative of the theme explored by the 34th International Congress of Military History.

The subject of the “involvement of civilians in total, limited and asymmetric wars” will be tackled by 37 delegations representing four continents, who will compare their results in a constructive manner and discuss the papers selected by the Scientific Committee.

The subjects proposed and included in the academic program for their originality constitute a useful starting point for a reflection on themes and problems of relevant importance in an age in which the involvement of civilians in armed conflicts is becoming increasingly common. So this is a Congress that looks back to the past to fill an historical gap but also in the present to indicate – thanks to the experiences of the past – criteria and original categories in the complex management of conflicts that the international community is required to resolve.

In thanking the authorities and all those who have worked to make this meeting possible, I hope that the 34th International Congress of Military History provides all the participants not only an excellent opportunity to share their historical and cultural views but also to discover the beauties of Italy and of Friuli Venezia Giulia.

Allocuzione del Presidente della CIHM

Pr. Dr. LUC DE VOS

*Signor Sottosegretario di Stato,
Signor Generale,
Signore e Signori,
Colleghi e amici,*

A nome dell' Ufficio e dei membri della Commissionne internazionale di storia militare, Avoglio esprimere il mio più vivo ringraziamento al Sottosegretario di Stato alla Difesa, l'Onorevole Giuseppe Cossiga, e al Capo dello Stato Maggiore delle Difesa, Generale Vincenzo Camporini, per la loro presenza tra di noi e il loro sostegno all' organizzazione del nostro trentaquattresimo Congresso internazionale di storia militare.

Sedici anni dopo il diciottesimo Congresso della CIHM a Torino (qualche anno fa!) la Commissione italiana di storia militare ha accettato di essere il nostro ospite per un nuovo Congresso. La Commissione italiana ha sempre partecipato intensamente alle nostre attività e al raggiungimento dei nostri obiettivi comuni. Il presente evento è quindi il risultato di un costante e forte impegno della Commissione italiana nelle attività della CIHM.

Que le Colonel Matteo Paesano, Président de cette commission, ainsi que les Professeurs Piero del Negro et Massimo de Leonardis, responsables de la partie scientifique du programme, en soient chaleureusement remerciés. Je remercie également le Capitaine de Vaisseau Alfredo Maglietta, en charge de la préparation matérielle du Congrès et de la communication avec les participants, ainsi que tous ceux qui ont travaillé pour faire de ce congrès une grande réussite.

Ce programme, dont nous avons reçu les détails à notre arrivée, est impressionnant. Plus de 60 communications – 64, si j'ai bien compté. Le programme académique comporte aussi une nouveauté, pour laquelle la Commission italienne s'est beaucoup engagée : l'organisation du premier « Workshop » dédié à de nouveaux talents prometteurs. Et c'est à un homme au talent confirmé- pas tout à fait nouveau talent, même s'il est encore jeune ! - qu'il reviendra de le présider : le Dr. Ciro Paoletti, autre figure bien connue de votre Commission. Ce workshop, de même que le Comité des enseignants présidé par le Dr. Rudolf Jaun, qui verra officiellement le jour lors de notre Assemblée générale de vendredi, concrétisent la volonté de dépasser la dialectique « élargissement / approfondissement » par de nouveaux forums d'échanges.

The enlargement of the ICMH also continues. Thanks to the bilateral contacts established by our Secretary General Piet Kamphuis and the Netherlands Institute of Military History, run by him, a new commission has joined up: the Indonesian Commission of Military History. I welcome this new candidate in the person of Colonel Lingua Prana, the vice-director of the Center for Tentara Nasional Indonesia History.

Le thème retenu pour notre 34^e Congrès, *Les populations civiles et la guerre*, nous permettra de voyager, encore une fois, à travers les lieux et les époques. Il est important que tous

les continents y trouvent leur compte. C'est d'ailleurs une ville carrefour – et non la capitale - qui a été choisie pour cadre de notre Congrès. A l'intersection des mondes roman, germanique, et slave, Trieste est aussi une fenêtre ouverte sur la Méditerranée, qui relie l'Europe, l'Asie et l'Afrique.

Those who haven't got sea legs, needn't worry: mentally speaking, we do not need to travel by sea, to return to another port at the extremities of the southern hemisphere – you have understood that I want to speak about Cape Town in South Africa. The proceedings of the 33rd International Congress of Military History have just been published and we will be able to plunge back into the temperate climate of the austral winter and relive the intense moments that the South African Commission provided us for last year. Many thanks to General Mollo and his team for having shared with us the culture and history of a fascinating region, for the quality of their welcome and the 33rd congress which was of an excellent academic level.

During last spring, our friend and Vice-President, Dr. Allan Millet was our host in New Orleans during the meeting of the Executive Board, while attending the remarkable colloquium on cinema and World War II. I thank him a lot for his part in organising it all and profit from the occasion to congratulate him for winning the Pritzker Military Library Literature Award 2008, which honours his entire career as a military historian. I'd also like to salute Dr. Hans Pawlisch, who will succeed Dr. John Lynn as president of the American Commission for Military History, which, once more, has come in force (more than 40 members are present, taking part in no more than five lectures and round tables)!

La Commission française d'histoire militaire, qui fêtait cette année sa 75^e année d'existence, m'a aussi fait l'amitié de m'inviter, au début du mois de juin, à une très intéressante journée d'étude à Paris, qui portait sur la diplomatie militaire. Je l'en remercie, en la personne de ses président et secrétaire général, le Dr. Jean Avenel et le Dr. Pierre-Emmanuel Barral, et j'adresse aussi un salut amical au Pr. Jean-Nicolas Corvisier de l'Université d'Arras, à qui je demanderai de transmettre nos meilleures salutations à notre président d'honneur, le Pr. André Corvisier.

Malgré des difficultés de financement auxquelles une solution durable est à l'étude, le tome 29 de la *Bibliographie internationale d'histoire militaire* est fidèle au rendez-vous. Je salue donc le travail assidu accompli par le Major Dimitri Queloz et son équipe pour mener à bien cette tâche dans des conditions plus incertaines que par le passé. Je profite aussi de l'occasion pour souligner que, si la Bibliographie existe, partiellement, sous format numérique, c'est notamment grâce à la Commission italienne d'histoire militaire, qui héberge la Bibliographie sur son site web. Qu'elle en soit également remerciée !

One of our very active correspondents of the International Bibliography of Military History was Captain Igor Amosov of the Russian Commission for Military History. Unfortunately, Igor has left us, as has Dr. Mario Duic of the Austrian Commission. I heard yesterday that our old friend and colleague, General and Doctor Jehuda Wallach, from Israel, died some days ago. He was not only a historian but also a famous commander during the different wars of Israel. I'd like to offer my condolences to their colleagues and families and invite you to observe a moment of silence.

Several commissions have sent word on their activities and publications. I invite you all

to use our information instrument, the *ICMH Newsletter*, edited by Dr. Pat Harahan, for publicity purposes on your activities. This newsletter also exists in French and German.

Unter den neuen Veröffentlichungen, möchte ich im besonderen das Erscheinen des zehnten und letzten Teils der Serie *Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg* erwähnen. Dieses Buch ist unter Aufsicht vom Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamt veröffentlicht und jetzt liegt eine englische Version auf dem Stapel.

Together with the Hellenic Commission of Military History, the Romanian Commission of Military History will publish a common issue of the *Review of Military History*, entitled : "The Black Sea: bridge between Greece and Romania". Fruit d'une collaboration entre des historiens français, allemands et roumains, un autre numéro de la *Review of Military History* consacré au 90^e anniversaire de la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale est en préparation.

Ranking among future activities, the Austrian Commission for Military History has informed us that she is co-organizer of two symposiums that will take place, respectively in September and November 2008. The first one is devoted to "Austrian-Polish contacts and military alliances 1618-1918", the second one will deal with the following topic: "From Prague to Europe. Past cries – Future chances" (together with the National Defence Academy and the Museum of Military History).

L'Espagne a organisé au mois d'avril un Congrès sur la Guerre d'Indépendance. La Commission tunisienne organisera à la fin du mois d'octobre 2009 un Congrès consacré à la stratégie maritime, qui rassemblera des pays situés sur les pourtours de la Méditerranée.

The Bulgarian commission is also co-organizer of an international conference that will take place in Sofia, October 13-18, 2008, linked with the commemoration of the centenary of the proclamation of a fully independent bulgarian state. The conference will be centered on the processes of construction and functioning of the basic state institutions from the Declaration of the Independence till nowadays.

We have also received word from the Israeli Society for Military History that she has, within the framework of the 60th anniversary of the state of Israel, organized multiple conferences relating to the War of Independence and the Second World War. The Society had also published a new book entitled «Battlefields, Decisive Battles in the Land of Israel».

The Commission for Military History of the United Arab Emirates has announced continuing her work on two fronts: besides the three already published books on their armed forces, their history and missions, she also devotes herself to establishing a military museum and a center for military archives.

En Belgique, dans le cadre des commémorations de la fin de la Première Guerre mondiale, le Musée royal de l'Armée et d'Histoire militaire organise un colloque, du 3 au 6 novembre 2008 à Bruxelles, portant sur les derniers mois du conflit et les années de l'immédiat après-guerre (1918-1925). A Ypres, parmi de nombreuses autres activités, le In Flanders Fields Museum a monté une exposition consacrée aux aspects multiculturels de la Première Guerre mondiale et a organisé plusieurs congrès.

Le Lieutenant-Général Alessandro de Sousa Pinto nous présentera, à la fin de la semaine, le programme du 35^e Congrès international d'histoire militaire, qui se déroulera à Porto du 31 août au 5 septembre 2009. Le Congrès aura pour thème : "La guerre à l'époque napoléonienne : antécédents, campagnes militaires et impacts à long terme" ("Warfare in the Age

of Napoleon’: precedents, military campaigns and lasting impacts”). Ce thème, qui reste un passage obligé de l’histoire militaire et internationale, devrait intéresser un large éventail de commissions nationales. La Commission portugaise met tout en œuvre pour que ce prochain rendez-vous soit une grande réussite et nous vous invitons donc à y venir nombreux.

Another important event will take place in two years, in August 2010: the 21st Five-year congress of the International Commission of Historical Sciences, an organization to which we are, as you know, affiliated as part of Unesco. This congress will be held in Amsterdam, from the 22 till the 28 August 2010. In the backwash, the Dutch Commission for Military History will host, in the same city, our 36th International Congress for Military History, making it possible for long haul travellers to take part in both symposia, should they wish so.

Monsieur le Sous-Secrétaire d’Etat,

Chers Collègues et amis,

Après l’évocation des activités passées et à venir de notre Commission internationale, revenons au présent. Je réitère mes remerciements à la Commission italienne d’histoire militaire et vous invite à vivre intensément notre 34^e congrès international d’histoire militaire, qui montrera que les militaires n’oublient pas les civils, souvent victimes innocentes des guerres.

Molte grazie. Thank you very much. Vielen dank.

Merci beaucoup. Muchas gracias.

Allocuzione del Capo di Stato Maggiore della Difesa

Generale VINCENZO CAMPORINI

Ho l'onore e il piacere di porgere, a nome delle Forze Armate Italiane e mio personale, il più caloroso benvenuto ai rappresentanti delle 37 delegazioni partecipanti al XXXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia Militare.

Il tema di quest'anno riguarda il complesso e variegato aspetto del coinvolgimento delle popolazioni civili nelle guerre totali, limitate ed asimmetriche. Si tratta di un argomento drammaticamente presente in ogni momento storico ed in ogni conflitto, ma che nel corso delle guerre succedutesi tra il XIX e il XXI secolo ha raggiunto livelli di particolare intensità e complessità.

L'argomento è, purtroppo, anche estremamente attuale: basti considerare come le popolazioni civili, sempre più sovente, siano, oltre che vittime involontarie, anche bersagli pregiati per la ricerca di un clamore mediatico e di una tragica visibilità del conflitto stesso. Anche se l'ipotesi di un conflitto armato tradizionale non è del tutto superata, attualmente ci troviamo a dover fronteggiare essenzialmente una gamma di minacce non convenzionali e globalizzate, la cui complessità è talmente vasta che impone delle risposte operative altrettanto diversificate e flessibili.

Questo ha comportato l'esigenza per le Forze Armate di tutti i maggiori Paesi di una trasformazione concettuale, organizzativa ed operativa che consentisse di fronteggiare queste nuove tipologie di minacce in maniera consapevole, integrata e multinazionale, frutto anche della sempre maggior attenzione in materia da parte della Comunità Internazionale. Attenzione che si è sempre più concretizzata nell'importanza data ai dettami del diritto umanitario che è diventato parte fondamentale della preparazione professionale di tutti i nostri militari. La teoria normativa associata all'esperienza sul campo, alla sensibilità verso le culture con le quali ci interfacciamo nei teatri operativi costituiscono, senza dubbio, una delle carte vincenti per la condotta delle moderne operazioni di sostegno alla sicurezza e alla stabilità internazionali.

Con questi sentimenti auguro a tutte le delegazioni un proficuo lavoro, nella certezza che questo Congresso fornirà momenti di profonda riflessione che, guardando al passato, possano aiutare a comprendere, prevenire ed affrontare efficacemente le nuove crisi e minacce, caratterizzate dalla difficile individuazione del nemico e dalla ancor più difficoltosa sfida ad evitare le perdite e le sofferenze delle popolazioni civili inevitabilmente coinvolte.

J' ai l'honneur et le plaisir de souhaiter, au nom des Forces Armées italiennes et à titre personnel, la plus chaleureuse bienvenue aux représentants des 37 délégations participant au XXXIVème Congrès International d'Histoire Militaire. Le thème de cette année est axé sur l'aspect complexe et varié de la participation des populations civiles dans les guerres

totales, limitées et asymétriques. Il s'agit d'un sujet dramatiquement présent dans toutes les périodes historiques et dans tous les conflits, mais qui, au cours des guerres qui se sont succédé entre le XIX^{ème} et XXI^{ème} siècle, ont atteint des niveaux particulièrement intenses et complexes. Le sujet est, malheureusement, également très actuel : il suffit de considérer comment les populations civiles, de plus en plus souvent, sont non seulement les victimes involontaires mais également les cibles privilégiées d'une clameur médiatique et d'une tragique visibilité du conflit même. Même si l'hypothèse d'un conflit armé traditionnel n'est pas totalement dépassée, nous nous trouvons actuellement dans la situation de devoir affronter essentiellement toute une gamme de menaces non conventionnelles et mondialisées, dont la complexité est tellement vaste qu'elle impose des réponses opérationnelles pareillement diversifiées et flexibles. Ceci a comporté l'exigence, pour les Forces Armées de tous les plus grands Pays, d'effectuer une transformation conceptuelle, organisationnelle et opérationnelle en mesure d'affronter ces nouvelles typologies de menaces de façon consciente, intégrée et multinationale, une transformation qui est également le fruit d'une attention croissante en la matière de la part de la Communauté Internationale.

Une attention qui s'est de plus en plus concrétisée dans l'importance accordée aux impératifs du droit humanitaire, devenu une partie fondamentale de la préparation professionnelle de tous nos militaires.

La théorie normative associée à l'expérience sur le terrain, à la sensibilité vis-à-vis des cultures avec lesquelles nous nous interfaçons dans les théâtres opérationnels représentent sans aucun doute l'un des atouts pour la conduite des modernes opérations de soutien à la sécurité et à la stabilité internationales.

Avec ces sentiments, je souhaite à toutes les délégations un travail fructueux, et je suis certain que ce Congrès offrira des moments de réflexion profonde qui, en regardant le passé, pourront aider à comprendre, prévenir et affronter de manière efficace les nouvelles crises et menaces, caractérisées par la difficile identification de l'ennemi et de l'encore plus difficile défi d'éviter les pertes et les souffrances des populations civiles inévitablement impliquées.

On behalf of the Italian armed forces and on my own behalf I have the honor and pleasure of welcoming the representatives of the 37 delegations participating in the 34th congress of the international military history commission.

This year the subject is the complex and multifarious aspect of the involvement of civil populations in total, limited and asymmetric wars. It is a subject dramatically topical in our history and in every conflict, achieving particularly intense and complex levels during the 19th and 21st centuries wars.

Unfortunately, this subject is still extremely relevant: just think how civil populations, besides being involuntary victims, are also valuable targets for media coverage as well as for the tragic visibility of the conflict.

Even if the possibility of a traditional armed conflict has not completely disappeared, we are currently facing a wide range of non-conventional and global threats whose complexity

demands diversified and flexible operational responses.

This has brought forward the need for a conceptual, organizational and operational transformation in the armed forces of all main countries in order to face such threats in a purposeful, integrated and multinational manner, the result of a greater attention from the international community.

The importance given to human rights, a fundamental part of the professional training of our soldiers, is evidence of this grater attention.

The normative theory combined with practical experience and respect for the cultures of the different operational scenarios are undoubtedly the winning factor in leading modern operations for international safety and stability.

This being said, I wish all the delegations a profitable work, being sure that this congress will be an occasion for deeper reflections which, building on the past, can help us understand, prevent and face new crises and threats effectively. Thus, the knowledge of the past can help governors to avoid past errors and look at the present and future with such an experience which is not only erudition or fruitless polemics, but can give rise to a higher level of awareness, which is necessary to limit and possibly prevent conflicts, and create that better world which we all would like to have.

Thank you for your attention and good luck for your work!

Allocuzione del Sottosegretario di Stato alla Difesa

ON. ING. GIUSEPPE COSSIGA

Autorità, illustri professori, gentili ospiti, signore e signori,

Porto il saluto del Ministro della Difesa e di tutto il Governo Italiano ai relatori ed ai partecipanti a questo Congresso ed a titolo personale, vi esprimo la mia particolare soddisfazione nel poter essere qui in veste ufficiale, per gli interessi e la passione che da sempre mi fanno sentire vicino a chi si occupa di Storia Militare.

Colgo l'occasione per un indirizzo di saluto particolare alla città di Trieste, che avete voluto scegliere come sede per questo incontro e che mi sembra che già per la sua storia possa dare maggiore profondità e significato al tema che avete scelto di trattare, non solo in relazione al Novantesimo Anniversario della fine della Prima Guerra Mondiale, ma anche se guardiamo ad eventi molto più recenti, nei quali la popolazione civile è stato suo malgrado protagonista e vittima della guerra e del conflitto tra ideologie. E quello che è già avvenuto qui ed allora, non è forse così diverso da quanto avvenne altrove ed in un altro tempo, magari lontanissimo: auguriamoci che la memoria e la più matura consapevolezza degli schemi dell'agire dell'uomo, stimulate ed alimentate dallo studio della Storia aiutino a non vederne il ripetersi domani ed altrove.

Non mi addenterò certo nelle tematiche che tra breve saranno l'oggetto dei vostri interventi, ma mi sembra opportuno rimarcare come il tema che avete voluto individuare per il Congresso incarni perfettamente il ruolo più interessante e "l'attualità" della Storia Militare, la sua capacità di contribuire all'oggi rileggendo il passato, e rimarcare questa capacità e questo ruolo, in Italia e davanti a tanti studiosi italiani, credo sia un riconoscimento dovuto a chi tanto si impegna in questo campo, avendo davanti agli occhi in ogni momento che "Historia magistra vitae", ma che troppo spesso, e forse non solo nel nostro paese appunto, si ritrova a vivere l'esperienza di "Nemo propheta in patria"...

Dopo l'asserita "fine della storia", viviamo oggi nell'epoca dei "conflitti asimmetrici", delle "guerre di quarta generazione"; qualcuno aveva persino parlato di "guerre a zero-morti", forse restringendo un po' troppo semplicisticamente l'analisi alle sole vittime militari di un intervento armato ed alla volontà di non coinvolgere i civili nella "nuova guerra", come se questo fosse possibile per volontà di anche uno solo dei contendenti e grazie al mero sviluppo tecnologico degli armamenti.

Mai come oggi, invece, mi sembra, la popolazione civile è al centro dei conflitti, e tanto più questi sono moralmente (più che tecnologicamente) "asimmetrici", tanto più i civili sono l'obiettivo esplicito, il campo di battaglia, il "centro di gravità" di una guerra che forse ci sembra tanto nuova perché, alla fine, è tanto antica; tanto cambiata per rimanere poi la stessa...

Concludendo, auspico il vostro impegno aiuti tutti, ed in particolare chi ha responsabilità di governo e comando, civili e militari, a meglio comprendere per meglio decidere.

Buon lavoro !

Mesdames et messieurs les représentants des Institutions, Mesdames et messieurs les professeurs, Chers hôtes, Mesdames et messieurs,

Au nom du Ministre de la Défense et de l'ensemble du Gouvernement italien je souhaite la bienvenue aux confrencier et aux participants à ce Congrès ; en mon nom personnel je desire vous exprimer ma satisfaction particulière d'être ici à titre officiel, en raison des intérêts et de la passion qui, depuis toujours, me rapprochent de ceux qui s'occupent d'histoire militaire.

Je saisis cette occasion pour rendre un hommage tout particulier à la ville de Trieste, siège de cet événement qui, grâce à son histoire spécifique, peut attribuer une signification et une profondeur accrues au thème que vous avez choisi pour ce Congrès, en raison du quatre-vingt dixième anniversaire de la fin de la grande guerre aussi bien que par rapport aux évènements beaucoup plus récents, dans le cadre desquels la population civile a joué le double rôle, malgré elle, d'acteur et de victime de l'affrontement entre des idéologies différentes. Et ce qui est arrivé ici dans le passé peut-être n'est-il pas tellement différent de ce qui arriva ailleurs et en d'autres temps, même très lointains : il est à souhaiter que la mémoire et une conscience approfondie de la manière d'agir des hommes, stimulées et nourries par l'étude de l'histoire, puissent aider à les éviter à l'avenir et en d'autres lieux.

Je ne veut pas pénétrer dans les thèmes qui feront l'objet de vos exposés, mais il est à mon sens opportun de mettre en exergue que le sujet que vous avez bien voulu choisir pour ce Congrès incarne à la perfection le rôle le plus intéressant et « l'actualité » de l'Histoire Militaire, à savoir sa capacité de contribuer à mieux comprendre l'époque actuelle à travers une relecture du passé. Le fait de souligner cette capacité et ce rôle, en Italie et à la présence d'un nombre considérable de savants italiens, est un signe de reconnaissance à l'égard de tous ceux qui s'engagent dans ce domaine, à tout moment conscients du fait que «*Historia magistra vitae* » aussi bien que souvent, et peut-être non seulement en Italie, «*Nemo propheta in patria* ».

Après la « fin de l'histoire » préconisée, aujourd'hui nous vivons une époque caractérisée par des « conflits asymétriques » et des « guerres de quatrième génération » ; on avait aussi parlé de « guerres zéro morts », en limitant l'analyse, peut-être de manière un peu simpliste, aux seules victimes militaires d'un conflit armé et en se basant sur la décision de ne pas impliquer les civils dans «une nouvelle guerre», comme si la volonté d'une seule des parties adverses et le simple développement technologique des armements pouvaient suffire.

Aujourd'hui, par contre, j'ai l'impression que la population civile constitue davantage le cœur des conflits et, plus ils sont moralement (plus que technologiquement) asymétriques, d'autant plus les civils représentent un objectif explicite, le champ de bataille, le « centre de gravité » d'une guerre qui nous semble nouvelle, parce que, en fin, elle est très ancienne, une guerre qui a beaucoup changé tout en restant la même...

En conclusion, je souhaite que votre engagement soit d'aide pour tout le monde, et notamment pour ceux qui, civils et militaires, ont des responsabilités de gouvernement et de commandement, afin d'être en mesure de mieux comprendre et décider au mieux.

Bon travail !

Authorities, Distinguished Professors, Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I bring the greetings of the Defense Minister and the entire Italian Government to the speakers and participants of this Congress. Personally, it is my honor to be here in an official capacity, due to personal interests and passion that have always made me feel close to those working on Military History.

I would also like to greet the City of Trieste particularly, where you have chosen to hold this meeting. It seems to me that its history can give higher insight and meaning to the subject, which you have chosen to discuss, not only with regards to the Ninetieth Anniversary of the end of the First World War, but also concerning more recent events, in which civil populations have unfortunately been protagonists and victims of war and conflicts between ideologies. This is what had taken place here in the past. Maybe it does not differ much from what took place in remote places or in other times: let us hope that memories and most mature awareness of people's action patterns, driven and enriched by the study of History, help us make sure that such events do not take place again tomorrow and elsewhere.

Surely, I will not go into detail about subjects, which you are about to discuss in your speeches, but I deem it opportune to point out how the subject that you have chosen for the Congress perfectly fits the most interesting role and "current affairs" of Military History, in other words, its ability to contribute to today's World by analyzing the past. I think underscoring this ability and role in Italy, before many Italian scholars, is a due recognition that we owe those who work so much in this field, when we see it every day that "Historia magistra vitae", but also very often, and maybe not only in our country, people experience that "Nemo propheta in patria"

After the alleged "end of history," today we live in an era of "asymmetric conflicts" and "fourth generation wars." Someone has even mentioned "zero-death wars," maybe by oversimplifying the analysis through limiting it to soldier deaths during a military operation only and the desire not to involve civilians in the "new war," as if it could be achieved only by the will of one of the parties and technological development of weaponry.

But civil population has never been so much at the center of conflicts than before and the more the conflicts are morally (rather than technologically) "asymmetric," the more civilians become explicit targets. The battlefield, the "center of gravity" of a war, which might seem very novel to us, is actually very old. It has changed so much only to remain the same.

In conclusion, I hope that your endeavors help everybody and, particularly, those who bear the responsibility of governments and civil and military command, so that they have a better understanding to make better decisions.

Good luck in your work!

La Commissione Italiana di Storia militare e l'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore Difesa

MATTEO PAESANO

La Commissione italiana di storia militare (CISM) è stata istituita con Decreto del Ministro della Difesa nel 1986. Ha sede in Roma presso il Ministero della Difesa – Palazzo Moroni. Collabora in campo nazionale, con la Giunta centrale per gli studi storici e, in campo internazionale è affiliata alla Commissione Internazionale di Storia Militare (CIHM), cui aderiscono circa quaranta stati.

La CISM è stata costituita al fine di “promuovere iniziative utili a migliorare la conoscenza della storia Militare Italiana e Comparata valendosi del contributo di rappresentanti di istituzioni che si dedicano allo studio dei vari aspetti della disciplina”.

Essa è composta dai Capi degli Uffici Storici degli Stati Maggiori della Difesa, dell'Esercito, della Marina, dell'Aeronautica, dei Comandi Generali dell'Arma dei Carabinieri e della Guardia di Finanza. Per i suoi lavori si avvale di un esperto civile nominato dal Capo di Stato Maggiore della Difesa. Si avvale, inoltre, di una Consulta composta da esperti militari e civili, studiosi di Storia Militare, nominati, ogni cinque anni, con Decreto del Ministro della Difesa e su proposta della Commissione stessa che è presieduta dal Capo Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore della Difesa.

L'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore della Difesa è stato costituito il 1° dicembre 2006 per svolgere le funzioni di:

- coordinamento tra gli Uffici Storici delle Forze Armate e dell'Arma dei Carabinieri;
- fornire direttive di indirizzo generale per la salvaguardia delle fonti e della memoria storico-militare;
- fornire supporto alla Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare (CISM).

Il Capo Ufficio è il Presidente della CISM.

L'Ufficio si compone di una segreteria, una Sezione Documentazione Storica e Coordinamento ed una Sezione Archivio Storico.

Oltre ai succitati compiti l'Ufficio Storico tratta problematiche di particolare rilevanza, quali:

- elaborazione ed emanazione di direttive tese a tutelare la memoria storica degli Enti interforze mediante l'acquisizione, l'archiviazione e la custodia di fondi documentali e di documentazione operativo-logistica;
- pareri su proposte/disegni di legge inerenti il settore storico (tutela dei beni culturali, museali, paesaggistici, commissioni d'indagine, archivi storici);
- coordinamento ed indirizzo delle attività di tutti gli Uffici Storici (Stati Maggiori di Forza Armata e Comandi Generali) comprendenti la gestione delle risorse, produzione editoriale, adeguamento della normativa interna a quella in vigore (archivi, musei e biblioteche militari); organizzazione/partecipazione a congressi, convegni, conferenze; acquisizione, custodia, consultazione e divulgazione di fonti documentali d'archivio, fondi antichi, convenzioni, coadiuva a protocolli d'intesa con Università ed Enti Locali, associazioni culturali e comitati interministeriali.

L'archivio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito e le Biblioteche Militari di Presidio

ANTONINO ZARCONI

INTRODUZIONE

L'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito discende dall'Ufficio Militare del Corpo Reale dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito del Regno di Sardegna, che fu costituito a Torino dal Generale Enrico Morozzo della Rocca, Comandante Generale del Corpo, con l'ordine del giorno n. 712 del 16 luglio 1853. Da allora i compiti dell'Archivio sono rimasti pressoché gli stessi e, prevedono: la raccolta, conservazione e valorizzazione, il riordino e l'inventario della documentazione di rilievo di tutti gli Uffici e degli Enti dipendenti dallo SME e dai Comandi ed unità della Forza Armata, tra cui i Diari Storici delle missioni operative fuori dai confini nazionali. Tra le attività anche la raccolta, conservazione, valorizzazione, riordino ed inventario della documentazione iconografica. Detta documentazione, accentrata in un unico ufficio del Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, doveva consentire lo studio e l'analisi degli avvenimenti al fine di poter individuare gli errori commessi nella condotta delle campagne e le cause a cui questi erano dovuti per consentire i necessari correttivi da apportare alla dottrina militare. Una sorta di analisi delle Lesson Learned. Tra le attività conseguenti la creazione dell'Ufficio Storico, e tendente proprio alla valorizzazione dei fondi disponibili, rientra anche la produzione editoriale avviata nel 1857 con un libro sulla Campagna di Crimea, dovuta inizialmente agli studi di specialisti e storici in uniforme, che oggi vanta numerosi volumi di storia militare, araldica ed uniformologia. A tali compiti si è aggiunto negli Anni '80 quello importantissimo della divulgazione dei documenti al pubblico con la relativa assistenza e confermato dalla equiparazione dell'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico ad Archivio di Stato.

Oggi l'Ufficio dispone di un Archivio Storico valutato in oltre otto chilometri di documenti; ad esso si affianca quello altrettanto cospicuo, e in continua crescita, rappresentato dalle *Memorie Storiche*, documenti che Comandi, Reparti, Direzioni e Uffici compilano con cadenza annuale per consegnare al futuro le principali attività svolte in tempo di pace, anche in compiti di ordine pubblico e di salvaguardia del territorio.

Con la partecipazione alle missioni di intervento all'estero in dispositivi multinazionali, negli ultimi decenni, altra ricca documentazione si va formando per essere consegnata alla storia. Comandi ed Unità impegnati fuori area, infatti, compilano il *Diario Storico*, come in guerra. Giacché tali complessi documentali sono fondi in formazione, essi non sono elencati. Questi fondi, al momento, non consultabili in aderenza alle vigenti leggi in materia.

Di recente la documentazione è stata incrementata grazie ad una politica di maggior sensibilizzazione presso le Associazioni Combattentistiche e d'Arma al fine di acquisire, attraverso donazioni volontarie e gratuite, memorie, diari ed archivi e collezioni da militari e reduci di qualunque grado,

Nel corso degli ultimi anni l'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito ha consolidato il processo della propria notorietà storico-scientifica, sostenuto sia dalla propria produzione editoriale, costantemente recensita nelle riviste specializzate ed utilizzata dal mondo

accademico e dagli studiosi, sia da una diffusa presenza a convegni, rassegne storiche di notevole risonanza culturale, e mostre librarie.

Lo scopo del conseguimento di maggiore “visibilità” non è stato soltanto quello di ricevere autorevoli consensi, seppure molto graditi, ma quello di contribuire ad un più ampio progetto finalizzato all’affermazione, nel consesso scientifico italiano e possibilmente internazionale, di una disciplina, la Storia Militare che ha ricevuto con fatica un crisma di autonomia attraverso l’istituzione di cattedre universitarie e successivi dottorati di ricerca.

Il settore essenziale che impegna l’Ufficio Storico è quello della ricerca storiografica, che interessa direttamente l’Archivio storico e le Biblioteche militari; in essi sono custoditi i preziosi patrimoni, dai quali è tratta la materia “fondamentale” per gli studi di storia militare.

L’Ufficio Storico ha anche il compito di vigilare, quale organo tecnico, alla tutela del numeroso patrimonio costituito da cippi e targhe dislocati all’interno delle caserme e, soprattutto, dai cimeli storici custoditi presso le sale museali delle unità della Forza Armata e nei Musei Militari dell’Esercito.

I FONDI DELL’ARCHIVIO

L’antico Ufficio militare aveva il compito di “raccoliere” e conservare nel suo archivio documentazione di particolare interesse, al fine di elaborare la storia delle istituzioni militari del Regno e quella delle campagne militari. Dalla sua costituzione ad oggi, quindi, l’Ufficio Storico ha avuto la duplice funzione di centro di studi di storia militare e di archivio. Nel quadro dell’amministrazione archivistica italiana, questa particolare concessione, per la quale Organi Centrali militari non versano la propria documentazione all’Archivio Centrale dello Stato, ha acquisito forza di legge in esito al Testo Unico del 29 ottobre 1999, n. 490 (art. 30), aggiornato recentemente dal Decreto Legislativo del 22 gennaio 2004, n. 42 (art. 41), che esenta gli Stati Maggiori delle Forze Armate da tali obblighi per quanto attiene “la documentazione di carattere militare e operativo”.

Utilizzato come archivio di deposito dei diversi uffici del Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore e del Comando Supremo, di alcuni uffici del Ministero della Guerra (Gabinetto e divisione Stato Maggiore) e altri Enti (Commissione Suprema di Difesa e vari comitati, Addetti e Missioni militari, Rappresentanti militari in Organismi interalleati ed internazionali, ecc), l’archivio storico ha accolto numerosi versamenti di documentazione, spesso non ordinata e non sottoposta a preventive operazioni di scarto.

L’Ufficio, fino a tempi abbastanza recenti, non ha potuto disporre di personale, militare o civile, specializzato in archivistica, né di collaborazione esterna qualificata cui commissiionare lavori di riordino. Il materiale documentario, quindi, nonostante il ponderoso lavoro di sistemazione delle carte svolto nel tempo dal ridotto personale effettivo, non è stato ordinato secondo il metodo storico, cioè nel rispetto, fin dove possibile, della disposizione originaria delle carte, attribuita nell’archivio corrente (o registrazione) dal soggetto produttore. Molto spesso la documentazione è stata ordinata per materia, seguendo diversi, quanto antiarchivistici criteri (per argomento: per esempio Eritrea, Somalia, Libia, ecc; per periodo storico relativo a particolari eventi bellici: per esempio la guerra italo-etiopica, la guerra civile spagnola, ecc; per soggetti produttori simili: per esempio le carte delle Intendenze nella Prima

Guerra mondiale, ecc).

Per quanto riguarda i diversi mezzi di corredo per la consultazione, quasi tutti i fondi hanno degli elenchi (repertori) di limitato livello di analiticità, in generale molto approssimativi, senza alcuna introduzione storico-istituzionale che, tuttavia, consentono di eseguire ricerche sulla documentazione.

Nel 1999 lo Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito ha inteso avviare le attività per il riordino dei fondi del suo archivio, ottenendo la collaborazione di eminenti storici e di esperti di Archivistica, costituendo una commissione con il compito di sovrintendere a tale attività. L'obiettivo strategico è quello di poter disporre dei vari riordinamenti effettuati su un supporto informatico, che consenta in futuro la possibilità di una ricerca estremamente rapida delle carte d'interesse. Una delle prime esigenze, segnalate dalla medesima commissione, è stata quella di procedere ad un censimento sommario dei fondi consultabili, conservati nell'archivio, allo scopo di acquisire una conoscenza generale della situazione esistente.

Il censimento non presuppone necessariamente un preventivo ordinamento degli archivi da esaminare, anzi, come lavoro di ricognizione, costituisce piuttosto il primo strumento da approntare per procedere correttamente al riordino ed al successivo inventario.

Il lavoro effettuato deve essere considerato un primo censimento sommario, soggetto a successivi aggiornamenti, ampliamenti e verifiche.

I fondi esaminati, per ulteriore elemento di distinzione, sono stati provvisoriamente enumerati da 1 a 103 e per ognuno di essi è stata assegnata una serie di elementi, quali:

- *sigla per l'identificazione;*
- *tipologia del fondo:* sono state individuate essenzialmente due categorie di complessi documentari. La prima comprende il fondo costituito da un unico soggetto produttore dell'archivio. La seconda categoria, invece, riguarda i "fondi" formati da più soggetti produttori, cioè quei complessi documentari che si presentano spesso come miscellanee e raccolte;
- *consistenza in buste e volumi;*
- *date estreme;*
- *mezzi di corredo: inventario, inventario sommario, elenco ed elenco di versamento;*
- *denominazione dei soggetti produttori degli archivi,* i quali sono indicati in carattere corsivo con i riferimenti delle buste e tipologia documentaria, fin dove è stato possibile individuare tali elementi.

Da questo primo censimento sommario è risultato evidente che quasi tutta la documentazione, dopo il versamento, sia stata "organizzata", non tenendo in adeguata considerazione gli archivi di provenienza e, in generale, la metodologia storica.

Le carte, infatti, risultano accorpate, per pertinenza, secondo le campagne di guerra o, più genericamente, secondo i principali periodi della storia militare italiana contemporanea: il Risorgimento, compreso il brigantaggio, le conquiste coloniali del periodo liberale (Eritrea, Somalia, Libia), la Prima guerra mondiale, ecc.

Si può ragionevolmente supporre che questo criterio di "sistemazione" per periodi storici o "per materia", sia stato causato, seppure involontariamente, dall'esplicazione dell'attività storiografica da parte dello stesso Ufficio storico, il quale, fin dalla sua costituzione, ha avuto la già accennata duplice funzione d'archivio di stato e di centro di studi di storia militare.

Per tornare al riordino, si è quindi avviato questo ponderoso lavoro soprattutto in termini di tempo necessario, lavoro, iniziato con i fondi di minor dimensione che, ad oggi, conta circa una dozzina di riordini effettuati o in dirittura d'arrivo, con la collaborazione esterna di archivisti qualificati, efficacemente seguiti da alcuni eminenti esperti della materia, appartenenti al menzionato Comitato scientifico.

Le problematiche che scaturiscono da una maggiore visibilità dell'archivio storico e conseguentemente da una maggiore possibile fruibilità della documentazione possono, a mio avviso, essere distinte in interne o esterne: vale a dire, una migliore fruibilità d'istituto o una migliore fruibilità da parte del pubblico. Esaminiamo questo secondo aspetto; esso comporterebbe la necessità di: maggiore spazio per la ricezione del pubblico, per ridurre i tempi di attesa per la consultazione (attualmente i tempi medi di attesa sono di oltre tre mesi); personale specializzato che supporti in maniera adeguata la frequenza del pubblico; disponibilità auspicabile di indici dei fondi su supporto informatico con una o più stazioni di ricerca.

Mi preme segnalare, per completezza d'informazione, che nel corso dei primi sette mesi del 2008 l'Archivio storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito ha ricevuto oltre 900 visite, con un incremento di circa il 35%, con una media di 8 persone/giorno lavorativo.

Le questioni da risolvere per il funzionamento interno ottimale dell'archivio prevedrebbero, oltre alle necessità già enunciate, la disponibilità di sufficiente spazio da dedicare alla sistemazione fisica degli archivi in via di acquisizione.

Si è parlato dell'attività divulgativa dell'archivio storico quale bene culturale a disposizione del pubblico, tralasciando volutamente i compiti istituzionali propri della Sezione che lo gestisce, la quale, essendo un organo dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito è preposta ad una serie di attività peculiari, che si estrinsecano nella effettuazione di ricerche, compilazione di memorie o di schede storiche, verifica di dati, valutazioni storiografiche, risposta ad interrogazioni parlamentari ecc, che presuppongono la presenza di personale che segua con l'attenzione necessaria queste attività. È quindi intuibile lo sforzo che il personale compie, sollecitato da questo duplice impegno.

I FONDI ICONOGRAFICI

Alla fine dell'800 l'Ufficio Storico era già in possesso di un discreto archivio iconografico costituito da disegni, cartoline e fotografie che Enti militari o ufficiali allegavano alle relazioni di viaggio, agli studi tecnici, alle corrispondenze di guerra, alle ricognizioni, alle memorie relative ad addestramenti e manovre. Le immagini, però, custodite in contenitori, in album o inserite nelle carte d'archivio, non erano in alcun modo utilizzate e diffuse. Le successive numerose acquisizioni di fondi fotografici, relativi a guerre e campagne, subivano la stessa sorte. Solo negli anni '60 fu presa in considerazione l'opportunità di organizzare un archivio iconografico.

La decisione si rese necessaria anche in seguito al versamento di migliaia di fotografie e di lastre da parte della disciolta Sezione Cinefoto dell'Ufficio Addestramento, dove erano custodite principalmente fotografie della Seconda guerra mondiale. Nello stesso periodo, iniziarono ad affluire presso l'Ufficio Storico collezioni iconografiche di personalità militari, di privati e di Enti militari in via di scioglimento.

Negli anni successivi l'Ufficio arricchì il proprio patrimonio acquistando dal mercato raccolte di fotografie e di cartoline, di particolare interesse storico-militare. Ancora oggi, militari in quiescenza e discendenti di militari di un qualche rilievo versano all'archivio le immagini storiche di cui dispongono, con la certezza che il ricordo dei propri congiunti non vada disperso sulle bancarelle di qualche mercatino.

Fotografie: circa 450mila immagini. L'archivio fotografico, oltre alla suddetta documentazione conserva i ritratti fotografici di circa 15.000 personalità militari del Regno d'Italia e della Repubblica, la maggior parte provenienti dal fondo Giraud.

Cartoline: originale ed interessante è la collezione di cartoline militari (30.000 pezzi) custodita inizialmente dalla Biblioteca Militare Centrale ed acquisita negli anni '60 dall'Ufficio; con il tempo, essa è stata arricchita attraverso donazioni ed acquisti, tra cui l'importante collezione Camurati (15.000 pezzi).

Medaglie e distintivi: la collezione di medaglie (onorificenze e ricompense) è limitata per ora ad alcune centinaia di esemplari del Regno d'Italia e della Repubblica. Inoltre, l'Ufficio possiede una raccolta di migliaia di distintivi, ufficiali o meno, di epoche diverse, che fanno riferimento ai reparti che li utilizzavano o a rievocazioni di particolari avvenimenti. Si sta procedendo nella ricognizione della raccolta.

Codice Cenni: è la principale opera dell'acquerellista romagnolo Quinto Cenni (Imola 20.3.1845 - Milano 13.8.1917), divenuto famoso nel mondo per i suoi figurini militari. Il Codice è un'imponente raccolta di dipinti di uniformi, italiane e di stati esteri, in maggioranza d'epoca ottocentesca.

Anche in questo caso, per una migliore fruibilità da parte del pubblico, l'Ufficio Storico ha avviato un progetto per l'acquisizione informatizzata delle immagini relative alle due Guerre mondiali. L'attività procede con profitto ed ottima resa e, fino ad oggi, ha consentito di memorizzare su supporto informatico circa 20mila fotografie relative alla prima e alla seconda guerra mondiale. È, tuttavia, necessario prevedere un piano pluriennale che dia continuità all'acquisizione e, nel contempo, procedere all'implementazione delle singole didascalie. Sarebbe, altresì, auspicabile l'attuazione di una comune direttiva che stabilisca, con visione unitaria, le modalità di divulgazione delle immagini e la tutela dei diritti di proprietà.

LE BIBLIOTECHE MILITARI

Devono essere ricordate, per l'importante ruolo svolto in favore soprattutto degli studiosi non residenti nella Capitale, le Biblioteche presidiarie, istituite con R.D. datato 23 marzo 1862, con il quale ci si propose, formato il Regno d'Italia, di organizzare a livello nazionale il sistema bibliotecario militare.

Fanno parte dell'Ufficio Storico dello SME, tre biblioteche militari che, per la ricchezza del materiale specialistico conservato forniscono un fondamentale sussidio alle ricerche e che, con l'eccezione della biblioteca interna di Ufficio, sono liberamente consultabili. Sono ricche di edizioni rare e, molte di esse "Cinquecentine".

La Biblioteca Militare Centrale (B.M.C) è la più consistente e imponente delle biblioteche militari, posta alle dipendenze dell'Ufficio Storico ed aperta al pubblico. Fu fondata nel 1814 in Torino ed oggi è ubicata in Roma, all'interno di Palazzo Esercito.

Conserva circa 300.000 volumi e 1.000 riviste, sia di carattere militare sia d'interesse generale. Le diverse materie in cui il patrimonio è articolato, rendono palese l'importanza dell'Istituto, patrimonio costantemente rinvigorito da acquisizioni che continuano ad accrescerne il valore quantitativo e qualitativo.

La Biblioteca Militare di Artiglieria e Genio (BA.G) è la biblioteca militare a carattere tecnico più importante in Italia, con i suoi 60.000 volumi interamente riguardanti l'Artiglieria ed il Genio. Discende dalla Biblioteca di artiglieria e fortificazione, nata nel lontano 1729 in Torino a latere delle Scuole tecniche di artiglieria e fortificazione, volute dal futuro Re di Sardegna Carlo Emanuele III. Attualmente ha sede in Roma, ove svolge un suo importante ruolo nel campo delle ricerche nello specifico settore.

Attualmente, le Biblioteche di Presidio, alle quali l'Ufficio Storico commette un'assegnazione di bilancio, sono nel numero di 15. Sono ubicate nelle seguenti città: Milano, Torino, Padova, Verona, Trieste, Modena, Bologna, Firenze, Civitavecchia, Viterbo, Napoli, Bari, Catanzaro, Palermo e Cagliari. Da alcuni mesi anche il Comando Brigata Meccanizzata "Aosta" ha inaugurato una propria biblioteca a Messina, aperta al pubblico, grazie alla donazione di un privato.

L'accesso, nel caso in cui la Biblioteca sia ubicata all'interno di una struttura militare, è regolato dalle consuete norme. Il prestito dei volumi è ammesso, in virtù di quanto previsto dalle norme per la gestione e la contabilità delle biblioteche militari. Presso le stesse è possibile, inoltre, consultare tutti i libri editi dall'Ufficio Storico.

I problemi che si trovano a dover risolvere gli Enti militari che gestiscono le biblioteche di presidio sono connessi, in alcuni casi, alla mancanza di adeguati locali ove collocare gli arredi e il patrimonio librario disponibili. Ciò, soprattutto, in circostanze di eredità della biblioteca, dovuta a scioglimenti/riordinamento degli Enti stessi, o di cambio sede; in altri casi, per un'effettiva indisponibilità di personale che si possa dedicare alla gestione della biblioteca in maniera continuativa ed efficace.

PRODUZIONE EDITORIALE

Uno dei compiti dell'Ufficio è quello di valorizzare il proprio patrimoni non soltanto permettendo la visione dei fondi a storici e studiosi ma anche promuovendo la pubblicazione di scritti finalizzati all'approfondimento e divulgazione di studi relativi a vicende che hanno visto protagonista la Forza Armata che in passato non sono stati trattati o trascurati.

Il compito prefisso e quello di proporre ed eventualmente commissionare i temi di studio da affrontare nella realizzazione di opere al fine di indagare su quegli argomenti, anche a volte complessi e delicati, che non è stato possibile affrontare per carenza di documenti disponibili o di ricercatori idonei ad affrontare le ricerche. Questo permette di effettuare un'opera di divulgazione interna volta a divulgare e consolidare la conoscenza presso tutti i soldati della storia e delle tradizioni dell'Esercito e, verso l'esterno, contribuire al chiarimento delle vicende militari cui ha partecipato la Forza Armata per confutare tesi denigratorie e basate non sullo studio dei documenti ma su pregiudizi ideologici.

Un'altra esigenza sentita dall'Ufficio è quella di produrre testi in lingua straniera da proporre agli studiosi di tutto il mondo così da sfatare molti dei luoghi comuni che, dopo l'esito,

per fortuna, sfavorevole della seconda guerra mondiale, sono stati presentati da alcuni pseudo storici interessati e prevenuti.

Rientra in tale progetto la cooperazione con una importante libreria nazionale di Firenze che opera prevalentemente sul mercato straniero.

A tal riguardo è stato già edito un primo volume in lingua inglese, traducendo il libro del Gen. Montanari sulle tre battaglie di El Alamein e quest'anno è stata commissionata la stampa di un'opera bilingue (italiano ed inglese) che tratta delle Legioni Romane dagli inizi alla caduta dell'Impero dal titolo "Sotto l'insegna dell'aquila".

Nel campo della cooperazione internazionale, sono stati avviati contatti con il Servizio Storico dell'Esercito Francese per una pubblicazione bilingue degli inventari italiano e francese relativi alla Campagna del 1859, del quale si approssima il 150° anniversario. Accordi preliminari sono stati presi con l'Ufficio Storico dell'Esercito Serbo, presso il quale è impiegato uno storico militare che vorrebbe realizzare un volume sulla "Questione di Trieste" ed i rapporti tra Tito ed il mondo politico italiano.

L'Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare

FRANCESCO LORIGA

PREMESSA

L'Ufficio Storico della Marina, nel corso della sua quasi centenaria attività, ha costantemente curato la conservazione e la valorizzazione degli archivi, provvedendo al recupero del materiale, al suo riordino ed alla redazione di adeguati strumenti di consultazione per tutti coloro che ne siano interessati.

FONDAZIONE

La prima proposta di istituzione di un Ufficio Storico risale al 1897, a più di trent'anni dalla costituzione della Marina e, nonostante esso funzionasse in via sperimentale fin dall'agosto 1912, è solo con il R.D. 29 agosto 1913, n. 1123 che esso venne ufficialmente istituito con il compito di effettuare "studi di carattere storico che comunque interessino la Marina Militare"

Antecedentemente la raccolta dei documenti di interesse storico della Marina Italiana (regolamenti, opere tecniche sulle artiglierie e sulle navi ecc.) era curata dalla Biblioteca Centrale del Ministero Marina, mentre le città capitali degli Stati pre-unitari conservavano nei rispettivi Archivi di Stato, dove sono tuttora consultabili, quelli delle marine pre-unitarie.

Quantunque il decreto istitutivo assegnasse all'Ufficio esclusivamente il carattere di istituto di alti studi militari, i compiti di conservazione e sintesi dei documenti, con l'intento di illustrare l'opera della Marina in guerra e in pace (tanto nelle azioni militari, quanto "sulla via di progressivo sviluppo"), caratterizzarono fin dall'inizio la sua attività. Queste competenze erano già previste nella relazione del ministro della Marina, Enrico Millo, per la presentazione al Re del decreto istitutivo e furono poi confermate dalle direttive emanate dall'allora Capo di Stato Maggiore della Marina, Ammiraglio Paolo Thaon di Revel.

Esse facevano dell'Ufficio Storico l'organismo centrale preposto alla raccolta e al riordinamento del materiale documentario relativo all'opera compiuta dalla Marina dalla costituzione del Regno in poi, in vista della redazione di studi storici (interessanti anche gli avvenimenti navali delle nazioni estere) destinati, in primo luogo, alla formazione professionale degli ufficiali.

UBICAZIONE

L'Ufficio ha sede in Roma e fa parte dello Stato Maggiore Marina, anche se ubicato in una sede distaccata da quest'ultimo, fatta eccezione per una delle sue componenti, ovvero la Biblioteca Centrale.

FUNZIONI

La pubblicazione edita dallo Stato Maggiore Marina SMM 101/UEU – Ordinamento dello Stato Maggiore Marina e degli Organi Centrali Dipendenti, Edizione 2003 – attribuisce

all'Ufficio Storico le funzioni di "conservare e divulgare il patrimonio storico della Marina Militare finalizzate allo sviluppo e alla diffusione della cultura navale nell'ambito della collettività nazionale".

COMPITI

I compiti previsti per l'Ufficio Storico, descritti nella citata pubblicazione SMM 101/UEU, in particolare sono i seguenti:

- Acquisizione, ordinamento, archiviazione e conservazione dei documenti e delle pubblicazioni aventi interesse storico per la Marina Militare;
- Consulenza e assistenza per studiosi e ricercatori italiani o stranieri sulla documentazione conservata;
- Collaborazione con gli Uffici Storici delle altre Forze Armate e con gli Archivi di Stato nazionali ed esteri;
- Catalogazione e conservazione della documentazione fotografica di unità navali ed avvenimenti di interesse storico avvenuti nell'ambito della Marina;
- Pianificazione e realizzazione di un proprio programma editoriale, comprendente libri ad argomentazione storica relativi a questioni navali e marittime, nonché un Bollettino d'Archivio a periodicità trimestrale;
- Distribuzione delle pubblicazioni dell'ufficio, sia direttamente che per il tramite dei musei navali della Marina e di librerie private;
- Sovrintendenza e coordinamento delle attività del Museo Storico Navale di Venezia e del Museo Tecnico Navale di La Spezia.
- Gestione del patrimonio librario della Marina.

STRUTTURA ORDINATIVA ED ORGANICA

Con l'attuale ordinamento dello Stato Maggiore della Marina, l'Ufficio Storico è passato dalla diretta dipendenza del Capo di Stato Maggiore, ove era inquadrato fin dalla sua istituzione, alla dipendenza organica dell'Ufficio Affari Generali e Relazioni Esterne.

Nella sua attuale struttura l'Ufficio è diretto da un Ufficiale Superiore che, per i compiti d'istituto, si avvale di una segreteria e di quattro sezioni:

- Archivio e Fototeca;
- Editoria;
- Musei;
- Biblioteca Centrale.

Per il funzionamento dell'Ufficio sono previste 38 persone, di cui 33 effettivamente presenti, sia militari (nel numero di 16) che civili (nel numero di 22).

L'Ufficio ha inoltre il privilegio della consulenza di esperti collaboratori volontari (numero 3 ufficiali ammiragli in quiescenza) che forniscono un rilevante contributo nell'ambito delle ricerche storiche.

ARCHIVIO E FOTOTECA

Al XIV Congresso Nazionale per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, tenutosi a Trento nel settembre 1926, l'allora Capo dell'Ufficio Storico Ammiraglio Guido Po affermò:

“L’Archivio è la parte più importante e delicata di ogni Ufficio Storico; soltanto con una documentazione chiara ed esauriente è possibile accingersi a scrivere la cronistoria, ossia elaborare una documentazione narrativa e statistica dei fatti nella loro nuda realtà, offrendo mezzi di controllo e di rettifica per i contemporanei, lasciando invece ai posteri il compito di servirsene con maggiore libertà per scrivere la storia e fare serenamente la critica”.

L’archivio dell’Ufficio Storico, al pari di quelli delle altre Forze Armate, è riconosciuto quale archivio autonomo e non dipende dall’Amministrazione degli Archivi di Stato. Tale riconoscimento è esplicitamente previsto dal Codice per i Beni Culturali e Paesaggistici e comporta l’esclusione dall’obbligo del versamento agli Archivi di Stato della documentazione di carattere militare ed operativo prodotta dalla Forza Armata.

I compiti della Sezione Archivio, in linea generale, sono i seguenti:

- Acquisizione, ordinamento, archiviazione e conservazione dei documenti e delle pubblicazioni abrogate aventi interesse storico per la Marina Militare;
- Consulenza e assistenza a studiosi e ricercatori italiani e stranieri sulla documentazione conservata;
- Compilazione e conservazione dello schedario delle Unità Navali;
- Aggiornamento delle caratteristiche e dei dati tecnici delle unità iscritte nei quadri del Naviglio Militare dello Stato;
- Collaborazione con gli Uffici Storici delle altre Forze Armate e con gli Archivi di Stato nazionali ed esteri;
- Gestione di una biblioteca tecnica/storica in accordo con la Biblioteca Centrale dello Stato Maggiore Marina.

Nel linguaggio familiare agli addetti ai lavori, l’Archivio comprende 494 fondi riconducibili a circa 18.800 pezzi (composti da buste, registri, volumi, disegni, carte, ecc.), a cui si aggiungono circa 45.000 Giornali di Chiesuola.

Il materiale archivistico è relativo ai tre periodi fondamentali, ovvero dalla fondazione della Marina (1° aprile 1861) al 1939, il cosiddetto Archivio di Base, il Secondo Conflitto Mondiale fino al trattato di pace (10 febbraio 1947), il dopoguerra fino ad oggi.

Per facilitarne la consultazione è stata pubblicata la Guida dell’Archivio, che costituisce lo strumento di orientamento e conoscenza del patrimonio storico documentario custodito per gli addetti ai lavori.

Da ricordare che il Decreto del Ministero della Difesa – Ufficio Centrale per gli Studi Giuridici e la Legislazione del 1° giugno 1990, tuttora vigente, ha regolamentato la consultabilità degli archivi storici militari, precisando le modalità di fruizione dei documenti ivi conservati il cui accesso, in precedenza, era molto limitato. Il Decreto stabilisce che i documenti siano liberamente consultabili con la limitazione che siano passati 50 anni dalla data di emissione per quelli di carattere riservato relativi alla politica estera o interna dello Stato e 70 anni per quelli riservati relativi a situazioni puramente private di persone.

In particolare la Fototeca cura:

- la catalogazione e conservazione della documentazione fotografica di unità navali e di avvenimenti d’interesse storico nell’ambito della Marina Militare;
- la raccolta di nuova documentazione;
- la riproduzione del materiale fotografico nel proprio laboratorio.

Inoltre fornisce consulenza e assistenza fotografica a studiosi e ricercatori.

La Fototeca, inoltre, soddisfa le numerose richieste che pervengono quotidianamente da una variegata tipologia di utenti: il modesto contributo richiesto per il servizio sta a sottolineare l'apertura della Marina a rendere disponibile il proprio patrimonio fotografico, pur nella piena tutela del "diritto di proprietà".

EDITORIA

I compiti della Sezione Editoria, in linea generale, sono i seguenti:

- pianificazione e realizzazione del programma editoriale dell'Ufficio Storico, comprendente libri e monografie di argomento storico-militare ed il trimestrale "Bollettino d'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare";
 - coordinamento dell'attività degli autori e collaboratori e mantenimento dei contatti con le organizzazioni paritetiche delle altre Forze Armate;
 - valutazione e revisione dei testi proposti per la stampa attraverso l'analisi dei documenti archivistici e del materiale iconografico;
 - promozione e distribuzione delle opere pubblicate attraverso la vendita diretta.
- Il programma editoriale nasce da un insieme di fattori: le richieste dell'Ufficio di approfondimento di una certa tematica, le proposte autonome degli autori, le eventuali richieste del pubblico valutate di interesse.

La pianificazione del programma, elaborata in prima bozza dall'Ufficio, è poi discussa e approvata nell'ambito di un comitato costituito da personalità sia del mondo accademico che da esperti di settore provenienti dalla Forza Armata, denominato COMISTORIA, nominato dal Capo di Stato Maggiore della Marina con funzioni di consulenza nel settore storico. Il programma editoriale è quindi realizzato in funzione dei fondi disponibili.

Fiore all'occhiello della Sezione Editoria è senza dubbio il periodico trimestrale "Bollettino d'Archivio", progetto peraltro complementare fra le Sezioni Archivio e Fototeca ed Editoria dell'Ufficio.

Istituito nel gennaio 1987 dall'allora Ministro della Difesa, Senatore Giovanni Spadolini, il Bollettino si prefigge lo scopo di valorizzare tutti gli atti di rilievo concernenti la storia, le tradizioni, le navi, così come l'organizzazione, le idee, i mezzi e l'attività, in pace e in guerra, che nel tempo hanno costituito la Marina Militare.

Nata per soddisfare un'esigenza di riordino, catalogazione e schedatura di tutta la documentazione giacente ed in ingresso presso l'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico, rappresenta oggi una delle pubblicazioni di maggiore livello scientifico esistente in materia di storia militare che non ha riscontro in alcuna altra edizione di organizzazioni simili dello Stato e private.

Unica nel suo genere, unisce una sezione saggi ad una sezione archivio, che permette agli studiosi di conoscere quale sia la documentazione disponibile nei diversi fondi senza obbligarli a recarsi fisicamente presso l'Ufficio; svolge quindi opera preziosa di riordino dell'archivio e di penetrazione e di presenza nei più qualificati ambienti della cultura storica.

Nella sezione saggi, in oltre 20 anni di vita, più di 120 fra storici di fama internazionale, professori universitari, eminenti uomini di studio, esperti dei Beni Culturali e degli Archivi di Stato hanno pubblicato più di 350 articoli, la maggior parte dei quali sono vere e proprie opere monografiche complete su uomini ed avvenimenti riguardanti la Marina.

La redazione degli inventari è stata preceduta dal censimento analitico dei fondi presenti in Archivio, con particolare riguardo all'individuazione della provenienza dei documenti. Il risultato del censimento è confluito nella pubblicazione della "Guida dei fondi conservati presso l'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico della Marina Militare", pubblicata nel maggio 2004.

SEZIONE MUSEI

I compiti della Sezione Musei, in linea generale, sono i seguenti:

- Sovrintendenza e coordinamento delle attività dei Musei Navali della Marina e della Sezione Marina del Sacrario delle Bandiere del Vittoriano;
- Consulenza storica per la scelta di "Nomi e Motti" a Comandi Navali e Comandi/Enti terrestri della Marina;
- Emanazione di direttive per la gestione delle documentazioni di interesse storico ed opere d'arte all'atto del disarmo delle Unità Navali;
- Monitorizzazione del patrimonio artistico della Marina Militare.

I due Musei Navali dipendenti sono dislocati a La Spezia e Venezia. In particolare:

Il Museo Storico Navale, istituito a Venezia nel 1919, raccoglie cimeli e documenti che narrano la storia della marineria;

Il Museo Tecnico Navale, istituito a La Spezia nel 1924, raccoglie cimeli e documenti che narrano l'evoluzione tecnica delle armi e delle navi militari.

La Sezione Marina del Sacrario delle Bandiere al Vittoriano, istituita a Roma nel 1961, raccoglie e custodisce le Bandiere di Guerra dei Reparti disciolti e le Bandiere di Combattimento e gli Stendardi Navali delle Unità Navali non più in servizio, nonché alcuni cimeli particolarmente significativi per la storia della Marina.

LA BIBLIOTECA CENTRALE

La Biblioteca Centrale è una prestigiosa struttura che risale al 1928, ubicata a Palazzo Marina. Illuminata da preziosi lampadari in cristallo di Murano e mobili di consultazione e conservazione di antica fattura, vanta un patrimonio librario di circa 40.000 titoli, di cui 10.000 classificati come testi antichi e rari di notevole valore, incluse alcune cinquecentine e numerose mappe, carte nautiche e geografiche del XVII secolo.

La Biblioteca ha anche una Emeroteca, che conserva pubblicazioni periodiche di carattere storico, giuridico e militare.

APPROFONDIMENTI SULL'ARCHIVIO

L'archivio raccoglie e conserva tutta la documentazione che ad esso viene versata; ciò non significa nel modo più assoluto che sia in possesso di tutto (come invece molto spesso si crede).

In particolare l'Ufficio Storico costituisce l'archivio dei documenti dello Stato Maggiore (e relativi Comandi/Enti dipendenti); la documentazione delle Direzioni Generali (ad esempio NAVARM per la Marina) dovrebbe essere versata all'Archivio Centrale di Stato (all'EUR), ma ciò non è sempre vero. Va ricordato che l'Archivio di Stato (in Corso Rinascimento) conserva la documentazione fino al 1870, mentre l'Archivio Centrale di Stato (all'EUR) conserva la documentazione dei Ministeri dal 1870 in poi.

L'archivio è suddiviso in Storico e Contemporaneo; di massima le pratiche più vecchie di 50 anni fanno parte dell'archivio storico, mentre quelle più recenti di quello contemporaneo. La data dei 50 anni (70 per i dati sensibili riguardanti alle pratiche personali) stabilisce anche il termine di declassifica delle pratiche stesse, con l'eventuale eccezione di documentazione riguardante processi penali ancora in corso da parte della Magistratura.

L'archivio è organizzato in:

- FONDI Documentazione relativa ad un Ente (non sempre), vedi ad esempio il fondo relativo al naviglio (costituito in modo artificioso negli anni '50/'60)
- BUSTE Faldoni contenenti una serie di fascicoli
- FASCICOLI Cartelline contenenti il carteggio vero e proprio

L'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Aeronautica Militare

SALVATORE GAGLIANO

Buongiorno a tutti i convenuti. Questo Convegno si presenta di grande rilevanza, vuoi per i contenuti peculiari che saranno affrontati, vuoi per la qualità degli interventi che si succederanno in questi giorni.

Buongiorno dunque a voi, gentili ospiti, esimi professori, Autorità intervenute; e un grazie agli organizzatori per l'ottimo lavoro preparatorio e per avermi dato l'opportunità di intervenire.

Sono il Gen. di Brigata Aerea Salvatore Gagliano, Capo del V Reparto-"Affari Generali"-dello Stato Maggiore Aeronautica. Poiché ho l'onore di rivestire, quasi a ribadire l'importanza che attribuiamo alla storia della nostra istituzione, anche l'incarico di Capo dell'Ufficio Storico dell'Aeronautica Militare, è in questa seconda veste - ma solo apparentemente secondaria - che ho il piacere di essere tra voi.

La finalità del mio intervento odierno in tale veste non è quella di sviluppare le tematiche del presente convegno - a tale scopo sono già iscritti a parlare autorevolissimi oratori - bensì quella di illustrare le funzioni dell'Ufficio Storico A.M. soprattutto in relazione ai fondi documentari custoditi nel nostro Archivio Storico di Forza Armata. Cosicché, ciascuno dei gentili presenti possa formarsi un'idea dei beni documentari conservati presso di noi, nella consapevolezza che l'Archivio Storico è aperto a chiunque ne faccia richiesta a fini di ricerca.

Mi sento di garantirvi, al riguardo, che il nostro personale garantirà a ciascuno di voi la massima assistenza nella consultazione dei fondi disponibili.

Dato il tempo a disposizione mi limiterò a tracciare un quadro generale dell'Ufficio Storico fornendovi alcune notizie per così dire "di base"- chi siamo, cosa facciamo, dove ci troviamo, come possiamo essere raggiunti.

Passerò poi ad illustrarvi i fondi archivistici dell'Ufficio Storico ma senza dilungarmi in questa sede in un'analisi minuziosa delle tipologie di documenti prodotti: chi fosse interessato ad approfondire tali aspetti, sia sotto il profilo qualitativo che quantitativo, potrà contattare il personale dell'Ufficio Storico anche via mail. Mi soffermerò invece appena un po' di più su quelle serie archivistiche che possono indirettamente avere un'attinenza con il tema del convegno, che sono poi le carte delle operazioni belliche, così da fornire al potenziale ricercatore un quadro più dettagliato degli argomenti coperti dalla produzione documentaria che conserviamo. Infine accennerò ai progetti in corso d'opera, attivati allo scopo di rendere quanto più ampiamente fruibile il nostro patrimonio documentario. Nell'occasione non mi soffermerò sulle problematiche attualmente riscontrabili nel settore degli archivi militari, che poi sono quelle - aggiornamento di una normativa specifica, piani di versamento, qualificazione professionale del personale militare, disponibilità di spazi di conservazione (anche digitali, in prospettiva!) - già rappresentate in precedenti consessi, contro le quali ci battiamo,

e qui includerei anche gli amici degli altri Uffici Storici, con sempre maggiore consapevolezza da qualche anno.

A tale riguardo mi sento solo di assicurare che stiamo sviluppando diverse iniziative per addivenire a possibili soluzioni tese ad implementare, nel breve-medio termine, l'efficienza dell'Ufficio Storico A.M.

Passo ad illustrarvi brevemente quanto annunciato; prima però, un doveroso excursus sulla materia nel suo insieme:

L'Amministrazione archivistica italiana è inserita nel contesto del Ministero dei Beni Culturali, il quale Dicastero esercita le funzioni di tutela sul patrimonio documentario di appartenenza statale, a statuire l'esercizio unitario delle funzioni di tutela dei beni archivistici che sono a tutti gli effetti da considerarsi "beni culturali".

Nell'ambito degli istituti di conservazione di cui sopra, gli organi giudiziari e amministrativi centrali dello Stato versano i loro carteggi relativi agli affari esauriti (generalmente dopo 40 anni) all'Archivio Centrale dello Stato.

Fanno eccezione la Presidenza della Repubblica, il Senato della Repubblica, la Corte Costituzionale ed il Ministero degli Affari Esteri, i quali hanno propri archivi storici. E fa eccezione anche il Ministero della Difesa.

Nello specifico del Ministero della Difesa, giova sottolineare come esso versi i propri documenti di natura amministrativa (quelli delle Direzioni Generali) all'Archivio Centrale dello Stato, laddove invece conserva i documenti di natura tecnico-operativa nelle strutture di ogni singola Forza Armata deputate alla conservazione della memoria storica, ossia gli Uffici Storici delle Forze Armate.

E a proposito di Uffici Storici, ecco quello dell'Aeronautica Militare:

L'Ufficio Storico A.M. vide la luce nel 1926. L'Aeronautica, nata nel 1923, avvertì da subito l'importanza di un proprio Ufficio Storico. E il 25 gennaio 1926, con una direttiva impartita da Benito Mussolini, venne istituita la "Sezione storica dell'Ufficio di Stato Maggiore della Regia Aeronautica", legata alla necessità di raccogliere e ordinare il materiale storico per la realizzazione del "Resoconto ufficiale sullo sviluppo della nuova Arma": l'Arma Aeronautica, appunto.

E tra i compiti attuali dell'Ufficio Storico vi è ancora, ovviamente, quello di preservare la memoria della Forza Armata, ma anche quello di contribuire al processo di comprensione storica della Nazione garantendo a ogni studioso la massima accessibilità dei documenti custoditi presso i nostri archivi.

Dove siamo ubicati: a pochi passi dalla Stazione Termini, V.le Università, 4, (cap: 00185) nel comprensorio del Ministero Difesa-Aeronautica, in una palazzina d'epoca la cui costruzione risale al 1931.

Come siamo strutturati: in tre sezioni: la sezione "Archivio, biblioteca ed emeroteca", la sezione "Ricerche ed editoria storica" (il catalogo dei libri curati ed editi da noi è consultabile *on line* sul sito dell'Ufficio Storico), e la sezione "Materiale storico", dalla quale si origina la *policy* della Forza Armata nei confronti di tali importanti materiali. Una raccolta di grande rilievo è esposta nel - a molti di voi noto - Museo Storico A.M. di Vigna di Valle.

Segnalo infine la disponibilità di una confortevole Sala di studio e consultazione per i

nostri frequentatori, che può ospitare quattro studiosi contemporaneamente. Tra gli studiosi registriamo una prevalente presenza di utenti esterni non militari, con un trend, in crescita, pari a circa tre persone al giorno. Segnalo, a livello internazionale, la preponderanza di storici spagnoli, che nel corso degli ultimi due anni ci sono venuti a trovare numerosi, graditissimi ospiti.

Un accenno alle fonti di consultazione dell'Ufficio Storico:

la biblioteca, con un importante settore specialistico dedicato all'Aeronautica, i cui cataloghi, sono consultabili "on line", sia sul sito dell'Ufficio Storico sia attraverso il Servizio Bibliotecario Nazionale (SBN), al quale aderisce l'Ufficio Storico.

Segnalo anche la raccolta dell'Emeroteca che, oltre a custodire le collezioni di importanti riviste aeronautiche, custodisce dei fondi miscellanei relativi a velivoli, italiani, aeroporti e aviatori, utili per una pronta consultazione.

E veniamo al "core" delle fonti documentarie.

L'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico dell'Aeronautica è organizzato su una stanza dedicata, che ne costituisce il cuore, e altre 5 stanze, non adibite esclusivamente alla conservazione ma anche ad uso ufficio. La variegata abbondanza del materiale archivistico consente una descrizione chiara dei fondi, conservati perlopiù in contenitori rigidi, o faldoni, ma non rende possibile, al momento, una descrizione di dettaglio delle singole unità. Tra i mezzi di corredo archivistici ad ogni modo utili per un primo orientamento alla ricerca, i Classari, gli indici di consistenza e gli Inventari. Questi ultimi, affidati a professionisti del settore, rinnoveranno i vecchi Classari cartacei. Al riguardo da pochi anni è stata intrapreso un progetto di valorizzazione di tali fondi al quale accennerò più avanti.

E' anche importante sottolineare l'attenzione data nel corso degli ultimi anni alla struttura e alla sicurezza dell'archivio, con la realizzazione di sistemi a norma antincendio e un sistema di videosorveglianza a circuito chiuso.

Per ovvie ragioni di tempo non vado in questa sede a dettagliare l'elenco di tutti i fondi custoditi (circa 12.000 faldoni tra carteggi, libretti personali e di volo, registri, materiale fotografico, diari e memorie storiche), segnalando solo che l'elenco generale è consultabile, ad ogni buon conto, "on line" presso il sito dell'Ufficio Storico.

Desidero soffermarmi appena di più sulla descrizione quantitativa e qualitativa dei fondi di possibile attinenza con le tematiche del presente convegno. Sono delle serie documentarie molto ricche, di grande importanza storica, che partono dalle origini dell'Aviazione giungono sino alle operazioni della 2^a GM. Ve li elenco sinteticamente: il fondo denominato "i primordi" (40 faldoni per circa 440 fascicoli, dal 1907 al 1919) presenta le seguenti aree tematiche:

- *Atti parlamentari e leggi*
- *Gestione amministrativa*
- *Ordini del giorno, circolari e fogli d'ordine*
- *Studi ed esperimenti di volo*
- *Guerra di Libia e diari storici*
- *Stampa e censura*

Il fondo "I^a Guerra Mondiale" (185 faldoni per circa 2700 fascicoli, dal 1915 al 1919), presenta i seguenti argomenti:

- *Gruppi e squadriglie*
- *Fogli d'ordine*
- *Ordini di operazioni*
- *Ricognizioni fotografiche*
- *Diari storici*
- *Registri di volo*
- *Riepilogo attivita' operativa*
- *Incidenti aviatori e voli di guerra*
- *Situazioni mezzi e personale*
- *Giornali di bordo*

Di particolare rilevanza e completezza anche il fondo "Africa Orientale Italiana" (176 faldoni per 561 fascicoli, periodo 1935-38):

- *Comandi e stormi*
- *Gruppi e squadriglie*
- *Piani e ordini di operazioni*
- *Diari storici*
- *Resoconti mensili attivita'*
- *Relazioni efficienza bellica*
- *Carte topografiche*
- *Aviazione etiopica*
- *Basi aree*

ed il fondo "Operazioni Militari in Spagna" (101 faldoni per oltre 1300 fascicoli di foto e documenti, periodo 1936-39):

- *Ordini di operazioni*
- *Fotografie bombardamento obiettivi*
- *Planimetrie e carte geografiche*
- *Dislocazioni reparti*
- *Diari storici*
- *Relazioni attivita' e registri di volo*

Il fondo "II^a Guerra Mondiale" (oltre 1000 faldoni di documenti e fotografie e 1157 Diari Storici, periodo 1940-45) si presenta ricchissimo e variegato, come si può notare dal sintetico elenco tematico che segue:

- *Corpo aereo italiano in Germania*
- *Cooperazione aereomarittima*
- *Cooperazione Regio Esercito*
- *Servizi aerei speciali*
- *Piani di emergenza*
- *Situazioni forze e operazioni tedesche*
- *Servizi informativi*
- *Armistizio con la Francia*
- *Aeroporti metropolitani e oltremare*
- *Ordini, bollettini*
- *1^a, 2^a, 3^a, 4^a Squadra*
- *Sicilia, Sardegna, Corsica*

- *Albania, Slovenia, Dalmazia*
- *Grecia, Egeo*
- *Libia, Tunisia, Africa Orientale*
- *Corpo italiano spedizione in Russia*
- *Dislocazione reparti*
- *Situazioni quindicinali*
- *Statistiche caduti*
- *Cobelligeranza, resistenza*
- *RSI; relazioni aeroporti*
- *Addetti aeronautici, stampa*
- *Comando supremo, divisioni.*

Il settore anzi descritto costituisce a tutt'oggi, anche in virtù del ruolo precipuo della Forza Armata in tempo di guerra, la parte preponderante del nostro archivio storico.

Tuttavia conserviamo documentazione più attuale. Essa è riferita al patrimonio delle memorie storiche riferite agli Enti A.M 1946-2007, alle attività dei Reparti che hanno operato in concorso in operazioni di pace e/o sostegno alle popolazioni fuori dai confini nazionali, talvolta con esiti dolorosi, penso all'eccidio di Kindu, sia alle operazioni effettuate più recentemente con assetti *joint* e *combined*. In prospettiva va evidenziato che il futuro carteggio riferito a questo tipo di operazioni congiunte dovrà essere conservato presso il recentemente costituito Ufficio Storico di SMD.

Devo inoltre osservare che nel periodo post bellico si è registrata una minor propensione al versamento della documentazione storica da parte degli Enti produttori; a ciò stiamo tentando di ovviare con l'elaborazione di una politica dei versamenti in favore dell'Ufficio Storico più cadenzata e puntuale. Il fatto poi di aver iniziato solo recentemente una progressiva azione di riordino dei complessi documentari, richiederà del tempo per arrivare ad avere inventariati i documenti a noi più vicini. In ultimo occorre anche tenere presente i vincoli temporali (40-70 anni) che governano l'accessibilità ai documenti recenti, oltre ovviamente, in alcuni casi, ai vincoli di riservatezza della documentazione militare.

E veniamo ai progetti in corso, peraltro accennati nel corso della presente trattazione. Tra i più significativi segnalo l'avviamento di un progressivo riordino dei fondi documentari dell'Ufficio Storico con la collaborazione di archivisti professionisti esterni. A tale riguardo, nella consapevolezza che l'unico valido metodo di ordinamento di un archivio consista, laddove possibile, nella ricostituzione del suo ordine originario, ci prefiggiamo di rendere progressivamente più chiaro l'iter che ha portato alla formazione storico-istituzionale dei beni documentari confluiti nel nostro archivio storico e, nel contempo, di offrire più moderni strumenti di consultazione all'utenza esterna, sia *on site* che *on line*. Il ricorso a professionisti esterni è al momento prezioso e indispensabile, non avendo la Forza Armata tale specializzazione al suo interno. Ho l'orgoglio di sottolineare al riguardo, che lo Stato Maggiore Aeronautica si sta avvalendo della generale supervisione in materia di due notissimi professionisti: la Prof.ssa Paola Carucci, attuale consigliere dell'Archivio Storico della Presidenza della Repubblica, e il Prof. Elio Lodolini, membro tra l'altro dell'Ordine internazionale degli archivi. Per ovviare, comunque, a tale grave carenza di settore, abbiamo richiesto e ottenuto un concorso pubblico che dovrebbe assegnarci due archivisti/bibliotecari in pianta stabile.

Inoltre abbiamo avviato un nostro Ufficiale alla Scuola per archivisti dell'Archivio di Stato di Roma, onde iniziare a qualificare anche archivisti militari organici alla struttura.

In ultimo, ma molto importante, sono state recentemente avviate le predisposizioni per dotare la Forza Armata di uno strumento normativo che permetta di individuare in maniera ragionata e senza soluzione di continuità, attraverso una rete di "conservatori" strutturata a livello gerarchico, i documenti prodotti dall'A.M. che in futuro potranno avere interesse storico, da destinare alla conservazione permanente; quello che in sostanza, nell'amministrazione archivistica è definito "piano di conservazione". Si noterà che sono tutti progetti di alto profilo, che richiedono sicuramente del tempo per la loro definitiva realizzazione. L'A.M. ritiene però di perseguirli, consapevole dell'importanza della materia e dunque, compatibilmente con le risorse umane e finanziarie disponibili, procederà nel solco avviato, sopra sintetizzato.

E giungo al termine con un sentito invito a venire a trovarci a Roma per ogni esigenza di studio e consultazione. Siamo aperti, previo appuntamento telefonico, dal martedì al giovedì dalle ore 09.00 alle ore 16.00 ed il venerdì dalle 9 alle 11.30. Il lunedì è il nostro giorno di chiusura. Il regolamento di accesso è consultabile dal nostro sito, cliccando su www.aeronautica.difesa.it e aprendo la tendina "storia". Debbo precisare al riguardo che, essendo il processo di inventariazione e digitalizzazione dell'archivio solo agli inizi, il lavoro di ricerca viene svolto prevalentemente sul materiale cartaceo. Peraltro, al pari degli altri Istituti dello Stato in possesso di archivi, l'Ufficio Storico non effettua dirette ricerche per conto di utenti esterni. Possiamo indirizzare il ricercatore che si rivolge a noi on line o per lettera sulla presenza o meno del materiale storico di proprio interesse; possiamo eventualmente trasmettere singoli documenti frutto di brevi ricerche. Ma lo sviluppo della ricerca deve essere costruito in loco dai diretti interessati, o loro delegati, sulla base degli scopi e degli obbiettivi della loro ricerca, sotto l'attento supporto del personale della Sala Studio.

Questi i nostri contatti: ufficiostorico@aeronautica.difesa.it; telefono: 0039 06 4986 5724. Non esitate a servirvene per ogni esigenza.

Io avrei terminato. Grazie a tutti per la cortese attenzione e mi auguro di avervi presto a Roma, graditissimi ospiti.

L'Ufficio Storico del Comando Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri

GIANCARLO BARBONETTI

Il settore “storico” dell’Arma dei Carabinieri ha una genesi piuttosto particolare dovuta soprattutto alla nascita dell’Istituzione come Corpo, poi prima Arma dell’Esercito, nonché alla sua peculiare organizzazione con una struttura molto complessa ed articolata.

Il fatto di essere assunta al rango di Forza Armata solo nel 2000 ha comportato, per i suoi primi 186 anni di storia, uno stretto rapporto con l’Esercito e, per quanto ci riguarda, con quell’Ufficio Storico, al quale, negli anni è stato versato materiale documentale, come allora doveroso ed in linea con i sentimenti di appartenenza del tempo; a ciò è conseguita, oltre ad una scarsa e sporadica conservazione di documentazione, anche una limitata percezione della necessità di disporre di un organo preposto alla conservazione della memoria ed allo sviluppo di rapporti culturali con l’esterno.

L’importanza della conservazione nell’Arma dei Carabinieri si concretizza con l’Istituzione, il 3 dicembre 1925, del “Museo Storico”, quale Ente morale, allo scopo di “raccolgere e custodire i cimeli ed i ricordi che concorrono ad illustrare le origini e la storia dell’Arma dei Carabinieri” (di fatto, tale raccolta si andava già formando spontaneamente all’indomani della Grande Guerra), con concetti guida di Museo – scuola (in primo luogo rivolto ai giovani militari dell’Arma), e di Museo – società, con fini di educazione e studio per un largo pubblico.

Inaugurato nel 1937, ristrutturato nel 1946 e nel 1985, attualmente il Museo Storico dell’Arma è sottoposto ad un sostanziale rinnovamento dell’allestimento e si riproporrà come itinerario storico delle vicende dell’Istituzione.

Fino alla nascita dell’Ufficio Storico, il Museo è stato il catalizzatore di quel patrimonio, più di cimeli che documentale, ritenuto valido sia a fini di commemorazione di eroismi individuali e collettivi sia a fini di studio, limitati però all’aspetto dell’Arma quale forza combattente in guerra e quale organizzazione attiva nel contrasto alla criminalità, e comunque sempre in un ambito di intensa componente celebrativa.

Nell’aprile 1965, sulla base della considerazione che “l’Arma non cura la raccolta ordinata e sistematica degli atti più significativi della propria attività sia ordinativa interna che d’istituto, talché materiale di grande pregio idoneo a documentare il travaglio di una costante evoluzione intimamente aderente al divenire storico del Paese, va disperso senza profitto alcuno”, venne istituito, nell’ambito dell’Ufficio Operazioni del Comando Generale, la Sezione Storica che fu inizialmente alimentata con copia delle relazioni, delle segnalazioni e degli atti in genere che “hanno carattere di utile documentazione”.

Il compito iniziale era quindi quello della raccolta dei dati più significativi della vita istituzionale per condurre una elaborazione ed un utilizzo successivo, ancora caratterizzato, oltre che da esigenze di Stato Maggiore, da quelle celebrative.

E’ palese che il compito iniziale dell’Ufficio Storico non prevedeva una proiezione “esterna” delle attività, limitandosi alla raccolta di informazioni istituzionali per l’elaborazione

successiva, in pratica un supporto per le attività di Stato Maggiore. Per le attività di ricerca ed elaborazione storica rivolta anche verso l'esterno, c'era l'Ufficio dello SME, che deteneva anche la documentazione della sua prima Arma.

Dopo solo due anni la Sezione fu elevata ad Ufficio: era stata rilevata, infatti, la “completa differenziazione tra l'attività spiccatamente dinamica dell'Ufficio Operazioni e quella metodica di ricerca, raccolta ed elaborazione di documenti”; il nuovo Ufficio avrebbe altresì avuto quali compiti anche quelli di controllo della compilazione delle Memorie storiche annuali dei Comandi di Corpo, l'elaborazione di note informative di carattere storico concernenti l'Arma, la produzione di raccolte documentografiche sulle attività speciali dell'Istituzione, l'analisi della situazione economico – sindacale e dell'Ordine Pubblico su tutto il territorio nazionale, la ricerca dei documenti.

Ma all'inizio degli anni '80 l'Ufficio fu sciolto, vuoi per una contrazione dell'interesse per la Storia, vuoi perché – fondamentalmente – l'Ufficio Storico a valenza esterna era quello dell'Esercito, venendo ridotto a Sezione Documentazione dell'allora Ufficio Cerimoniale, situazione in cui rimase per sette anni. Alla fine degli anni '80, questa eccessiva chiusura dell'Istituzione iniziò ad essere notata dagli storici e dagli studiosi in genere di materie sociologiche: l'Arma non è solo quella che ha combattuto a Pastrengo, sul Podgora, a Culqualber, è anche quell'entità che ha accompagnato la Nazione nel suo sviluppo socio – politico oltre che con le attività connesse al mantenimento dell'ordine e della sicurezza pubblica pure e soprattutto con l'attività di monitoraggio delle condizioni economiche e sociali a favore dei vertici dello Stato; è diventata, col tempo, la produttrice di materiale importantissimo per la ricostruzione degli avvenimenti, per la rappresentazione di alcuni aspetti della società e, soprattutto, dell'atteggiamento dello Stato verso fenomeni di natura più varia.

Ancora nel 1987, in un atto ufficiale del Comando Generale diretto al Ministero della Difesa si ribadiva che “l'Archivio Storico del Comando Generale dell'Arma è stato costituito per esclusive esigenze di documentazione dell'Istituzione. Pertanto non è aperto alla libera consultazione del pubblico”.

Negli anni successivi, anche a causa della spinta prodotta da storici di fama, l'Ufficio Storico ha intrapreso attività finalizzate ad adeguarsi agli altri Uffici Storici per quanto attiene i rapporti con il pubblico, ma sarà solo nel 1995 che verranno messi in atto provvedimenti di lungo periodo, quale il recupero, almeno in copia, della documentazione a suo tempo versata allo SME ed al Museo Storico, per “unificare il carteggio storico inerente l'Arma dei Carabinieri”. Si giunge al 2000, quando l'Istituzione assurge al rango di Forza Armata, e l'Ufficio Storico dei Carabinieri, recidendo il cordone ombelicale che lo legava a quello dello SME, avverte la necessità di strutturarsi come Ufficio Storico a tutti gli effetti. Da allora sono stati adottati una serie di provvedimenti finalizzati ad adeguare la struttura al rinnovato interesse per la ricerca relativa alla storia contemporanea ed all'analisi dell'evoluzione della società italiana.

Innanzitutto, con Decreto del Ministro della Difesa del 5 dicembre 2003, il Capo dell'Ufficio Storico dell'Arma dei Carabinieri è entrato a far parte della Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare, in quanto fino ad allora in tale organo era rappresentato dal Capo dell'Ufficio Storico dell'Esercito.

Nell'anno 2006, constatato che la struttura dell'Ufficio era particolarmente contenuta rispetto agli analoghi organi degli Stati Maggiori, veniva approvata una riarticolazione

dell'Ufficio su due Sezioni, la prima "Analisi e Studi", la seconda "Documentazione". Per i nostri fini, appare utile considerare le attività proprio della Sezione preposta all'Archivio, che si interessa di alimentazione, gestione ed ottimizzazione degli archivi; ricerca ed acquisizione dei documenti; conservazione di immagini, stampe ed ogni altro elemento significativo per la Storia dell'Istituzione; raccolta di documenti attuali attinenti al servizio; ricezione del pubblico; compilazione delle Memorie Storiche del Comando Generale; revisione delle Memorie e dei Diari storici dei Comandi di Corpo; intitolazione di caserme, Bandiere, Medagliere.

L'anno successivo, infine, è stato disposto il trasferimento dell'Ufficio dall'attuale sede di viale Romania alla Scuola Allievi di Roma (movimento da effettuarsi al termine di alcuni lavori infrastrutturali), su una superficie cinque volte superiore all'attuale.

In pratica, in questo determinato momento, l'Ufficio Storico sta attraversando un periodo di profondo rinnovamento dei settori organici, dottrinari, formativi e logistici, da attuare in tempi brevi mediante:

- i già accennati adeguamenti organici e logistici;
- revisione dottrinaria degli aspetti concernenti la conservazione del carteggio, con interventi anche sulla relativa Istruzione;
- perfezionamento della formazione del personale mediante specifici corsi di archivistica.

L'Ufficio Storico dell'Arma dei Carabinieri è aperto al pubblico con le modalità previste dal decreto del Ministro della Difesa dell'1 giugno 1990; la scarsa ricettività dei locali comporta uno scaglionamento degli ingressi e nel contempo, nei casi di ricerche più contenute o condotte da utenti geograficamente distanti, l'invio a domicilio del materiale di studio.

L'Archivio dell'Ufficio Storico è costituito da una parte documentale sistemata in 3.000 raccoglitori, una raccolta fotografica con oltre 15.000 fotografie, una biblioteca, un'emero-teca, una raccolta di cimeli. L'attuale limitata consistenza dell'Ufficio comporta però anche dei vantaggi peculiari per cui, per esempio, possono essere svolte ricerche storiche anche su singoli appartenenti all'Istituzione, pur se dei gradi gerarchici più bassi.

L'Archivio documentale, cuore dell'Ufficio, è costituito principalmente da tutto il carteggio ereditato dai disciolti Uffici Mobilitazione, Servizio, Studi oltre che dalla documentazione pervenuta da tutte le periferie. Gli atti, concettualmente ordinati in vari cataloghi, vengono invece ancora conservati col vecchio sistema che vede una successione di ordine cronologico. E' chiaro che il balzo in avanti in senso scientifico dell'Ufficio, pur prevedendo la conservazione del pregresso, comporterà una diversa metodologia di conservazione, già pianificata e da attuare non appena disponibili i nuovi spazi.

L'obiettivo principe sarà, quindi, quello di normalizzare l'alimentazione dell'archivio, per poter superare le carenze che riguardano l'attività d'istituto in tempo di pace, finora un po' trascurata.

I problemi, quando si parla dell'Arma dei Carabinieri, aumentano però proprio a causa della sua organizzazione che prevede una distribuzione capillare ed anche perché tutti i reparti dell'Arma, oltre ad avere un normale carteggio amministrativo, detengono anche un carteggio permanente, quello cioè che ricostruisce le vicende di un determinato organo (per es. la Provincia) e che è difficile riuscire a dichiarare "esaurito", dimostrando esso la sua utilità anche dopo decenni. Ma sarà proprio su quel carteggio che occorrerà mettere mano per poter diffondere la conoscenza dell'evoluzione della società italiana, soprattutto dopo il

secondo dopoguerra, e di quale sia stato il contributo dell'Arma dei Carabinieri.

Un piccolo cenno merita anche l'attività editoriale dell'Arma, iniziata all'esterno dell'Istituzione e per iniziativa privata con la rivista "il Carabiniere", edito per la prima volta nel 1872, 11 anni dopo l'Unità d'Italia, 4 anni prima del Corriere della Sera: nel 1976 nasce l'Ente Editoriale per l'Arma dei Carabinieri che curerà "l'elevazione del tono culturale dei Carabinieri, le finalità altamente sociali dell'Istituzione, la sua Storia, le sue attività, le sue benemeritenze. Per problemi di tempo mi limito a considerare solo la produzione attuale, che vede in prima linea la serie "Storia documentale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri" del Generale Arnaldo Ferrara. Non può sottacersi, inoltre, lo sviluppo di un certo tipo di "storia" legata al territorio, e questa è una caratteristica precipua dei Carabinieri che svolgono il loro servizio distribuiti capillarmente su tutta la Nazione, e cioè la produzione di libri che "raccontano" le vicende dell'Arma a livello locale, celebrando i protagonisti e rievocando gli eventi, con un occhio di riguardo alle interazioni tra l'Istituzione e la gente, ed in ciò avvicinandosi concettualmente all'argomento del Congresso, con la differenza che si tratta di problematiche attinenti generalmente il tempo di pace. Il fenomeno riguarda tutto il territorio nazionale (Fabriano, Sardegna, Caserta...) che ora trova una definitiva consacrazione a livello nazionale con il volume "I Carabinieri a Torino", presentato durante l'ultima Fiera del Libro e distribuito lo scorso 13 luglio con il quotidiano "La Stampa".

In linea con la precedente produzione, che vede camminare di pari passo la Storia con la pubblicistica, la prossima edizione sarà un libro sui "Calendari dell'Arma", opera di un Appuntato Scelto dei Carabinieri. Non può sfuggire ad una platea così qualificata come il rileggere la storia dei 76 Calendari dell'Arma (il primo fu pubblicato 80 anni fa) consente di rinvenire non solo agiografia, ma anche tanta storia, tanto costume, permette di cogliere i segni delle scelte e degli eventi non solo istituzionali, ma di un'intera Nazione.

Per quanto attiene l'argomento del XXXIV Congresso, e cioè la guerra vista e subita dalle popolazioni civili, non esiste presso l'Ufficio Storico un fondo dedicato, ma si può rinvenire documentazione pertinente ed interessante lavorando su altri settori, quali:

- Guerre mondiali, Resistenza, Crimini di guerra, che riguardano soprattutto l'esperienza delle popolazioni italiane nelle guerre totali;
- Africa Orientale e Settentrionale, Albania e penisola balcanica, Russia e Grecia (Seconda Guerra mondiale) che invece rappresentano la guerra e l'occupazione quali vissute da altri popoli.

Altri fondi stanno godendo di una alimentazione particolarmente ampia ed attenta grazie ad una nuova sensibilità verso realtà in passato forse troppo trascurate, quali "Foibe ed esodo giuliano – dalmata" e "Persecuzioni razziali".

Quindi, l'iniziativa di svolgere un Congresso internazionale che avesse ad oggetto la popolazione civile ed in che misura visse o, meglio ancora, essa soffrì la tragedia della guerra e pagasse gli esiti degli scontri, è sembrato un ottimo modo non solo di dare la giusta attenzione ad un aspetto spesso ritenuto, a torto, secondario, ma anche di arricchire un patrimonio culturale di estrema importanza, perché è giusto studiare i grandi eventi, ma è altrettanto essenziale analizzarne e capirne i gravi effetti su chi, spesso più del militare, è sconvolto dalla follia della guerra.

L'Ufficio Storico del Comando Generale della Guardia di Finanza

GERMANO CARAMIGNOLI

PREMESSA

È per me un privilegio ed un onore poter parlare, di fronte ad un uditorio così qualificato, dei fondi archivistici di cui l'Ufficio Storico del Comando Generale della Guardia di Finanza si avvale durante lo svolgimento della propria attività. Ho assunto l'incarico di Capo Ufficio solo pochi mesi fa, ma ho raccolto l'eredità di un organismo che riesce a disimpegnare i suoi molteplici compiti di tutela e promozione dell'immagine storica del Corpo in maniera lusinghiera, potendosi confrontare con interlocutori di livello. L'attività sin qui condotta mostra come sia possibile conservare e diffondere le tradizioni che da sempre contraddistinguono il Corpo della Guardia di Finanza, anche grazie all'evoluzione delle tecniche di cui ci si avvale quotidianamente ed al personale qualificato, appositamente preparato nello specifico campo d'impiego.

Tutto questo nonostante le difficoltà che possono derivare da una caratteristica che più di tutte contraddistingue in modo evidente la documentazione storica disponibile attinente la Guardia di Finanza: l'eterogeneità, che, come meglio vedremo in seguito, è essenzialmente riconducibile all'identità dell'Istituzione e alle modalità di acquisizione del materiale.

IL MODELLO ORGANIZZATIVO DELLA GUARDIA DI FINANZA

Innanzitutto, ritengo necessario precisare che l'Ufficio Storico della Guardia di Finanza, anche in considerazione della non remota istituzione, non dispone di un proprio Archivio Storico, così come avviene per gli organismi omologhi di cui abbiamo appena sentito parlare. Esso si avvale di quello gestito dal Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, Ente istituito nel 1937 avente sede in Roma nelle immediate vicinanze del Comando Generale. La particolarità del Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, rispetto agli altri Musei delle FF.AA., è proprio quella di possedere un rinomato centro di documentazione a beneficio del quale, con espressa previsione del *"Regolamento di attuazione dello Statuto del Museo"* stesso, è stato istituito un *"Comitato di Studi Storici"*, il quale si pone come interlocutore privilegiato, sia dell'Ufficio Storico del Comando Generale che di altri organismi analoghi, nel fornire consulenza scientifica. A tal proposito, mi sia consentita una breve digressione in quanto il pensiero corre immediatamente alla figura di un membro autorevole di tale Comitato, il Generale di C.A. Pierpaolo Meccariello, recentemente scomparso, il quale è stato per anni, sia come Presidente dello stesso Museo Storico, che come Presidente della Società Italiana di Storia Militare e, soprattutto, come membro della Consulta della Commissione Italiana di Storia Militare, un punto di riferimento per la storia militare italiana ed, in primo luogo, di quella riferita alla Guardia di Finanza, alla quale apparteneva. La sua figura di Ufficiale e di Storico verrà ricordata il prossimo 5 settembre, in occasione della discussione della relazione che lo stesso Generale aveva in animo di proporre in questo importante Convegno internazionale.

Riprendendo il tema in trattazione, evidenzio come il Museo Storico del Corpo si configuri come Ente Morale, dotato di propria autonomia patrimoniale, per il quale la Guardia di Finanza si fa onere di predisporre i locali di esposizione e quelli adibiti a deposito, oltre a destinare adeguati spazi ed attrezzature per consentire lo studio e la ricerca storica, nonché la consultazione del materiale documentale da parte di visitatori, studiosi e ricercatori. Presso il Museo opera anche un piccolo ma efficiente nucleo di militari, con funzioni di segreteria ma soprattutto con compiti di archivisti o di assistenti ai ricercatori e visitatori. Un dato che vale la pena di sottolineare è che, proprio lo scorso anno, si è tenuto presso lo stesso Museo un primo corso di archivistica, alla cui frequenza è stato destinato il personale in servizio presso il Museo e presso l'Ufficio Storico. Tale realizzazione è stata possibile grazie alla collaborazione sorta con la Scuola Archivisti e Bibliotecari dell'Università "La Sapienza" di Roma. I risultati sono stati più che soddisfacenti poiché la preparazione ottenuta dai frequentatori sta consentendo una gestione ottimale del consistente patrimonio documentale custodito dal Museo, il quale, come noto, può essere pienamente fruito dal pubblico solo quando è conservato nella maniera più appropriata.

CONSISTENZA E CONTENUTI DELL'ARCHIVIO STORICO

Prima di considerare, nello specifico, la consistenza ed i contenuti dell'Archivio Storico del Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, è bene fare un brevissimo *excursus* sulla storia del Corpo, le cui vicende si intrecciano con tematiche di storia militare, economica, finanziaria e della pubblica amministrazione italiana. Dalle sue remote origini – che risalgono al 1774 – il Corpo ha assunto diverse denominazioni e variato i propri assetti, aumentando nel contempo le proprie competenze, passando dai tradizionali compiti di vigilanza doganale e daziaria a quelli moderni di polizia tributaria e più in generale di polizia economica e finanziaria, senza dimenticare il proprio passato e la connotazione di Corpo militare acquisita nel 1907. Tutto ciò sta ad esemplificare come la documentazione custodita nell'Archivio sia eterogenea, tanto riguardo ai rapporti intercorsi tra l'Istituzione e la politica interna ed internazionale, tanto riguardo alla vita quotidiana condotta nelle caserme, ma soprattutto in considerazione delle modalità di acquisizione del materiale archivistico.

Al Corpo, dopo il 1861, costituente la risultante del processo di aggregazione dei vari Corpi di Finanza degli Stati italiani preunitari, fu conferito un ordinamento civile, pur restando saldamente integrato sia nell'apparato di sicurezza interna che in quello preposto alla difesa militare dello Stato. Dipendente dall'Amministrazione Finanziaria, nel 1906 alla Guardia di Finanza fu riconosciuta un'autonoma collocazione, sempre nell'ambito di quest'ultima, mediante l'istituzione di un Comando Generale, con funzioni di organo direttivo centrale paritetiche a quelle di uno Stato Maggiore di Forza Armata.

Negli anni immediatamente successivi fu proprio lo staff del nuovo Stato Maggiore che si adoperò in una vasta ricerca storica, richiedendo anche il concorso dei reparti territoriali periferici, i quali si impegnarono direttamente nel reperire i documenti di interesse da concentrare presso il Comando Generale. Il limite maggiore che incontrò una simile operazione fu lo scopo per cui la stessa venne condotta, ossia l'intento di recuperare la tradizione storica del Corpo, valorizzando il contributo dei finanzieri dei Corpi preunitari ai moti risorgimentali ed ai fatti d'arme nei quali gli stessi avevano avuto modo di distinguersi, ponendo così in secon-

do piano, o talvolta ignorando del tutto, quanto, invece, potesse concernere l'assolvimento dei compiti istituzionali. Ciononostante, tale materiale documentario è venuto a costituire le fondamenta di quello che oggi definiamo l'Archivio Storico della Guardia di Finanza.

Anche i successivi versamenti di documenti hanno avuto il prevalente carattere di descrivere le operazioni militari. Ecco perché l'archivio è completo riguardo alla guerra italo-turca, alla 1^a Guerra Mondiale, all'impiego nelle aree occupate dopo l'armistizio ed alla guerra d'Etiopia del 1936. È, pertanto, disponibile una documentazione variegata ed esaustiva riguardante la mobilitazione dei reparti, la formazione delle unità, le questioni d'impiego di carattere generale, oltre ai diari storici di ciascun battaglione mobilitato.

Situazione grossomodo analoga si è verificata per il 2^a conflitto mondiale, grazie all'acquisizione del carteggio prodotto dall'ufficio del Generale di Brigata del R. Esercito addetto al Comando Generale, denominato fondo U.G.A., al quale facevano capo le trattazioni riguardanti i reparti mobilitati. Analogamente avvenne per il carteggio del Contrammiraglio capo del Servizio del Naviglio, visto che la competenza del Comando Generale era praticamente limitata alla costituzione ed al ripianamento organico dei reparti mobilitati, destinati poi a dipendere, per l'impiego operativo, dai Comandi del R. Esercito o della R. Marina. Purtroppo, le trattazioni si interrompono alla data dell'armistizio, a seguito del quale andò perduto il carteggio dei reparti dislocati in territorio di occupazione. Praticamente assenti sono anche i documenti riguardanti il "Regno del Sud" (nel periodo tra il 10 settembre 1943 ed il 4 giugno 1944, cioè dalla fuga del Re a Brindisi alla presa di Roma), mentre più consistenti sono le testimonianze documentali dell'impiego della Guardia di Finanza durante la Repubblica di Salò, nonostante la perdita dell'archivio del Comando Generale del Corpo, all'epoca stabilito a Brescia. Della partecipazione alla guerra di liberazione partigiana sono rimasti numerosi documenti, compresi gli elenchi dei finanzieri a cui venne attribuita la qualifica di partigiano combattente, mentre di limitata entità possono essere considerate le notizie documentali inerenti l'attività di polizia militare, il disimpegno del servizio d'istituto svolto nei territori annessi od occupati e l'attività di concorso al controllo dell'economia di guerra. In tempo di pace, purtroppo, il servizio d'istituto con il disbrigo dei compiti di polizia non riceverà maggiore considerazione ai fini archivistici. Va constatato, infatti, che oltre alle relazioni statistiche annuali i documenti che sono stati conservati si riferiscono quasi esclusivamente a questioni riguardanti l'ordinamento del Corpo o l'addestramento, oppure contemplano eventi di carattere eccezionale, come le missioni all'estero.

Esistono però delle fonti cosiddette "*minori*", alle quali si può attingere per completare il quadro fornito dalla documentazione lacunosa. Si tratta dei periodici e delle riviste istituzionali, che in maniera costante sono stati pubblicati a tiratura nazionale a partire dal 1886. La più importante di queste è "*Il Monitore delle R. Guardie di finanza*", oggi ancora esistente col titolo di "*Il Finanziere*", il quale ha subito numerose modifiche sia nell'editore che nei contenuti, riportando per molti anni una immagine fedele della vita del Corpo e dei suoi componenti.

Riguardo a questi ultimi, in particolare considerazione viene tenuta – come giusto che sia – la tutela della memoria dei caduti in guerra ed in servizio e dei decorati, per i quali è stato, nel tempo, strutturato un intero archivio matricolare e fotografico, così da poterne mantenere vivo il ricordo tramite l'intitolazione, ai più meritevoli, di edifici adibiti a caserme e di mezzi aeronavali.

È interessante rilevare come l'Archivio custodisca, oltre alla documentazione autentica proveniente dall'Istituzione, anche numerosi fondi personali, derivanti da donazioni di personale cessato dal servizio o costituiti a seguito di studi specifici, condotti per la redazione di saggi o monografie aventi per argomento temi specifici del Corpo. Le ricerche compiute dai promotori dei singoli fondi hanno consentito, nel tempo, di accrescere sempre maggiormente la specificità dei contenuti proposti dall'Archivio storico, che è diventato così anche un luogo di raccolta delle informazioni custodite presso altri archivi nazionali ed esteri riguardanti specificamente il Corpo della Guardia di Finanza, nella sua interezza ma anche e soprattutto con particolare attenzione alle sue peculiarità.

Appare utile ricordare, altresì, che l'Archivio del Museo possiede anche un fondo comprendente gli atti matricolari del personale, disponibili a partire dal 1862, per gli ufficiali e dal 1874 per gli altri gradi, ed in gran parte completi anche riguardo la cosiddetta "*documentazione caratteristica e disciplinare*". L'Ufficio Storico, considerata l'importanza di tale carteggio, ha intrapreso una catalogazione informatica dei dati contenuti in tale fondo, costituito da decine di migliaia di documenti, che si presentano molto delicati e, spesso, di difficile comprensione. Questo materiale, fatta eccezione per i fogli matricolari più recenti sottoposti ai vincoli di consultazione posti dalla normativa nazionale in tema di privacy, potrebbe costituire un *corpus* significativo per condurre indagini di carattere sociologico anche oltre l'ambito specifico della storia del Corpo della Guardia di Finanza.

Quanto alla possibilità di consultazione del materiale custodito, si ritiene di poter affermare che il riordinamento attuato negli scorsi anni e le recenti acquisizioni strumentali consentono di fare fronte in misura accettabile alle richieste degli studiosi, nel quadro di una politica di ampia disponibilità sempre mostrata al pubblico e in risposta alle esigenze di ricerca dell'Ufficio Storico. Nel piano generale di una digitalizzazione delle risorse storiche, va infatti posto un accento alla fototeca, integralmente informatizzata, che comprende attualmente oltre quindicimila fotogrammi ma che è in continuo ampliamento, grazie all'impegno del personale ad essa preposto.

Ad ulteriore testimonianza, poi, della politica intrapresa dalle istituzioni militari, in questi ultimi anni, per favorire la fruizione e la valorizzazione del patrimonio archivistico di interesse storico conservato presso i loro enti culturali, deve essere segnalata la pubblicazione del «Bollettino d'Archivio» del Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza, il cui primo numero ha visto le stampe nel mese di ottobre 2005 e la cui diffusione avviene con periodicità annuale. La finalità è quella di intraprendere una iniziativa editoriale destinata a suscitare l'interesse di un pubblico più vasto di quello degli appartenenti al Corpo, tramite la pubblicazione dei documenti custoditi nell'Archivio storico del Museo, che testimoniano la storia ed il servizio svolto dalla Guardia di Finanza sia come organo di polizia dell'Amministrazione finanziaria sia come forza militare.

CONCLUSIONI

Volgendo al termine la presente relazione, è bene ricordare ancora una volta che, nonostante l'Archivio del Museo Storico della Guardia di Finanza abbia un carattere prevalentemente settoriale, le particolari connotazioni della nostra Istituzione hanno consentito di raccogliere materiale documentario le cui tematiche travalicano lo specifico campo della

storia militare, mostrando aspetti di interesse per numerosi altri settori disciplinari, dagli studi politici a quelli sociali ed economici. Ciò, però, ci porta oggi a valutare l'opportunità di prevedere nuove disposizioni, tramite le quali regolamentare la qualità dei versamenti di documenti all'archivio. È ormai una necessità inderogabile quella di valorizzare tutti gli ambiti di attività del Corpo, così da avere, per il tratto a venire, un archivio storico nel quale siano rappresentati anche quei settori che, seppure sottovalutati in passato, ora appaiono i motivi principali della presenza dell'Istituzione, anche secondo l'intento del legislatore che, nel 2001, con l'adeguamento normativo dei compiti, ha inteso attribuire alla Guardia di Finanza il ruolo di unica Forza di Polizia a competenza generale in campo economico finanziario.

Ho concluso.

Grazie dell'attenzione.



Relazioni introduttive



Conflitti militari e popolazioni civili

PIERO DEL NEGRO*

In una pagina dei *Viaggi di Gulliver* Jonathan Swift affianca e nello stesso tempo di fatto contrappone due immagini della guerra, che appaiono pertinenti non soltanto in relazione agli anni venti del XVIII secolo, vale a dire all'epoca, in cui si colloca l'opera, ma anche, sia pure pagando, come cercherò di fare in questi appunti in margine al tema del XXXIV Congresso della Commissione internazionale di storia militare, il necessario pedaggio delle precisazioni e scansioni cronologiche, in una prospettiva di lungo, lunghissimo periodo. Da una parte un arido elenco di armi e di fasi belliche, l'asettica nomenclatura della tecnica militare, la guerra, se si vuole, 'oggettiva', 'razionale', la guerra promossa e diretta dai principi, dai generali e dalle burocrazie in divisa sul filo degli schemi consolidati dell'arte bellica e dei numeri messi in campo (tanti soldati, tanti cavalli, tante navi, tanti pezzi d'artiglieria ...), la guerra celebrata nelle storie del potere a partire, se si vuole, dalle grandi iscrizioni rupestri lasciate dagli achemenidi re dei re della Persia, la guerra illustrata in età moderna e oltre dai pittori di battaglie al seguito dei sovrani e dei comandanti degli eserciti e delle flotte: «canoni, colubrine, moschetti, carabine, pistole, palle, polvere, sciabole, baionette, battaglie, assedi, ritirate, attacchi, mine, contromine, bombardamenti, battaglie navali».

Dall'altra, in una sequenza sempre più incalzante, i 'disastri della guerra' evocati in modo indelebile in alcune incisioni dell'età della Riforma protestante come i *Quattro cavalieri dell'Apocalisse* di Albrecht Dürer oppure, rispettivamente un secolo e tre secoli più tardi, dagli agghiaccianti cicli di Jacques Callot e di Francisco Goya oppure, ancora, in tempi a noi ancora più vicini, da Pablo Picasso in *Guernica*, la guerra patita sulla propria pelle più che vissuta dal popolo in e, soprattutto, senza uniforme, la guerra che è stata descritta in maniera 'soggettiva' in alcuni tra i più celebri romanzi dell'Ottocento da personaggi che presero parte in ruoli subalterni o marginali e comunque senza capirne granché alle grandi battaglie come quella di Waterloo raccontata da Stendhal nella *Certosa di Parma* dal punto di vista di Fabrizio del Dongo oppure come quella di Austerlitz rievocata da Tolstoj in *Guerra e pace* tramite la testimonianza di Pierre Bezuchov oppure, ancora, alle guerre che fanno da sfondo alle vicende più o meno picaresche dei marginali che si possono riconoscere nelle maschere di Ruzante e di Simplicissimus, la guerra, in poche parole, vista 'dal basso' o dall'esterno: «gemiti di morenti, membra saltate in aria; fumo, frastuono, confusione, combattenti maciullati dagli zoccoli dei cavalli, fughe, inseguimenti, vittorie; campi cosparsi di cadaveri lasciati alla voracità dei cani, dei lupi, degli uccelli di rapina; saccheggi, spoliazioni, stupri, incendi, distruzioni»¹.

Queste due opposte visioni della guerra possono senza dubbio convivere in un autore. È questo, va da sé, il caso dello stesso Swift, il quale tuttavia, dal momento che liquidava

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1 Jonathan Swift, *Viaggi di Gulliver in vari paesi lontani del mondo*, Milano, Rizzoli, 1975 [I ed. 1726], p. 439.

entrambe le prospettive quali aberrazioni dei vilissimi Yahu, vale a dire delle bestie dalle fattezze umane che abitavano il paese degli Huyhnhnm, non era interessato ad approfondire il rapporto tra i conflitti militari e le popolazioni civili e preferiva piuttosto dirigere i suoi strali contro il mestiere delle armi, un mestiere che definiva sarcasticamente «il più onorevole di tutti, perché il soldato è uno *Yahu* prezzolato per uccidere a sangue freddo quanti più può dei propri simili senza avere ricevuto da loro alcuna offesa»². Appare più istruttiva, sotto il profilo che qui ci interessa, l'opera di Callot, l'incisore lorenese che visse a cavallo tra il Cinque e il Seicento ed ebbe tempo e modo di documentare la fase centrale della guerra dei Trent'Anni, soprattutto perché nel suo caso si possono cogliere le tappe di un processo, che tendeva a modificare la cifra della rappresentazione della guerra innestando su un racconto per linee interne, vale a dire su un racconto che riguardava esclusivamente i soldati, un catalogo di ricadute 'collaterali' della guerra stessa del tipo di quello compendiato in un'acquaforte di fine Seicento, nella quale l'italiano Giuseppe Maria Mitelli s'incaricherà di illustrare l'incendio di una città, la strage dei suoi abitanti e lo stupro di una ragazza e che ad ogni buon conto avrà cura di collocare, rivestendo vittime e carnefici di toghe, tuniche e corazze di tipo romano, in una meno impegnativa antichità e che inoltre intitolerà, insistendo sul cordone ombelicale, che teneva insieme le due prospettive qui accennate, *Il soldato osserva quel che fà*³.

Callot affrontò per la prima volta in maniera significativa il tema della guerra in una gigantesca incisione del 1628 - è il frutto della riunione di sei tavole - *L'assedio di Breda*, in cui celebrava la conquista della città da parte del generalissimo spagnolo Ambrogio Spinola, un curioso caso di un banchiere genovese trasformatosi in imprenditore militare e comandante in capo allo scopo di tutelare direttamente i propri interessi finanziari. Quel che è interessante è che Callot prendeva le mosse da un disegno della città-fortezza di Breda tracciato da un ingegnere militare, partiva, cioè, da una rappresentazione della guerra che ne accentuava il versante tecnologico e 'razionale', per approdare ad un racconto storico, una veduta in prospettiva che collocava in primo piano, come era doveroso, l'eroe Spinola. L'incisione era utilizzata da Callot anche per illustrare una serie di episodi della vita militare, un tema che negli anni successivi svilupperà su due binari. Da un lato gli *Exercises militaires*, tredici stampe pubblicate, postume, nel 1635, che costituivano, in una certa misura, una ripresa su una scala ridotta e semplificata, ma, per un altro verso, anche un completamento del celebre manuale pubblicato ad Amsterdam nel 1607 sotto il nome dell'incisore Jacob de Gheyn e con un titolo che nella versione italiana suona *Esercizio delle armi per archibugi, moschetti e picche*, in quanto aggiungevano a queste ultime armi il cannone e l'alabarda e raffiguravano anche l'addestramento senza armi e con il tamburo.

Dall'altro la serie delle cosiddette piccole (un aggettivo, quest'ultimo, che si riferisce al formato) *Miseres de la guerre*, sei acquaforti pubblicate postume nel 1636 da Israel Henriët

2 *Ivi*, p. 437.

3 *Le collezioni d'arte della Cassa di risparmio in Bologna. Le incisioni*, I, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, a cura di Franca Varignana, Bologna, Cassa di risparmio in Bologna, 1978, tavola 150. Un'altra interessante incisione di Mitelli nel mondo bellico è offerta dalla tavola 143, che è datata 1692, è intitolata *Frutti di guerra* ed è illustrata dalla vignetta: «Europa è in fuoco e fiamma, vengano malanni a chi la guerra brama». Ma in questo caso il 'pacifista' Mitelli si muove ancora, nonostante il titolo e la morale 'ecumenici', all'interno del mondo militare: i «malanni» riguardano cinque veterani di cinque diversi eserciti, che sono usciti dalla guerra più o meno malconci (il soldato ha perso una gamba, l'alfiere ha la testa rotta ecc.).

con questo titolo nella scia del successo ottenuto da *Les miseres et les malheurs de la guerre*, le diciotto grandi tavole apparse nel 1633. Le ‘piccole’ *Miserie della guerra* furono non a caso indicate nell’inventario redatto all’indomani della morte di Callot sotto il titolo senza dubbio più pertinente de *La vie des soldats* e vanno considerate, nonostante la loro tardiva pubblicazione, una tappa intermedia del percorso che avrebbe condotto l’incisore lorenese a spostare l’accento da, appunto, la vita dei soldati ad un catalogo degli orrori della guerra. Se si adotta questa prospettiva, non stupisce il fatto che parecchi disegni preparatori di Callot relativi alla guerra vera e propria (battaglie di cavalleria in una pianura e in una valle profonda, di cavalleria e di fanteria, su un ponte; l’attacco ad un forte) non si siano tradotti in incisioni e neppure che l’unica delle piccole *Miserie della guerra* rifiutata dalla serie maggiore sia stata *L’accampamento*, un tema della vita del soldato (tra le tende i soldati mangiano e bevono allegramente), che doveva apparire al lorenese eccentrico rispetto alla curvatura da *malheurs*, che intendeva di dare al tema dei conflitti militari e del loro impatto sulla società.

Nelle ‘grandi’ *Miserie della guerra* la guerra propriamente detta è di scena unicamente nelle prime due tavole, *L’arruolamento delle truppe* e *La battaglia*. Le altre incisioni possono essere raggruppate in tre miniserie: le violenze dei militari e dei malfattori (saccheggi di fattorie, devastazioni di monasteri, incendi di villaggi e città, da una parte; dall’altra l’assalto ad una diligenza e la conseguente caccia ai banditi), l’elenco delle punizioni inflitte *manu militari* a soldati, banditi, eretici ecc. (dall’impiccagione alla fucilazione, dal rogo alla ruota) e gli angoscianti scenari del dopoguerra (la tavola finale è ottimisticamente dedicata a *La distribuzione delle ricompense*, ma quelle precedenti insistono invece sulla triste condizione degli ex-soldati, che nella migliore delle ipotesi, se mutilati, storpi ecc., trovano rifugio in un ospedale, ma che più spesso sono vittime delle vendette dei contadini oppure vagano affamati per le strade chiedendo invano l’elemosina)⁴.

Riesce comunque difficile riconoscere in Callot - come invece hanno fatto di regola i suoi esegeti⁵ - il vindice delle sofferenze inflitte dai militari alle popolazioni civili. La sua opera appare infatti in una fase, in cui il quadro semantico e concettuale imperniato su termini quale ‘militare’, ‘civile’ e ‘popolazione’ e sulle loro correlazioni e antinomie risulta ancora in corso di assestamento e non privo di stridenti contraddizioni. Ad esempio, stando ai dizionari il sostantivo ‘civile’ viene ad assumere anche il significato di ‘non militare’ in Francia e in Italia soltanto nei primi decenni del diciottesimo secolo⁶, mentre ancora nel 1830 Thomas

4 Assai utili quale documento e inquadramento dell’opera di Callot *Jacques Callot (1592-1635)*, Actes du colloque organisé par le Service culturel du musée du Louvre et de la ville de Nancy à Paris et à Nancy les 25, 26 et 27 juin 1992 sous la direction scientifique de Daniel Ternois, Paris, Klincksieck, 1993; *Jacques Callot 1592-1635*, a cura di Paulette Choné, Daniel Ternois, Jean-Marc Depluvrez, Brigitte Heckel, Nancy, Société d’archéologie lorraine et du Musée historique lorrain, 1992; Istituto italiano per gli studi filosofici - Istituto nazionale per la grafica, *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot nelle collezioni italiane*, Milano, Mazzotta, 1992. Cfr. anche *Capricci Gobbi Amore Guerra e Bellezza, incisioni di Jacques Callot dalle raccolte del Museo d’Arte di Padova*, a cura di Franca Pellegrini, Padova, Il Poligrafo, 2002.

5 Cfr., ad esempio, Paulette Choné, *Les misères de la guerre ou “la vie du soldat”: la force et le droit*, in *Jacques Callot 1592-1635*, pp. 396-400; André Stoll, “Non si può guardare”. *Dallo spettacolo della giustizia assolutista al crollo dei miti della civiltà. La guerra nell’opera grafica di Callot e di Goya*, in *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot*, pp. 85-108; Yves-Marie Bercé, *Callot en son temps*, in *Jacques Callot (1592-1635)*, pp. 47-62.

6 Cfr. Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, X, Torino, Utet, 1978, p. 401 e Manlio

De Quincey considerava «a fashionable and most childish use of word now current» quello di utilizzare 'civilian' «to indicate simply a non-military person»⁷. È vero che, per quel che riguarda l'aggettivo, l'impiego di 'civile' in opposizione a 'militare' risale a qualche secolo addietro: se Machiavelli distingueva la vita militare da quella civile, tuttavia già nella generazione precedente, in quell'età dei condottieri, in cui il 'soldato', vale a dire il mercenario, il militare di professione, aveva preso il posto del cavaliere quale principale referente della guerra, l'«esercizio militare» era considerato da Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti alternativo al «vivere civile»⁸.

Riesce comunque difficile includere nella 'popolazione civile' i contadini, che nelle incisioni di Callot sono presentati quali vittime, ma anche, più raramente, quali carnefici dei soldati e che, come sembra indicare l'acquaforte dedicata a *L'impiccaggione*, alimentano anche i ranghi del banditismo rurale e quindi partecipano pienamente al circuito di una violenza endemica favorita, quando non direttamente innescata, dalla guerra al di fuori dei campi di battaglia. 'Civile' deriva infatti, come è noto, da *civis* e riflette sotto ogni aspetto (politica, costumi, società, economia) un contesto urbano, che si definisce in larghissima misura proprio in opposizione al contado, alla campagna. Agli occhi dei più biechi sostenitori della supremazia della città sulla campagna i contadini apparivano nel Medioevo e oltre dei buoi senza corna. Nella sfera dei costumi, mentre il carattere rurale acquistava - e continua tutt'oggi a conservare - un significato più o meno pesantemente negativo ('villano', 'zotico', 'cafone', 'rustico' ...)⁹, la città riusciva al contrario ad imporsi non solo come un modello di buone maniere, ma anche come il laboratorio di una parola-chiave della storia contemporanea, la 'civiltà'. Inoltre in antico regime il 'civile' o, meglio, il 'borghese' godeva spesso di privilegi, che gli concedevano spesso di subire il peso della guerra in una misura che possiamo considerare, se ci si colloca nella prospettiva del contadino, relativamente limitata. Non è un caso che si conservi memoria non tanto della più consueta devastazione delle campagne quanto di alcuni saccheggi 'esemplari' di città (tra le altre Roma, Anversa, Mantova e Magdeburgo), eventi che suscitavano echi particolari proprio a causa della loro straordinaria 'violazione' degli spazi 'civili'.

D'altra parte 'popolazione' nell'accezione qui considerata penetrò nella maggior parte delle lingue europee unicamente tra il Sei e il Settecento. Lungo gran parte dell'antico regime la 'popolazione' in quanto insieme degli abitanti di un paese rimase indistinta sullo sfondo del panorama politico-sociale e tutt'al più fu fatta coincidere con l'etnia. In primo piano figuravano invece gli ordini, gli 'stati'. Nei loro messaggi ai sudditi i sovrani si rivolgevano non tanto alla moltitudine dei dominati quanto ai nobili o, meglio, ai capi delle famiglie nobili ed era tramite questi ultimi che intendevano raggiungere, scendendo di gradino in gradino la scala giuridica e sociale, le componenti inferiori. Non stupisce quindi che fossero la casa, la

Cortelazzo - Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, III, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1983, p. 756. *Le grand Robert de la langue française*, II, Paris, Le Robert, 1987, p. 633 data al 1718 l'impiego di *civil* nell'accezione di «qui n'est pas militaire», ma *militaire* quale sostantivo risale al 1658 (*ivi*, VI, p. 456).

7 Cit. alla voce *civilian* nel significato di «a non-military man or official» in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 256.

8 Cfr. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, III, 1964, p. 211.

9 Cfr. M. Cortelazzo - P. Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico*, I, 1979, p. 244.

famiglia le unità di riferimento delle rilevazioni, che nella cosiddetta età prestatistica furono condotte a fini fiscali o militari. Soltanto nel corso del Settecento economisti, cameralisti, statistici e demografi, dopo aver accantonato in maniera più o meno radicale gli schemi cari alla società di ordini, completarono il lungo processo di 'scoperta' della 'popolazione'. Infine la Rivoluzione francese spinse di fatto questa linea di tendenza nella direzione della politica, aggiungendo un'ulteriore dimensione al vocabolo, quella suggerita dalla centralità di altre parole-chiave, che hanno profondamente connotato il quadro ideologico degli ultimi due-tre secoli, 'popolo' e 'nazione'.

A coronamento di tale fase costituente della contemporaneità non soltanto militare è possibile collocare il cittadino-soldato della repubblica dei moderni invocato dalla componente più radicale dell'Illuminismo e incarnatosi nell'esercito di George Washington e più tardi - ed entro certi limiti - in quello di Lazare Carnot. Ma la rivoluzione atlantica, se da un lato abbatté le barriere che compartimentavano la società tradizionale (salvo immediatamente ripristinarle in base ad un modulo censitario) e dall'altro aprì la strada al superamento dell'antinomia tra il 'civile' e il 'militare', nello stesso tempo cancellò, nel momento e nella misura in cui realizzava le moderne forme costituzionali, quella fusione di vertice tra il potere militare e il potere civile, che aveva caratterizzato, a prescindere dalle effettive capacità belliche dei sovrani, l'antico regime. Non è un caso che il termine 'militarismo' fosse coniato nella Francia di fine Settecento da chi voleva evitare quel peculiare *dérapage* della rivoluzione, di cui avrebbe effettivamente beneficiato il generale Bonaparte¹⁰.

Di qui, soprattutto, l'inventario delle contraddizioni che hanno contraddistinto e continuano in una certa misura a contraddistinguere il rapporto tra i conflitti militari e le popolazioni civili. L'ideologia del cittadino-soldato, pur essendo stata di fatto messa tra parentesi in particolar modo nel primo Ottocento dalla trasformazione della coscrizione obbligatoria in un cespite di militari di carriera più economico di quello garantito dal tradizionale mercenariato e nel secondo Novecento dall'abbandono o comunque dalla tendenza ad un ridimensionamento della leva a favore delle forze armate di professione, non è mai stata sconfessata, né potrebbe esserlo, dagli Stati-nazione qualunque sia la fede ideologica, che professano. Di conseguenza il sintagma 'popolazione civile' presenta un significato per un certo verso residuale. Come recita il *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* di Salvatore Battaglia, per 'popolazione civile' si intende «in stato di guerra, il complesso dei cittadini che non fa parte delle forze armate»¹¹, in altre parole i non combattenti. In effetti si tratta di 'cittadini' in parte soltanto potenziali (i minori che non hanno ancora raggiunto l'età del voto, fino a non molti decenni fa e nella gran maggioranza dei paesi le donne), mentre, in particolar modo prima della concessione del suffragio universale maschile, sono stati inclusi nelle forze armate molti giovani e uomini, che non godevano di alcun diritto politico.

Nello stesso tempo la virtuale coincidenza tra il civile e il militare alla base del postulato del cittadino-soldato - fatta ovviamente salva, quanto meno in linea di principio, l'intenzione di risparmiare la partecipazione armata alla guerra ai bambini, agli anziani e, nella maggior parte dei casi, alle donne - ha consentito di aprire sul piano ideologico un fronte, quello della

10 Secondo *Le grand Robert*, VI, p. 456 *militarisme* fu coniato nel 1815, ma in M. Cortelazzo - P. Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico*, III, p. 756 la nascita del vocabolo è anticipata al 1790.

11 Cfr. S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario*, XIII, 1986, p. 879 (manca un rinvio ad autori).

guerra totale, che da un lato gli sviluppi tecnologici e dall'altro i fanatismi ideologici, etnici e religiosi si sono incaricati di ampliare sul piano effettuale in misura terrificante, ancorché in diverso modo contrastati dalle convenzioni internazionali a tutela delle popolazioni civili e dai codici di guerra umanitari. La grande fortuna contemporanea de *Los desastres de la guerra* di Goya riposa anche sulla sua capacità di raffigurare nello specchio della *Guerra de la Independencia* spagnola (una guerra ad un tempo nazionale, ideologica e quindi anche civile condotta in parte con i metodi della guerriglia e comunque assai diversa, al di là delle apparenti somiglianze, dalla guerra dei Trent'Anni, che aveva ispirato Callot), l'abisso, che si spalanca davanti ad un conflitto in armi di 'tutti' contro 'tutti', un conflitto il cui campo di battaglia non rispetta alcun confine, un conflitto che non si arresta di fronte a qualsivoglia santuario e luogo d'asilo e i cui obbiettivi terroristici non risparmiano intenzionalmente alcuna vittima potenziale.

CONFLITS MILITAIRES ET POPULATIONS CIVILES

PIERO DEL NEGRO*

Dans une page des *Voyages de Gulliver* Jonathan Swift associe et, en même temps, oppose deux images de la guerre qui sont inhérentes aux années vingt du XVIII^e siècle, c'est-à-dire l'époque dans laquelle l'oeuvre est située, aussi bien que dans une perspective de longue, voire de très longue haleine, tout en payant le nécessaire péage en termes de précisions et d'éléments chronologiques, tout comme je essayerai à faire dans cet exposé en marge au thème du XXXIV Congrès de la Commission Internationale d'Histoire Militaire. D'un côté, une liste aride d'armements et des phases de la guerre, une nomenclature aseptique de la technique militaire, si vous voulez la guerre 'objective', 'rationnelle', la guerre voulue et menée par les princes, les généraux et les bureaucrates en uniforme en se basant sur les schémas figés de l'art de la guerre et des volumes des forces déployées (tant de soldats, tant de chevaux, tant de navires, tant de pièces d'artillerie...), la guerre célébrée dans l'histoire du pouvoir comme dans les inscriptions rupestres des rois achéménides de Perse, la guerre illustrée dans l'âge moderne et au delà par les peintres de batailles au service des souverains et des commandants des armées et des flottes: « *canons, couleuvrines, mousquets, carabines, pistolets, boulets, poudre, sabre et baïonnettes, sièges de places, tranchées, attaques, sorties, mines, contre-mines, assauts, batailles navales* » .

De l'autre, en succession rapide, les ravages de la guerre, évoqués de manière inoubliable dans des gravures remontant à la période de la Réforme Protestante, comme le *Quatre Cavaliers de l'Apocalypse* de Albrecht Dürer, ou bien, respectivement un siècle et trois siècles plus tard, dans les effrayants oeuvres de Jacques Callot et de Francisco Goya, ou bien encore, dans une époque plus proche de nous, la guerre peinte par Pablo Picasso en *Guernica* ; la guerre vécue en première personne plus que par le peuple en uniforme et surtout sans uniforme, la guerre décrite de façon « subjective » dans les romans les plus célèbres du XIX^e siècle par des personnages participant aux grandes batailles de manière subalterne ou marginale et, en tout cas, sans y comprendre grand-chose, comme la bataille de Waterloo, racontée par Stendhal dans la *Chartreuse de Parme* du point de vue de Fabrice del Dongo, ou la bataille d'Austerlitz, évoquée par Tolstoï dans *Guerre et Paix* à travers le témoignage de Pierre Bezuchov ou, encore, les guerres constituant le cadre des événements plus ou moins picaresques des marginales que l'on peut identifier dans les masques de Ruzante et de Simplicissimus, la guerre, en d'autres mots, vues d'en bas ou de l'extérieur: « *des gémissements des blessés, des membres sautant en l'air; la fumée, les éclairs, le bruit, les combattants broyés par les chevaux, les fuites, les poursuites, les victoires ; les cadavres abandonnés aux chiens, aux loups, aux oiseaux de proie ; les pillages, les spoliations, les viols, les incendies, les destructions* »¹.

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1 JONATHAN SWIFT, *Viaggi di Gulliver in vari paesi lontani del mondo (Voyages de Gulliver Chez Plusieurs Nations Réculées du Monde)*, Milan, Rizzoli, 1975 [1^{re} éd. 1726], p. 439.

Il s'agit de deux visions opposées de la guerre qui peuvent sans doute «cohabiter » chez un auteur. Comme c'est le cas de Jonathan Swift qui, cependant, en considérant les deux perspectives de la guerre comme des aberrations des très lâches Yahou, c'est-à-dire les bêtes aux traits humains habitant le pays des Houyhnhnms, ne s'intéressait guère à la relation existante entre les conflits militaires et les populations civiles, tout en préférant diriger ses traits contre le métier d'un homme de guerre, une profession que, sarcastiquement, il définissait « *le plus beau de tous les métiers car, qu'est-ce qu'un homme de guerre? C'est un Yahou payé pour tuer de sang-froid ses semblables qui ne lui ont fait aucun mal* »². De notre point de vue, l'oeuvre du graveur lorrain Callot, qui a vécu entre le XVI et le XVII siècle et qui eut le temps et la manière de documenter la phase centrale de la guerre de Trente ans, nous apparaît plus intéressante. Dans son cas spécifique, on peut entrevoir les étapes d'un processus visant à universaliser la représentation de la guerre : le récit fondé exclusivement sur les soldats est présenté en conjonction avec un catalogue de «dommages collatéraux» de la guerre, à l'exemple de ce qu'il arrive dans une eau-forte de la fin du XVII siècle du peintre italien Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, qui illustre l'incendie d'une ville, le massacre de ses habitants, et le viol d'une jeune fille tout en habillant les victimes et les bourreaux de robes, de tuniques et de cuirasses d'époque romaine : l'antiquité apparaît moins engageant mais, en insistant sur le cordon ombilical qui relie les deux perspectives, il intitule son tableau «*Il soldato osserva quel che fa*» (*le soldat observe ce qu'il fait*)³.

Le thème de la guerre est abordé pour la première fois de manière significative par Callot dans une gigantesque gravure de 1628 – formée par six planches – dénommée *Le Siège de Breda*. Dans cette oeuvre il célèbre la conquête de la ville par le général espagnol Ambrogio Spinola qui, tout en étant un banquier de Gênes, devint curieusement entrepreneur militaire et, par la suite, commandant en chef, afin de protéger directement ses intérêts financiers. Ce qui est intéressant c'est que Callot, en se basant sur un dessin de la ville forteresse de Breda réalisé par un ingénieur militaire, c'est-à-dire une représentation de la guerre qui en soulignait le côté technologique et rationnelle, aboutit à un récit historique, une vision perspective dans laquelle l'héros, le commandant Spinola, occupait justement un rôle de premier plan. Callot utilisa la gravure pour illustrer également une série d'événements de la vie militaire, un thème que, par la suite, il développa de deux manières. D'un côté, les *Exercices Militaires*, treize gravures éditées après sa mort, en 1635, qui représentaient, d'une certaine manière, une suite, même si à échelle réduite et simplifiée, aussi bien qu'un complément, du célèbre manuel publié à Amsterdam en 1607 par le graveur Jacob de Gheyn, intitulé *Maniement d'armes, d'ar-*

2 Ivi, p. 437.

3 *Le collezioni d'arte della Cassa di risparmio in Bologna. Le incisioni*, I, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, par FRANCA VARIGNANA, Boulogne, Cassa di risparmio in Bologna, 1978, planche 150. Une autre intéressante incursion de Mitelli dans l'univers de la guerre est offerte par la planche n. 143 de 1692, intitulée *Frutti di guerra* (*Fruits de guerre*) et illustrée par l'inscription suivante : «*Europa è in fuoco e fiamma, vengano malanni a chi la guerra brama*» (L'Europe est ravagée par la violence, malheurs à ceux qui veulent la guerre). Mais, dans ce cas-là, le 'pacifiste' Mitelli est encore, malgré le titre et la morale 'oecuménique', à l'intérieur du monde militaire : les «malheurs» concernent cinq vétérans appartenant à cinq armées différentes, qui sont sortis assez mal en point de la guerre (le soldat a perdu une jambe, la tête du porte-étendard est cassée, etc.)

quebuses, mousquelz et piques, en ajoutant aux armes citées le canon et l'hallebarde et en montrant aussi l'entraînement sans armes et avec le tambour.

De l'autre côté, la série dénommée *Les Petites Misères de la guerre* (où l'adjectif *petites* se réfère au format des planches), six eaux-fortes publiées en 1636, après la mort de l'auteur, par Israel Henriet et dont le nom est lié au succès obtenu avec *Les Misères et les Malheurs de la guerre*, suite composée de dix-huit pièces éditées en 1633. C'est n'est pas au hasard que, dans le catalogue rédigé au lendemain de la mort de Callot, *Les «Petites» Misères de la guerre* furent indiquées sous le titre, sans doute plus approprié, de *La Vie des Soldats* ; elles doivent être considérées, malgré leur publication tardive, comme une étape intermédiaire du parcours qui mènera le graveur lorrain à déplacer son attention de la vie des soldats vers les ravages de la guerre. Compte tenu de cette perspective, il ne faut pas s'étonner si plusieurs dessins préparatoires de Callot sur la guerre à proprement parler (batailles de la cavalerie dans une plaine ou dans une vallée profonde, affrontements de cavalerie et d'infanterie sur un pont ; l'attaque à un fort) n'ont pas été transposés en gravures, ni que la seule des *Petites Misères de la guerre* ne rentrant pas dans la série majeure ait été *Le Campement*, un aspect de la vie militaire (entre les tentes les militaires mangent et boivent gaiement) qui lui devait apparaître en contradiction avec l'idée des malheurs entraînés par les conflits militaires et leurs impact sur la société.

Dans la série *Les Grandes Misères de la guerre*, la guerre à proprement parler n'est illustrée que dans les deux premières planches, *L'enrôlement des troupes* et *La Bataille*. Les autres gravures peuvent être regroupées en trois suites : Les violences des militaires et des malfaiteurs (d'une part, le pillage d'une hôtellerie, la dévastation d'un monastère, le pillage et incendie d'un village ; d'autre part, l'attaque et le pillage d'une diligence et la découverte des malfaiteurs) ; la liste des punitions infligées *manu militari* aux soldats, aux bandits, aux hérétiques, etc. (de la pendaison à la fusillade, du bâcher à la roue) ; enfin, les angoissants scénarios de l'après-guerre (de manière optimiste la dernière planche est consacrée à la *Distribution des récompenses* alors que les autres insistent sur la triste condition des anciens soldats : dans la meilleure des hypothèses, les militaires mutilés et estropiés sont admis à l'hôpital mais, souvent, ils font l'objet des revanches des paysans ou bien ils errent dans les roues en demandant, en vain, l'aumône)⁴.

Il est cependant difficile de considérer Callot – à la différence de ce que ses exégètes⁵

4 Voir, pour mieux comprendre l'œuvre de Callot : Jacques Callot (1592-1635), Actes du colloque organisé par le Service culturel du musée du Louvre et de la ville de Nancy à Paris et à Nancy les 25, 26 et 27 juin 1992 sous la direction scientifique de DANIEL TERNOIS, Paris, Klincksieck, 1993; Jacques Callot 1592-1635, par PAULETTE CHONÉ, DANIEL TERNOIS, JEAN-MARC DEPLUVREZ, BRIGITTE HECKEL, Nancy, Société d'archéologie lorraine et du Musée historique lorrain, 1992; ISTITUTO ITALIANO PER GLI STUDI FILOSOFICI - ISTITUTO NAZIONALE PER LA GRAFICA, *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot nelle collezioni italiane*, Milan, Mazzotta, 1992. Voir aussi *Capricci Gobbi Amore Guerra e Bellezza, incisioni di Jacques Callot dalle raccolte del Museo d'Arte di Padova*, par FRANCA PELLEGRINI, Padoue, Il Poligrafo, 2002.

5 Voir., par exemple, PAULETTE CHONÉ, *Les misères de la guerre ou "la vie du soldat": la force et le droit*, dans Jacques Callot 1592-1635, pp. 396-400; ANDRÉ STOLL, "Non si può guardare". *Dallo spettacolo della giustizia assolutista al crollo dei miti della civiltà. La guerra nell'opera grafica di Callot e di Goya*, dans *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot*, pp. 85-108; YVES-MARIE BERCÉ, *Callot en son temps*, dans Jacques Callot (1592-1635), pp. 47-62.

ont fait régulièrement - comme le vengeur des souffrances infligées par les militaires aux populations civiles. Son œuvre, en fait, semble s'inscrire dans une phase où le cadre sémantique et conceptuel fondé sur des termes comme 'militaire', 'civil' et 'population', ainsi que sur les corrélations et les différences existantes entre ces termes, est encore ambiguë et présente des contradictions criantes. Par exemple, selon le dictionnaire, le substantif "civil", dans les premières décennies du XVIII^e siècle⁶, prend en France et en Italie aussi la signification de "non militaire", alors que encore en 1830 Thomas De Quincey considérait comme «*a fashionable and most childish use of word now current*» l'utilisation de '*civilian*' «*to indicate simply a non-military person*»⁷. Il est vrai que, concernant l'adjectif, l'usage de « civil » opposé à « militaire » remonte à il y a quelques siècles : si Machiavelli distinguait la vie militaire de la vie civile, déjà dans la génération précédente, à l'époque des condottieri, où le "soldat", c'est-à-dire le mercenaire, le militaire professionnel, avait pris la place du cavalier en tant que point de repère de la guerre, Giovanni Sabadino des Arienti considérait "l'exercice militaire" comme alternatif à la "vie civile"⁸.

Il est néanmoins difficile d'inclure au sein de la « population civile » les paysans, présentés dans les gravures de Callot comme les victimes, mais aussi, plus rarement, comme les bourreaux des soldats et qui, comme paraît l'indiquer l'eau-forte dédiée à *La pendaison*, alimentent également les rangs du banditisme rural, en participant pleinement au circuit d'une violence endémique favorisée, quand elle n'est pas directement déclenchée, par la guerre en dehors des champs de bataille. Le mot « civil » découle en effet de *civis* et reflète de tous points de vue (politique, coutumes, société, économie) un contexte urbain, fortement opposé à la campagne. Aux yeux des partisans de la suprématie de la ville sur la campagne, les paysans apparaissaient, pendant le Moyen Âge et même après, comme des bœufs sans cornes.

Dans la sphère des coutumes, tandis que le caractère rural prenait – et conserve encore aujourd'hui – une signification plus ou moins négative ('goujat', 'rustaud', 'rustre', 'mufle', etc.)⁹, la ville s'imposait par contre non seulement comme un modèle de belles manières, mais aussi comme le laboratoire d'un maître mot de l'histoire contemporaine, 'civilisation'. De plus, dans l'ancien régime, le 'civil' ou mieux le 'bourgeois' jouissait souvent de privilèges, lui permettant fréquemment de subir le poids de la guerre dans une mesure assez limitée, si on se situe dans la perspective du paysan.

Ce n'est pas par hasard que l'on garde la mémoire pas tellement de la plus habituelle dévastation des campagnes mais plutôt de certains pillages 'exemplaires' de villes (entre autres Rome, Anvers, Mantoue et Magdebourg), des événements qui eurent un grand

6 Voir SALVATORE BATTAGLIA, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, X, Turin, Utet, 1978, p. 401 et MANLIO CORTELAZZO - PAOLO ZOLLI, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana*, III, Bologne, Zanichelli, 1983, p. 756. Le grand Robert de la langue française, II, Paris, Le Robert, 1987, p. 633 date à 1718 l'usage de *civil* dans l'acception de «qui n'est pas militaire», mais *militaire* comme substantif remonte à 1658 (*ivi*, VI, p. 456).

7 Cit. à l'entrée *civilian* dans la signification de «a non-military man or official» en *The Oxford English Dictionary*, III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 256.

8 Voir S. BATTAGLIA, *Grande dizionario*, III, 1964, p. 211.

9 Voir M. CORTELAZZO - P. ZOLLI, *Dizionario etimologico*, I, 1979, p. 244.

retentissement justement à cause de l'extraordinaire 'violation' des espaces 'civils'.

D'ailleurs, le mot 'population' dans la signification que nous lui attribuons dans ce texte pénétra dans la plupart des langues européennes entre le XVII^e et le XVIII^e siècle. Tout au long d'une grande partie de l'ancien régime, la 'population' en tant qu'ensemble des habitants d'un pays resta indistincte sur l'arrière-plan du panorama politico-social, en coïncidant tout au plus avec l'ethnie. Au premier plan figuraient par contre les ordres, les 'états'. Dans leurs messages aux sujets, les souverains s'adressaient non pas à la multitude de ceux sur lesquels ils exerçaient leur pouvoir, mais plutôt aux nobles, ou mieux aux chefs des familles nobles. C'était par le biais de ceux-ci qu'ils souhaitaient atteindre, en descendant de niveau en niveau l'échelle juridique et sociale, les éléments inférieurs. On ne s'étonne donc pas que les unités de repère pour les relevés, menés pendant le soi-disant âge pré – statistique à des fins fiscales ou militaires, étaient la maison et la famille. Ce n'est qu'au cours du XVIII^e siècle que les économistes, les membres de la Chambre, les statisticiens et les spécialistes de la démographie, après avoir abandonné de manière plus ou moins radicale les schémas chers à la société des ordres, achevèrent le long processus de 'découverte' de la 'population'. Enfin, suite à la Révolution française, cette orientation s'affirma aussi en politique, en conférant au vocable une nouvelle dimension, suggérée par la centralité d'autres maîtres mots, ayant profondément caractérisé le cadre idéologique des derniers deux/trois siècles, à savoir 'peuple' et 'nation'.

En couronnement de cette phase constituante de la contemporanéité non seulement militaire, on peut situer le citoyen-soldat de la république des modernes, réclamé par la composante la plus radicale des Lumières et s'étant incarné dans un premier temps dans l'armée de George Washington et plus tard - dans certaines limites – dans l'armée de Lazare Carnot. Mais la révolution atlantique, si d'un côté abattit les barrières qui cloisonnaient la société traditionnelle (quitte à les rétablir immédiatement à partir d'un module basé sur le cens) et de l'autre franchit la voie au dépassement de l'antinomie entre le 'civil' et le 'militaire', en même temps supprima, au moment et dans la mesure où elle réalisait les modernes formes constitutionnelles, la fusion au sommet entre pouvoir militaire et pouvoir civil, qui avait caractérisé, abstraction faite des réelles capacités de guerre des souverains, l'ancien régime. Ce n'est pas par hasard que le mot 'militarisme' a été forgé dans la France de la fin du XVIII^e siècle par ceux qui souhaitaient éviter le dérapage typique de la révolution, dont aurait effectivement bénéficié le Général Bonaparte¹⁰.

Il en découle l'inventaire des contradictions ayant caractérisé, et continuant dans une certaine mesure à caractériser, les relations entre les conflits militaires et les populations civiles. L'idéologie du citoyen-soldat, malgré elle a été mise de côté notamment pendant les premières années du XIX^e siècle en raison de la transformation de la conscription obligatoire en une source de revenu de militaires de carrière plus économique par rapport à celui assuré par les troupes mercenaires traditionnelles et dans la deuxième partie du XX^e siècle en raison de l'abandon ou de la tendance vers la réduction du service national au profit de forces armées professionnelles, n'a jamais été désavouée, ni elle

10 Selon *Le grand Robert*, VI, p. 456 *militarisme* fut forgé en 1815, ma en M. CORTELAZZO - P. ZOLLI, *Dizionario etimologico*, III, p. 756 la naissance du terme est anticipée à 1790.

pourrait l'être, par les Etats-nations, abstraction faite de la foi idéologique qu'ils professent. Par conséquent, le syntagme 'population civile' présente, dans un certain sens, une signification résiduelle. D'après le *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* (Grand dictionnaire de la langue italienne) de Salvatore Battaglia, par 'population civile' l'on entend « en temps de guerre, l'ensemble des citoyens ne faisant pas partie des forces armées »¹¹, en d'autres mots les non combattants. En effet, il s'agit de 'citoyens' dans une certaine mesure potentiels (les mineurs n'ayant pas encore atteint l'âge du vote, jusqu'à il y a quelques décennies et dans la plupart des pays les femmes), tandis que, notamment avant la concession du suffrage universel masculin, ont été inclus au sein des forces armées plusieurs jeunes et hommes qui ne jouissaient d'aucun droit politique.

En même temps, la coïncidence virtuelle entre le civil et le militaire à base du postulat du citoyen-soldat – exceptée, au moins en principe, l'intention d'épargner la participation armée à la guerre aux enfants, aux personnes âgées et, dans la plupart des cas, aux femmes – a permis d'ouvrir, sur le plan idéologique, un front, celui de la guerre totale, que les progrès technologiques et les fanatismes idéologiques, ethniques et religieux ont élargi sur le plan réel de manière terrifiante, bien que contrecarrés par les conventions internationales en matière de sauvegarde des populations civiles et par les codes de guerre humanitaires.

La grande fortune contemporaine de l'œuvre *Los desastres de la guerra* de Goya repose aussi sur sa capacité de représenter dans le miroir de la *Guerra de la Independencia* espagnole (une guerre à la fois nationale, idéologique et donc aussi bien civile menée en partie en mettant en œuvre les méthodes de la guérilla et, de toute façon, très différente, au-delà des ressemblances apparentes, de la guerre des trente ans, qui avait inspiré Callot), le gouffre béant apparaissant devant un conflit armés de 'tous' contre 'tous', un conflit dont le champ de bataille ne respecte aucune frontière, un conflit qui ne s'arrête devant à n'importe quel sanctuaire et asile et dont les objectifs terroristes n'épargnent intentionnellement aucune victime potentielle.

11 Voir S. BATTAGLIA, *Grande dizionario*, XIII, 1986, p. 879 (il manque un renvoi à des auteurs).

MILITARY CONFLICTS AND CIVIL POPULATIONS

PIERO DEL NEGRO*

In *Gulliver's Travels*, Jonathan Swift juxtaposes and, in fact, contrasts two war scenes, which seem relevant not only to the twenties of the 18th century, when the work was created, but a very, very long time frame, even if it will cost me the due effort to provide explanations and chronological articulation, as I shall endeavor to achieve in these notes, which just fall within the subject of the 34th Congress of the International Military History Commission. On one hand [we have] an arid list of weapons and war-time phases, a detached nomenclature of military technology, a war which may be referred to as "objective" or "rational", a war fostered and led by princes, generals and bureaucrats in uniforms barely following consolidated patterns of warfare and number of soldiers deployed (many soldiers, horses, battleships, pieces of ordnance, etc), a war celebrated in the history of power starting from big rupestrian inscriptions left to us by Achaemenidians, the King of Kings of Persia, a war depicted in the modern times and, above all, by war painters, who followed their sovereigns and commanders of armies and fleets: "cannons, culverin, muskets, rifles, pistols, cannonballs, gunpowder, sabers, bayonets, battles, sieges, retreats, attacks, landmines, countermines, bombardments and battleships."

On the other hand, [we witness] an ever pressing sequence of "war disasters," captured by some of the ever-lasting engravings of the Protestant Reform period such as *the Four Knights of the Apocalypse* by Albrecht Dürer or by the bloodcurdling cycles of Jacques Callot, one century later, and Francisco Goya, three centuries later, or by Pablo Picasso's *Guernica* at a time closer to us. A war that one suffers personally from rather than a war experienced by the people, especially, without uniform, a war that was described "subjectively" among some of the most famous novels of the 18th century by people who participated as subordinates or in marginal roles, in short, without having any understanding of big battles such as the War of Waterloo narrated by Stendhal in *Certosa di Parma* [Charterhouse of Parma] from Fabrizio del Dongo's standpoint or Austerlitz War immortalized in Tolstoy's *War and Peace* through the narrations of Pierre Bezuchov or wars as backgrounds to the picaresque events of subordinates, who can be acknowledged in Ruzante's and Simplicissimus' masks, in short, a war as it is seen by "those at the bottom" or from outside: "the moaning of those dying, blown-up limbs, smoke, uproars, confusion, fighters crushed under the hooves of horses, escape and pursuit, victory, fields covered by the dead bodies defenseless against the voracity of dogs, wolves and scavengers, plunderage, stripping, rape, fire and destruction".¹

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1 Jonathan Swift, *Viaggi di Gulliver in vari paesi lontani del mondo*, [Gulliver's travels to the remotest lands of the World] Milan, Rizzoli, 1975 [1st ed. 1726], p. 439.

An author can surely entertain such two contradicting visions of war simultaneously. On the other hand, it goes without saying, that this is Swift's case, who was not interested in studying the relationship between military conflicts and civil populations in depth, because he dismissed both prospects, i.e. the aberrations of the cowardly *Yahus*, namely animals in human image, who used to live in the land of the Huyhnhnm, but he would rather point his arrows towards the profession of arms, which he used to define sarcastically as "the most honorable [profession] of all, because a soldier is a *Yahu* hired to kill cold-bloodedly as many of those of his kind as possible without having ever been attacked by them."² As regards the point of view considered herein, Callot's work is more educational. Callot was an engraver from Lorraine, who used to lived between the 15th and 16th centuries and had the time and possibility to document the middle stages of the Thirty Years' War. A person in his place could comprehend the milestones of a process, which changed the numbers of the representation of the war, by attaching [them] onto a story through internal flows, or a story concerning exclusively soldiers, a catalogue of "collateral" consequences of the same war as the one summarized in an etching dated the end of the 16th century, in which Giuseppe Maria Mitelli (Italian, 1634-1718) was in charge of illustrating the fire in a city, the carnage suffered by its inhabitants and the rape of a girl. In this work, he diligently placed [the scene] in a less serious ancient time, by dressing victims and torturers in roman togas, tunics and body armors, and he also named [this work] "*A soldier observes what he does*", underscoring the umbilical cord, which keeps to two prospects mentioned herein together.³

Callot dealt with war as a theme significantly in a gigantic engraving dated 1628 – obtained by joining of six tables – *Siege of Breda*, in which he celebrated the capture of the city by the Spanish General, Ambrogio Spinola. He was an interesting case of Genoese banker, who transformed himself into a military entrepreneur and commander in lead, whose purpose was to protect his financial interests directly. The interesting thing is that Callot got inspired by the drawing of the fortress-city of Breda planned by a military engineer. In other words, he started off from the representation of war which underscored the technological and "rational" side thereof, in order to arrive at a historical narration and a perspective view, which located Spinola, the "hero," in the first place, as was rightly the case. Callot used the engraving also to illustrate a series of episodes from the military life, which was a subject that developed on two lines in the following years. On one hand, *Exercices militaires*, thirteen prints published in 1635 after his death, which comprised of reduced and simplified recording to a certain extent. From another point of view, it was also the completion of a famous handbook published in

2 *Ivi*, p. 437.

3 The art collection of Cassa di risparmio in Bologna. Le incisioni [Engravings], I, Giuseppe Maria Mitelli, edited by Franca Varignana, Bologna, Cassa di risparmio in Bologna, 1978, table 150. Another interesting raid by Mitelli into warfare is offered by table 143, dated 1692, called *Frutti di guerra* [Fruits of war] and is illustrated by a vignette: «Europe is on fire and in flames, and let mishaps affect those, who long for the war.» But, in this case, Mitelli the "pacifist" moves further within the military world despite his "ecumenical" title and morals: the "mishaps" concern five veterans of five different armies, who have left wars with various losses (one soldier lost a leg, the ensign's head is broken, etc.)

1607 in Amsterdam under the name of the Engraver, Jacob de Gheyn, whose title in Italian was *Esercizio delle armi per archibugi, moschetti e picche* [Weaponry training for harquebuses, muskets and pikes], since it added cannons and halberds to these weapons and portrayed training without weapons and with drums.

On the other hand, [there is] the so-called small series (regarding the size of the format) *Miseres de la guerre*, six etchings published posthumously by Israel Henriët in 1636 under this title in the trail of the success of *Les miseres et les malheurs de la guerre*, consisting of eighteen big tables released in 1633. It was not by chance that the “small” *Miserie della guerra* [Miseries of war] were indicated in the inventory drawn up right after Callot’s death under the most relevant title *La vie des soldats* without doubt. Despite the lateness in their publication, they are considered to be an intermediate milestone in the path which would have led the Lorrainer engraver to move his emphasis from the life of soldiers to a catalogue of war horrors. If one adopts this perspective, it does not come as surprising that Callot’s numerous preparatory drawings concerning real war (cavalry battles on a plain and deep valley, knighthood and infantry, on a bridge; attack on a fortress) were not all translated into engravings, as well as the fact that *L’accampamento* [Encampment] was the only piece among the small *Miserie della guerra* to be rejected from the greater series. Its theme was the life of a soldier (soldiers eat and drink happily in tents,) which must have seemed eccentric to the Lorrainer as opposed to the curvature from *malheurs*, which he wanted to give to the theme of military conflicts and their impact on society.

In the “big” *Miserie della guerra*, only the scene of the first two tables, *L’arruolamento delle truppe* [Recruitment of troops] and *La battaglia* [The Battle], is the war in the strict sense. Other engravings can be grouped under three mini-series: violence of the soldiers and scoundrels (plundering of farms, destruction of monasteries, burning down towns and cities on one hand, and, on the other, an enraging diligence and following hunt on bandits.) The list of punishments given by the authority to soldiers, bandits, heretics, etc. (from hanging to shooting, from stake to rack) and tormenting scenery of the post-war period (the final table is optimistically dedicated to *La distribuzione delle ricompense* [The distribution of war rewards,] but the previous ones underscore the sad conditions of ex-soldiers, who are at best mutilated, handicapped, etc and find shelter at a hospital, but are mostly victims of farmers’ revenge or wander around hungry, begging for food in vain.)⁴.

Still, it turns out to be hard to acknowledge Callot as a vindicator of the suffering

4 The document and arrangement of Callot’s work *Jacques Callot (1592-1635)*, Actes du colloque organisé par le Service culturel du musée du Louvre et de la ville de Nancy à Paris et à Nancy les 25, 26 et 27 juin 1992 sous la direction scientifique de Daniel Ternois, Paris, Klincksieck, 1993; *Jacques Callot 1592-1635*, edited by Paulette Choné, Daniel Ternois, Jean-Marc Depluvrez, Brigitte Heckel, Nancy, Société d’archéologie lorraine et du Musée historique lorrain, 1992; Italian Institute of Philosophical Studies – National Graphic Institute, *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot nelle collezioni italiane* [Jacques Callot’s engravings in Italian collections], Milan, Mazzotta, 1992 are very useful. Also see Capricci Gobbi *Amore Guerra e Bellezza, incisioni di Jacques Callot dalle raccolte del Museo d’Arte di Padova* [Love, War and Beauty, Jacques Callot’s engravings from the collection of the Art Museum of Padua], edited by Franca Pellegrini, Padua, Il Poligrafo, 2002.

caused by soldiers on civil populations – unlike his exegetes have done without fail.⁵ As a matter of fact, his work turns out to be in a phase, in which the semantic and conceptual framework anchored on terms such as “military,” “civil” and “population” and their correlation and antinomies are still settling down and do not lack sharp contradictions. For example, according to dictionaries, the noun “civilian” starts to have also the meaning of “non military” in France and Italy only in the first decades of the eighteenth century⁶, whereas in 1830 Thomas De Quincey considered using the word “civilian” «to indicate simply a non-military person»⁷ as “a fashionable and most childish use of word now current.” It is also true that, as regards the adjective, the use of the word “civilian” as opposed to “military” dates a few centuries back: if Machiavelli distinguished the military life from civil life already in the previous generations, in that era of commanders, in which “soldier” meant mercenary, professional soldiers had taken the place of knights, who used to be the main point of reference for war. Giovanni Sabadino degli Arienti used to consider “esercizio militare” as an alternative to “vivere civile [civil life]”⁸.

It is still hard to include farmers in the “civil population”, who are depicted as the victims in Callot’s engravings, but more rarely, also as tormentors of soldiers, who also feed the ranks of rural bandits as depicted in the etching dedicated to *L’impiccaggione* [The Hanging]. Hence, they fully participate in the band of a favored endemic violence outside of battlefields, when it is not directly triggered by war. In fact, as it is commonly known, the word “civilian” is derived from *civis* and pertains to an urban context under every aspect (politics, customs, society and economics,) which is defined as the opposite of the country side, to a wide extent. In the eyes of the most wicked supporters of the supremacy of the city over country, farmers used to appear in the Middle Ages and beyond as hornless oxen. As regards customs, while ruralness had – and still continues to have – a more or less negative connotation (“villain,” “lout,” “boor,” “rustic,” etc)⁹, cities on the other hand could impose themselves not only as a model for good manners, but also as a laboratory of a keyword for contemporary history, namely “civilization.”

5 For instance, see Paulette Choné’s, *Les misères de la guerre ou “la vie du soldat”: la force et le droit*, in Jacques Callot 1592-1635, pp. 396-400; André Stoll, “*Non si può guardare* [It is not to be seen.]” *Dallo spettacolo della giustizia assolutista al crollo dei miti della civiltà. La guerra nell’opera grafica di Callot e di Goya* [From the performance of absolutist justice to the fall of myths of civilization. War in the graphic work of Callot and Goya] in *Le incisioni di Jacques Callot* [Jacques Callot’s Engravings], pp.85-108; Yves-Marie Bercé, *Callot en son temps*, in Jacques Callot (1592-1635), pp. 47-62.

6 Refer to Salvatore Battaglia, *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana* [The Great Dictionary of the Italian Language], X, Torino, Utet, 1978, p. 401 and Manlio Cortelazzo - Paolo Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico della lingua italiana* [Etymological Dictionary of the Italian Language], III, Bologna, Zanichelli, 1983, p. 756. *Le grand Robert de la langue française*, II, Paris, Le Robert, 1987, p. 633 in 1718 the use of the word “civil” was accepted as «qui n’est pas militaire», but *militaire* was a noun that dated back to 1658 (*ivi*, VI, p. 456).

7 Refer to the entry “civilian” meaning «a non-military man or official» in *The Oxford English Dictionary*, III, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1989, p. 256.

8 Refer to S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario* [The Great Dictionary], III, 1964, p. 211.

9 Refer to M. Cortelazzo - P. Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico* [Etymological Dictionary], I, 1979, p. 244.

Furthermore, in the old regime, “civilians” or rather the “bourgeoise” used to enjoy certain privileges, which allowed them to suffer from the weight of wars in a certain way which we can consider as limited as opposed to villagers. It is not by coincidence that there is not much memory of the usual destruction of the countryside as opposed to “exemplary” plundering of cities (among which, Rome, Antwerp, Mantua and Magdeburg), which were events that raised particular concern, owing to the extraordinary “violation” of “civil” spaces.

On the other hand, the word “population” according to the meaning considered herein entered most of the European languages between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. During most of the old regime, “population” as the set of inhabitants of a country was not distinguished on the background of political-social panorama and it was mostly considered as equivalent to ethnicity. Orders and “states” used to appear at the top. Sovereigns addressed not their numerous subordinates as they did address the nobles or heads of noble families in their messages to their subordinates, and it was through the latter that they [sovereigns] attempted to reach down the juridical and social layers, all the way to the lowest members. It does not come as a surprise that homes and families were the units of reference for measurements, which were carried out of fiscal or military purposes, in the so-called prestatistical era. Only during the Seventeenth century did economists, cameralists, statisticians and demographers complete the long process of “discovering” the “population” after having radically left aside schemes that were so dear to the society of orders. Finally, the French Revolution pushed this line of tendency towards the direction of politics, adding a further dimension to the word, suggested by the centrality of other keywords, which have deeply connoted the ideological framework of the last two-three centuries, namely “population” and “nation”.

To complete this stage consisting of the contemporaneity which is not only military, it is possible to place citizen-soldier of the republic of modern times invoked by the most radical part of Enlightenment and that came to life in George Washington’s army, and later – and within certain bounds – in Lazare Carnot’s army. But the Atlantic Revolution, on one side tore down the barriers which segmented traditional society (but it restored them immediately on the basis of a census form) and on the other hand, it opened a way to exceed the antinomy between “civil” and “military”, and at the same time, it ruled out the union between the apexes of military power and civil power at the time and to the extent in which modern constitutional forms established it, which had characterized the old regime, independently from the effective military capacity of sovereigns. It is not by chance that the term “militarism” was coined in France at the end of the Seventeenth century by those who wanted to avoid the particular *déravage* of the revolution, from which actually General Bonaparte would have profited.¹⁰

Above all, the inventory of contradictions which have distinguished the relationship between military conflicts and civil populations to a certain extent stem from here. The ideology of citizen-soldier, though it was mentioned in brackets particularly in the Eighteenth century from the transformation of the mandatory draft to earnings of career

¹⁰ According to *Le grand Robert*, VI, p. 456 *militarisme* was coined in 1815, but in M. Cortelazzo - P. Zolli, *Dizionario etimologico*, III, p. 756 the birth of the word dates back to 1790.

soldiers who were more cost-effective than mercenaries and in the second half of the Nineteenth century from the abandonment or tendency to re-size the draft in favor of professional armed forces, has never been disavowed, nor could it be renounced, since State-nations have always carried this practice out, no matter their ideological bias. As a consequence, the “civil population” syntagm has a rather residual meaning under some aspects. As it says in Salvatore Battaglia’s *Grande dizionario della lingua italiana*, by “civil population” “the whole of citizens who do not take part in armed forces in case of war”¹¹ are meant, in other words, the non-combatants. Actually, it deals with “citizens” partly, considering only the potential ones (underagers who have not yet reached the age of vote and women, until not many decades ago and in most countries.) In the meanwhile, in particular, before granting universal male suffrage, many youngsters and men have been included in armed forces, who did not enjoy any political rights.

At the same time, the virtual coincidence between civil and military at the basis of the citizen-soldier postulate – except, of course, the intention of preventing children, the elderly and, in most cases, women, from participating armed in wars as a principle – has allowed for opening a front on the ideological plane, i.e. total wars, which on one side technological developments and on the other side ideological, ethnic and religious fanaticism have sought to extend over the plane of execution to a terrifying extent, even if this has been opposed by international agreements and humanitarian war codes to protect civil populations. The great contemporary fortune of *Los desastres de la guerra* by Goya enjoys the ability to depict an abyss, which opens before the armed conflict of “everybody” against “anybody”, a conflict in which the battlefield does not respect any boundaries, fronts do not stop at any sanctuary and asylum and whose terrorist goals do not spare any potential victim intentionally in the mirror of Spanish *Guerra de la Independencia* (a war at a national and ideological time, hence, also a civil war, led partly by guerilla warfare methods and very differently from the Thirty Year’s War despite apparent similarities, which had inspired Callot.)

11 Refer to S. Battaglia, *Grande dizionario* [The Great Dictionary], XIII, 1986, p. 879 (lacks reference to authors).

Regimi politici, sistemi internazionali e carattere delle guerre totali, limitate, asimmetriche

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GUERRE STASIS E GUERRE POLEMOS

La percentuale di caduti tra i militari e di vittime tra i civili non dipende esclusivamente dalla potenza delle armi e dalle tattiche impiegate¹. Il carattere limitato o totale delle guerre deriva anche dalla natura dei regimi politici e dei sistemi internazionali.

Da questo punto di vista, per descrivere i conflitti si potrebbero utilizzare due diversi vocaboli usati dai greci, in particolare da Platone²: $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$, la guerra tra avversari separati da questioni di interesse, ma nel quadro di un sistema istituzionale e di valori condiviso, e $\rho\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, la guerra tra nemici, divisi da concezioni del mondo e sistemi politici opposti³. Come osserva Raymond Aron, i sistemi internazionali, riguardo all'ideologia, possono essere homogènes ou hétérogènes⁴, a seconda che gli attori principali condividano o meno una stessa concezione del mondo: i primi daranno luogo a guerre $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$, come tra la pace di Westfalia del 1648 e la rivoluzione francese e tra il 1815 ed il 1914, i secondi a guerre $\rho\omicron\lambda\epsilon\mu\omicron\varsigma$, come le guerre di religione, quelle della Francia rivoluzionaria e napoleonica, la seconda guerra mondiale. Von Clausewitz sottolinea appunto che fu l'apparire di un attore, la Francia rivoluzionaria, che rifiutava il sistema vigente, a portare alla guerra assoluta, non viceversa⁵.

Naturalmente la multiforme realtà della storia impone sempre di considerare le eccezioni a classificazioni rigorose⁶. Nelle varie epoche, accanto al tipo prevalente di guerra, possono

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1 Anche con armi rudimentali si possono uccidere molte persone. Ad esempio i sacerdoti aztechi, dandosi il cambio su quattro tavoli, in quattro giorni potevano uccidere con il pugnale a scopo sacrificale ed intimidatorio più di 80mila prigionieri di guerra (cfr. V. D. Hanson, *Massacri e cultura: le battaglie che hanno portato la civiltà occidentale a dominare il mondo*, Milano, 2002, pp. 232-37, in particolare 234; the original edition is *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, New York, 2001) e negli anni '90 del secolo XX «i machete in Ruanda e Burundi hanno provocato un numero di morti superiore di cinque volte a quelli della bomba atomica di Hiroshima» (C. Jean, *L'uso della forza. Se vuoi la pace comprendi la guerra*, Roma-Bari, 1996, pp. 16-17).

2 «L'inimicizia fra parenti si chiama discordia, l'inimicizia fra estranei guerra», Platone, *Dialoghi politici e lettere*, a cura di F. Adorno, vol. I, Torino, 1970, *Repubblica*, libro V, cap. XVI, p. 426.

3 In proposito cfr. G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto. Una ipotesi generale sulle regolarità del ciclo politico*, ora in Id., *Le regolarità della politica*, Milano, 1988, vol. II, in particolare pp. 773-74.

4 Cfr. R. Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, Paris, 1962, pp. 108-113 e Id., *La politica, la guerra, la storia*, Bologna, 1992, p. 74 [introduzione di A. Panebianco].

5 K. von Clausewitz, *De la guerre*, Paris, 1955, livre VIII, pp. 708-10.

6 Le tabelle I e IV pubblicate in M. Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, Stanford, 1999, offrono, la prima, un quadro della evoluzione delle guerre dal XVII secolo ad oggi che mette in

esserne presenti altri, magari in diverse aree geopolitiche, mentre nell'ambito di uno stesso conflitto possono manifestarsi diverse tipologie⁷. Soprattutto la classificazione ricordata è applicabile alle guerre tra Stati e non alla guerra civile, che ha sempre un carattere $\omega \mu$, poiché, come osserva Gianfranco Miglio, è «la più “vera” delle guerre ... la guerra più “totale”, durante la quale non si riconoscono limiti alla aggressività, né regole umanitarie»⁸. La «guerra totale», tra Stati o civile, nota Carl Schmitt, «supera la distinzione fra combattenti e non combattenti»⁹.

Nella storia si conoscono diversi tentativi di limitare lo scoppio delle guerre e di condurle secondo regole che ne limitino la ferocia. A partire da S. Agostino d'Ipbona, soprattutto la Chiesa cattolica si è interrogata sulla moralità della guerra, elaborando il concetto di «guerra giusta». Delle cinque condizioni in base alle quali la guerra «può essere permessa ed avere un suo valore etico»¹⁰ alcune riguardano la liceità del ricorso la forza, in termini giuridici lo *jus ad bellum*: *Auctoritas principis* (solo il potere sovrano ha diritto di dichiarare la guerra), *Iusta causa* (ovvero la necessità di difendere un diritto di sommo rilievo, il diritto all'esistenza, alla libertà, al proprio territorio, ai propri beni, al proprio onore; la causa deve proporzionarsi ai gravi mali, che si affrontano nella guerra, deve essere certa, deve esservi fondata speranza che i vantaggi prevarranno sui danni), *Ultima ratio* (se sono falliti i mezzi pacifici di soluzione della controversia). Riguardano invece lo *jus in bello*, le regole da osservare durante il conflitto, la condizione dello *Iustus modus*, in base alla quale l'uso della forza deve essere diretto contro le armate nemiche e tutto ciò che non è richiesto per la rivendicazione del diritto è illecito ed in parte quella dell'*Intentio recta*: l'intenzione dei belligeranti, dice S. Tommaso d'Aquino, deve essere di fare il bene e schivare il male.

Nei secoli nei quali esercitò la sua massima influenza nel modellare le leggi della *Respublica Christiana*, la Chiesa operò anche per regolare il fenomeno della guerra, restringendone il campo di esistenza, la crudeltà e la durata. La prima di queste misure fu la Paix de Dieu, instaurata dalla fine del X secolo e progressivamente ampliata, che istituiva la distinzione tra combattenti e civili, proibendo di maltrattare le donne, i bambini, i contadini, i sacerdoti e dichiarando inviolabili le case dei contadini e le chiese. La Trêve de Dieu, instaurata a partire dall'inizio dell'XI secolo, limitava la durata della guerra, proibendo di combattere dalla prima domenica d'Avvento fino all'ottava dell'Epifania, dal primo giorno di Quaresima all'ottava dell'Ascensione e, durante tutto il resto dell'anno, dal mercoledì sera al lunedì mattina. La quarantaine-le-roi, istituita da Filippo Augusto di Francia, imponeva un intervallo di qua-

relazione assetto politico, obiettivi della guerra, tipo di esercito, tecnica militare ed economia di guerra, la seconda che correla modelli di sistemi internazionali, istituzioni politiche, fonti di legittimità e paradigmi della sicurezza, proiettandosi nel futuro. Sul tema cfr. l'importante studio di K. J. Holsti, *Peace and war: armed conflicts and international order 1648-1989*, Cambridge, 1991.

- 7 La seconda guerra mondiale vide ad esempio episodi cavallereschi da Medioevo e brutalità efferate. Dopo il 1945 e dopo il 1990 sembra che i conflitti dei millenni passati abbiano lasciato ciascuno la propria eredità.
- 8 G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto. Una ipotesi generale sulla regolarità del ciclo politico*, ora in Id., *Le regolarità della politica. Scritti scelti, raccolti e pubblicati dagli allievi*, Milano, 1988, vol. II, p. 772.
- 9 C. Schmitt, *Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, scritto del 1938, ora in Id., *Le categorie del 'politico'. Saggi di teoria politica*, a cura di G. Miglio e P. Schiera, Bologna, 1972, p. 201.
- 10 A. Brucculeri S. I., *Moralità della guerra*, VI ed., Roma, 1953 [con approvazione dell'Autorità Ecclesiastica], pp. 49-58.

ranta giorni tra l'offesa ricevuta e l'apertura delle ostilità. Queste disposizioni, come oggi le risoluzioni dell'ONU, non erano sempre rispettate, e valevano solo nelle guerre tra cristiani, ma chi le violava sapeva di esporsi a severe sanzioni, materiali e spirituali¹¹. «In non poche regioni, – scrive Philippe Contamine¹² – i secoli centrali del Medioevo beneficiarono così, se non proprio di una totale scomparsa, almeno di una durevole marginalizzazione della guerra; e quand'anche essa aveva luogo, i suoi effetti erano più “canalizzati”». «Les modalités de la guerre courtoise», anche per il tipo di armi, di difese e di tattiche impiegati portavano a scontri relativamente incruenti e cavallereschi, almeno tra cristiani¹³.

LA SUCCESSIONE DEI TIPI DI GUERRA IN EPOCA MODERNA E CONTEMPORANEA

Proprio all'inizio dell'età moderna, nelle guerre del secolo XVI e della prima metà del XVII, si assistette ad un inasprimento dei conflitti armati, dovuto sia alla «rivoluzione militare»¹⁴, con la diffusione della polvere da sparo, di nuove armi e di nuovi modelli organizzativi, sia all'elemento ideologico costituito dai conflitti religiosi innescati dalla riforma protestante. Dopo la Pace di Westfalia del 1648, la guerra ritornò però entro limiti più contenuti, ancora una volta per ragioni sia tecniche sia “ideologiche”. Gli eserciti professionali del XVIII secolo costituivano un bene prezioso, che i comandanti erano riluttanti a rischiare in battaglie campali decisive¹⁵. L'organizzazione e la logistica degli eserciti professionali consentivano di realizzare largamente il proposito di Federico II di Prussia: «I sudditi non devono accorgersi quando il sovrano fa la guerra». Le guerre del XVIII secolo durarono, in media, solo un anno; la guerra dei sette anni (1756-1763) fu definita così proprio perché costituiva un'eccezione vistosa a tale regola.

La *Realpolitik* evitava ogni demonizzazione del nemico e poteva portare ad un conflitto senza odio¹⁶. La guerra non mirava all'annientamento dell'avversario poiché esso poteva essere l'alleato di domani: in un'Europa politicamente omogenea, che aveva l'equilibrio di potenza come supremo principio regolatore, il rovesciamento delle alleanze era una strategia diplomatica accettata ed apprezzata. Allo stesso tempo, nei secoli XVIII e XIX, essendo venuto meno il riconoscimento internazionale del Magistero della Chiesa e prevalendo invece il concetto, di derivazione machiavellica, che la sovranità legittimi in ogni modo l'azione dello Stato, furono accantonate le discussioni sulla «guerra giusta» per tutti gli aspetti relativi allo

11 R. Pernoud, *Lumière du moyen age*, Paris, 1944, pp. 91-93.

12 Questa frase appare solo a p. 13 dell'*Introduzione all'edizione italiana* (P. Contamine, *La guerra nel Medioevo*, Bologna, 1986; l'edizione originale francese è *La Guerre au moyen ge*, Paris, 1986). Di tale opera, per il nostro argomento, va visto tutto il capitolo IX (X nell'ed. it.), nel quale si trova una descrizione più articolata e problematica di quanto esposto in maniera sintetica e divulgativa dalla Pernoud.

13 Cfr. *La Guerre au moyen ge*, cit., pp. 414-15.

14 Cfr. il classico G. Parker, *The military revolution: military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 1988.

15 «I do not favour pitched battles, especially at the beginning of a war, - scriveva nel 1732 nelle sue *Rêveries de Guerre* il Maresciallo Maurizio di Sassonia – and I am convinced that a skilful general could make war all his life without being forced into one» (cit. in M. Howard, *La guerra e le armi nella storia d'Europa*, 1976), p. 71).

16 «Non è il sentimento dell'odio, ma una situazione di diritto a qualificare qualcuno come nemico dello Stato» (B. Spinoza, *Trattato teologico-politico*, in *Etica e Trattato teologico-politico*, a cura di R. Cantoni e F. Fagnani, Torino, 1980, p. 655).

jus ad bellum. Il diritto internazionale «has ... no alternative ... but to accept war, independently of the justice of its origin, as a relation which the parties, may set up if they choose – scriveva nel 1880 un giurista inglese¹⁷ – and to bury itself only in regulating the effect of the relation». Ancora nel 1915 Benedetto Croce scriveva che la «guerra scoppi o no, è tanto poco morale o immorale quanto un terremoto», i cittadini non hanno «altro dovere morale che di schierarsi ... alla difesa della patria», solo «una falsa ideologia, un sofisma di letteratucci può tentar di surrogare a questi concetti semplici e severi la ideologia del torto e della ragione, della guerra giusta e della guerra ingiusta»¹⁸.

A cavallo tra XVIII e XIX secolo, la rivoluzione francese aveva fatto però assumere nuovamente alla guerra un carattere totalitario, con la *levée en masse* e la strategia napoleonica imperniata sullo scontro campale decisivo, e ideologico, attraverso la proclamazione della crociata rivoluzionaria. «Il faut déclarer la guerre aux rois ei la paix aux nations!», esclamò il deputato Merlin de Thionville in occasione della dichiarazione di guerra del 20 aprile 1792; «paix aux chaumières, guerre aux châteaux!», scrisse il filosofo e scienziato Condorcet¹⁹. Tali affermazioni non portarono però a risparmiare le popolazioni, anzi la guerra rivoluzionaria provocò la guerra civile all'interno della Francia (con il suo culmine in Vandea) e nei paesi invasi, dove gli eserciti francesi trovarono alleati, ma soprattutto oppositori, gli insorgenti cattolici e monarchici²⁰, uno schema destinato a ripetersi nella seconda guerra mondiale, con collaborazionisti e partigiani antinazisti, e che si sarebbe ripresentato se la guerra fredda fosse diventata calda e gli eserciti sovietici avessero invaso l'Europa occidentale, trovando compagni di strada, ma anche combattenti anticomunisti. Anche nelle epoche passate i Sovrani avevano talvolta appoggiato sudditi ribelli a Principi con i quali erano in guerra, ma ciò era avvenuto con scrupoli morali e senza connotazioni ideologiche²¹. Dopo il 1815 la fedeltà al proprio Stato, dinastica e/o nazionalistica («With God, for King and Fatherland», il motto della *Landwehr* prussiana, può essere considerato la risposta conservatrice alla rivoluzionaria «nation armée») fece considerare semplicemente traditori coloro che si affiancavano al nemico²². Le «internazionali» nazifascista e comunista riproposero poi il problema della «doppia fedeltà», al proprio Stato o alla propria ideologia. Il problema se l'insorgente, il partigiano, il guerrigliero sia a pieno titolo un combattente legittimo non è facilmente risolvibile in termini puramente giuridici: «una normativa intorno al problema del partigiano è giuridicamente im-

17 Cit. in J. Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, London, 1993, p. 383.

18 B. Croce, *Pagine sparse*, Serie seconda, *Pagine sulla guerra*, raccolte da G. Castellano, Napoli, 1919, pp. 86-87.

19 J. Tulard-J.-F. Fayard-A. Fierro, *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française*, Parigi, 1987, pp. 91-92.

20 Per un'introduzione alle insorgenze sul piano europeo cfr. J. Godechot, *La controrivoluzione. Dottrina e azione (1789-1804)*, Milano, 1988 [I ed. francese, 1961]; per l'Italia l'opera migliore e più completa è M. Viglione, *Rivolte dimenticate. Le insorgenze degli italiani dalle origini al 1815*, Roma, 1999.

21 Cfr. E. Luard, *The Balance of Power. The System of International Relations, 1648-1815*, London, 1992, pp. 125-26; per la pratica diplomatica cfr. anche M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*, New York, 1993.

22 «Loyalty to the Crown was always to some degree contractual: an evil prince could be disowned, allegiance could be renounced or limited. But how could this be done with a Nation which was simply you and your own general will?» (M. Howard, *The causes of wars and other essays*, London, 1983, p. 26).

possibile», e del resto il «partigiano moderno non si aspetta dal nemico né diritto né pietà»²³.

Tra il 1815 ed il 1914 il sistema internazionale fu sostanzialmente governato dal «concerto europeo» delle Grandi Potenze, con momenti di maggiore o minore collaborazione e consapevolezza di appartenere ad una comune «società europea» e, nella fase finale, una crescente difficoltà a contenere le rivalità e le spinte nazionaliste. L'ideologia, in questo caso i principi di libertà e di nazionalità, almeno fino all'unificazione italiana, giocò un ruolo importante, ma comunque sempre accanto ai classici principi della politica di potenza, tanto che la grande esplosione rivoluzionaria del 1848-'49 non turbò la pace tra le Grandi Potenze. Le guerre di quel secolo furono brevi, limitate ad alcune Potenze e non ebbero conseguenze a livello sociale: «Before 1914 war was almost universally considered an acceptable, perhaps an inevitable and for many people a desirable way of settling international differences, and the war generally foreseen was expected to be, if not exactly *frisch und fröhlich*, then certainly brief; no longer, certainly, than the war of 1870 that was consciously or unconsciously taken by that generation as a model»²⁴.

La prima guerra mondiale iniziò come un classico conflitto per ragioni di potenza, ma assunse sempre più un carattere anche ideologico²⁵. La Grande Guerra, così lunga, cruenta, totale, levatrice di sconvolgimenti politico-sociali immani, diversa dai conflitti brevi e non generali del secolo XIX, introdusse nuovi modi di pensare. Durante quel conflitto sorsero tre tipi di «nuove diplomazie», la wilsoniana, la bolscevica, la pontificia contemporanea, che tutte ripudiavano, più o meno in buona fede, la guerra. In realtà solo la Chiesa avrebbe poi mantenuto fede ad una posizione che per brevità, ma con imprecisione, si potrebbe definire «pacifista»²⁶. Al culmine delle illusioni relative al nuovo concetto di sicurezza collettiva²⁷, la guerra fu messa ingenuamente «fuorilegge» dal noto patto Kellogg-Briand del 1928, il cui art. 1 recitava: «The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another», ammettendo quindi solo la guerra dichiarata dalla comunità internazionale contro un paese

23 C. Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano. Integrazione al concetto del politico*, Milano, 2005 [I ed., Berlino, 1963], pp. 53 e 20-21.

24 Howard, *The causes of wars ...*, cit., p. 9; stesso giudizio in A. J. P. Taylor, *The struggle for mastery in Europe: 1848-1918*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 529-30.

25 Essa «cominciò come una guerra convenzionale propria del diritto internazionale europeo e si concluse con una guerra civile mondiale dell'inimicizia di classe rivoluzionaria» (Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano*, cit., pp. 131-32).

26 La Chiesa è «pacificatrice» non «pacifista», ed il suo Magistero ha riaffermato ancora recentemente la tradizionale dottrina della «guerra giusta». Al riguardo cfr. *Catechismo della Chiesa cattolica. Testo integrale e commento teologico*, a cura di Mons. R. Fisichella, Casale Monferrato, 1993, pp. 426-27 e Pontificio Consiglio della Giustizia e della Pace, *Compendio della dottrina sociale della Chiesa*, Città del Vaticano, 2004, nn. 500-502; per un esame del problema cfr. R. de Mattei, *Guerra santa guerra giusta. Islam e Cristianesimo in guerra*, Casale Monferrato, 2002, P. Corrêa de Oliveira, *Nobiltà ed élites tradizionali analoghe nelle allocuzioni di Pio XII al Patriziato ed alla Nobiltà romana*, Milano, 1993, *Documenti*, XI, *Il pensiero di Papi, Santi, Dottori e Teologi sulla liceità della guerra*, la parte terza, *La Chiesa, i militari e la guerra*, di M. de Leonardis, *ULTIMA RATIO REGUM. Forza militare e relazioni internazionali*, I ristampa, Bologna, 2005.

27 Per una definizione del quale cfr. F. Andreatta, *Istituzioni per la pace. Teoria e pratica della sicurezza collettiva da Versailles alla ex Jugoslavia*, Bologna, 2000, pp. 25-26.

riconosciuto aggressore dalla Società delle Nazioni. In alcune pagine illuminanti del 1932 e del 1938 Carl Schmitt²⁸ sottopose tale patto e la Società delle Nazioni ad una serrata critica, prevedendo che i loro effetti sarebbero stati non la rinuncia all'uso della forza nelle relazioni internazionali, ma semplicemente la scomparsa delle dichiarazioni di guerra e che «un imperialismo fondato su basi economiche cercherà naturalmente di creare una situazione mondiale nella quale esso possa impiegare apertamente, nella misura che gli è necessaria, i suoi strumenti economici di potere, come restrizione dei crediti, blocco delle materie prime, svalutazione della valuta straniera e così via. Esso considererà come “violenza extraeconomica” il tentativo di un popolo o di un altro gruppo umano di sottrarsi all'effetto di questi mezzi “pacifici”».

L'osservazione più penetrante di Schmitt fu però quest'ultima: «Se uno Stato combatte il suo nemico politico in nome dell'umanità, la sua non è una guerra dell'umanità, ma una guerra per la quale un determinato Stato cerca di impadronirsi, contro il suo avversario, di un concetto universale per potersi identificare (a spese del suo nemico) ... L'umanità è uno strumento particolarmente idoneo alle espansioni imperialistiche ed è, nella sua forma etico-umanitaria, un veicolo specifico dell'imperialismo economico. A questo proposito vale, pur con una modifica necessaria, una massima di Proudhon: chi parla di umanità, vuol trarvi in inganno»²⁹. Sul punto va citato un'ultima volta Schmitt, che nel 1929 scriveva: «Ormai conosciamo la legge segreta di questo vocabolario e sappiamo che oggi la guerra più terribile può essere condotta solo in nome della pace»³⁰. Erano le lontane origini di una neolingua di stampo orwelliano, già manifestatasi nel 1914 con lo slogan, *summa* delle illusioni (o ipocrisie?) idealiste, di H. G. Wells sulla «the war to end war» e culminata nel 1999 nell'ossimoro della «humanitarian war»³¹.

La condanna morale della guerra fu ancora maggiore dopo il secondo conflitto mondiale, anche per le immani devastazioni prodotte. Terrorizzare ed uccidere civili attraverso i bombardamenti aerei era stata una delle tattiche impiegate; le azioni della resistenza partigiana e, soprattutto, la sua repressione avevano coinvolto pienamente le popolazioni civili. La rimozione dell'uso della forza militare dall'orizzonte delle opzioni possibili fu comunque molto più forte nei paesi sconfitti, Germania, Giappone ed Italia, che in quelli vincitori. Una guerra generale fu comunque resa impossibile soprattutto dall'equilibrio del terrore, la mutual assured destruction³². La guerra in Europa fu solo «fredda». Il Vecchio Continente fu in pace per 45 anni; ma tale periodo non fu altrettanto pacifico fuori dei suoi confini, dove i due blocchi si scontrarono nelle cosiddette «guerre per procura», dalla Corea al Vietnam, alle molteplici guerriglie comuniste. Mentre in Europa si combatteva una guerra finta, «ricca e astratta»,

28 C. Schmitt, *Il concetto di 'politico' e Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, ora in Id., *Le categorie del 'politico'*, cit., pp. 101-65 e 193-203.

29 Schmitt, *Il concetto di 'politico'*, cit., p. 139.

30 C. Schmitt, *L'epoca delle neutralizzazioni e delle spolitizzazioni*, ora in Id., *Le categorie del 'politico'*, cit., p. 182.

31 Cfr. M. Howard, *War and the liberal conscience*, Oxford, 1981 [serie di lezioni dedicate alle aporie del pacifismo liberale], p. 74.

32 Cfr., per brevità, M. de Leonardis, *The Cold War as Total War: the Interaction of Military Strategies and Diplomacy from "Massive Retaliation" to "Flexible Response"*, in *The Total War. The Total Defence, 1789-2000*, Acta of the XXVIth International Congress of Military History, Stockholm, 2001, pp. 383-94.

altrove si combatteva una guerra vera, sporca, «povera e concreta», nella quale erano già presenti molti degli elementi che caratterizzano i conflitti del periodo post-bipolare³³. Già «la guerra fredda si beffa di tutte le distinzioni classiche di guerra e pace e neutralità, di politica ed economia, di militare e civile, di combattenti e non combattenti»³⁴.

LE GUERRE TRA SECONDA METÀ DEL SECOLO XX E SECOLO XXI

Nella seconda metà del secolo XX ed in questo inizio del XXI è cambiato radicalmente il tipo prevalente di guerra. Tra le nazioni che appartengono alla civiltà occidentale sono scomparse le guerre³⁵. Sia pure in un contesto politico-diplomatico diverso da quello dell'epoca del colonialismo e della decolonizzazione, proseguono invece i conflitti che vedono l'Occidente impegnato nei teatri geopolitici del Terzo Mondo, nella forma oggi di operazioni di *peace-enforcement*, guerra al terrorismo, interventi militari miranti al *regime change* ed allo *state building*. Nel Terzo Mondo sono ricomparse su ampia scala le guerre etniche, tribali e civili, che il colonialismo aveva fortemente limitato³⁶. In Europa stessa ed ai suoi confini immediati sono riapparso conflitti allo stesso tempo civili ed interstatali, come nella ex Jugoslavia e nel Caucaso. In altre parole sono quasi scomparse le guerre condotte con regole volte a limitarne la crudeltà, mentre proliferano i conflitti dove la violazione di esse è parte integrante delle tattiche impiegate e la popolazione civile è pienamente coinvolta nelle operazioni. All'inizio del secolo XX la proporzione tra vittime militari e civili era di otto ad uno; già nella seconda guerra mondiale vi era parità; oggi muore un militare ogni otto civili. Il dato va messo ovviamente in relazione all'altro secondo il quale nel XX secolo 119 milioni di vittime sono stati causati da conflitti infrastatali e 36 da conflitti interstatali³⁷. Finita la Guerra Fredda e scom-

33 Gli aggettivi citati compaiono in E. Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo (1945-1980)*, Bologna, 1982, p. 25.

34 C. Schmitt, *Premessa*, marzo 1963, in Id., *Il concetto di 'politico'*, cit., pp. 99-100.

35 Dal punto di vista del ricorso alla forza militare, Henry Kissinger osserva che l'Occidente democratico ha abolito le guerre al suo interno. L'Asia ricorda l'Europa del XIX secolo: le Grandi Potenze, Russia, India, Cina, Giappone, si vedono come rivali strategiche; la pace si fonda sull'equilibrio, ma la guerra non è esclusa dall'orizzonte delle opzioni possibili. I conflitti del Medio Oriente ricordano l'epoca delle guerre di religione: i conflitti non hanno natura economica, come all'interno dell'Occidente, o strategica, come in Asia, bensì ideologica e religiosa. Gli attori si negano reciprocamente legittimità (*Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, New York, 2001, pp. 25-26). Robert Cooper, già consigliere di politica estera di Blair, ora direttore generale degli affari esteri dell'UE divide il mondo in tre aree geo-politiche: i postmodern states come quelli dell'UE, che non si faranno mai guerra tra loro; i modern states, bismarckian, spesso dotati di armamenti nucleari, come Cina ed India, che potrebbero usare la forza; the «post-imperial chaos» dei premodern states, che richiedono la presenza «coloniale» di costruttori di nazioni e di pace (*The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*, New York, 2003, chapters 1-2).

36 «Even with the aid of machine-guns and high explosives, the total of deaths inflicted on Afro-Asia by Europe must have been trifling compared with the number inflicted on it by its own rulers, in Africa chiefly through wars, in Asia chiefly in crushing revolts ... Against the price of Western conquest has to be set the cessation it brought of old endemic bloodshed» (V. G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse 1815-1960*, Leicester, 1982, p. 227).

37 Cfr. J.-J. Roche, *Théories des relations internationales*, Paris, 2006, p. 104. Secondo altri calcoli le vittime civili furono il 10% nella I guerra mondiale, il 52% nella II, il 90% nei conflitti successivi al 1945 (R. Toscano, *Il volto del nemico. La sfida dell'etica nelle relazioni internazionali*, Milano, 2000, p. 150, n. 49).

parso il pericolo dello scontro nucleare globale, gli abitanti dell'Occidente, che ha abolito al suo interno sia le guerre interstatali sia quelle civili ed anche la coscrizione obbligatoria, potevano considerarsi al sicuro; ma la minaccia del terrorismo di matrice islamica pende ora sulle loro teste ed anche i civili occidentali sono minacciati di morte³⁸.

Contraddicendo l'antico adagio ciceroniano, ripreso da Grozio, «*Inter bellum & pacem nihil est medium*»³⁹, molte parti del mondo vivono in uno stato intermedio di «de-institutionalized war»⁴⁰. Dopo il 1945, una «tipica guerra» non inizia con una dichiarazione formale, spesso è difficile identificare una precisa data d'inizio delle ostilità, può durare per decenni (come il conflitto in Vietnam, nelle due fasi, francese ed americana, o la rivolta Eritrea iniziata nel 1961 e conclusa solo nel 1991) e non terminare con un formale trattato di pace (come la guerra di Corea). Si è allentato il rapporto consolidato tra sovranità statale, monopolio della forza e radicamento territoriale; terroristi e criminali «often command large arsenals previously affordable only to tax-raising governments, [but] they do not obey the rules that sovereign governments observe»⁴¹. Emerge prepotentemente un tipo di violenza organizzata, che offusca le tradizionali distinzioni tra conflitti interni o civili e guerre transnazionali, tra guerre condotte da «attori legittimi» e guerre private al limite del crimine organizzato, tra aggressioni esterne e rivolte, tra legittime repressioni di gruppi violenti e violazioni su larga scala dei diritti umani. I combattenti di questi conflitti, oltre agli eserciti regolari, sono unità paramilitari di signori locali della guerra, gruppi mercenari⁴², bande criminali, forze di polizia, unità fuoriuscite da eserciti regolari. Sfumano le distinzioni tra combattenti legittimi e non, tra combattenti e civili, tra militari, poliziotti e criminali. I combattenti irregolari dispongono anch'essi di tecnologie avanzate, mine non identificabili, armi leggere e facili all'impiego, che possono essere usate anche da bambini, telefoni cellulari e si finanziano con saccheggio, mercato nero, assistenza esterna, come gli aiuti delle diaspore etniche e religiose, «tassazione» dell'assistenza umanitaria, sostegno di governi confinanti, commercio illegale di armi, droga, beni pregiati come petrolio e diamanti.

38 Osserva drasticamente E. Cecchini (*Storia della guerriglia. Dall'antichità all'età nucleare*, Milano, 1990): «Se la storia della guerriglia – benché senza regole, feroce ed indiscriminata – sotto molti aspetti può essere considerata facente parte del grande quadro della storia militare, la storia del terrorismo appartiene alla criminologia». Purtroppo non esiste però una definizione internazionalmente accettata di terrorismo, che lo differenzi dalle guerriglie e dalle guerre di liberazione; ma anche questo è un vecchio problema già comparso nella seconda guerra mondiale, si pensi ad esempio alle polemiche sull'attentato di Via Rasella a Roma.

39 Cicerone nell'VIII filippica, cit. in H. Grotii, *De jure belli ac pacis*, Amstelædami, 1735, liber III, caput 21, § 1, p. 907.

40 K. J. Holsti, *The state, war and the state of war*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 20-21, 27.

41 J. Keegan, *The Changing Face of War*, in *Wall Street Journal Europe*, 26-11-01, p. A6. Le organizzazioni terroristiche sono un esempio di «déterritorialisation» delle relazioni internazionali, in un sistema «post-wesphalien», nel quale operano «d'acteurs transnationaux cherchant à faire reconnaître leur autonomie par la contestation des prérogatives étatiques» (Roche, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

42 Un aspetto particolare, e distinto, del fenomeno è l'esistenza negli Stati Uniti e in Gran Bretagna di agenzie, riconosciute dallo Stato, che magari se ne serve quando non può utilizzare le forze regolari, fornitrici di «services militaires», in pratica di mercenari (cfr. O. Hubac-Occhipinti, *Armées: La relative privatisation de la violence armée*, in F. Géré-A. Blin [sous la direction de], *Puissances et influences. Annuaire géopolitique et géostratégique 2002-2003*. Parigi, 2002, pp. 189-94).

L'OCCIDENTE IN GUERRA IN ALTRI TEATRI GEOPOLITICI

«Il diritto internazionale europeo relativo alla guerra territoriale fra Stati» riuscì a regolamentare e limitare la guerra, «resta da vedere come esso potrà adattarsi ad altri popoli che nella loro storia hanno conosciuto solo guerre coloniali o civili»⁴³. In realtà gli stessi europei ed americani, già tra XIX e XX secolo, combattendo nei teatri del Terzo Mondo non applicavano le regole di tale diritto. All'inizio del secolo XX per domare la guerriglia indipendentista nelle Filippine gli americani adottarono una strategia di terra bruciata, che comportava non fare prigionieri e l'uccisione indiscriminata di civili⁴⁴. Quasi negli stessi anni, nella guerra anglo-boera, gli inglesi istituirono campi di concentramento le cui condizioni portarono ad un'elevata mortalità dei civili in essi internati. Il manuale di diritto bellico britannico del 1914 recitava: «It must be emphasized that the rules of International Law apply only to warfare between civilized nations, where both parties understand them and are prepared to carry them out. They do not apply in wars with uncivilized States and tribes, where their place is taken by the discretion of the commander and such rules of justice and humanity as recommended themselves in the particular circumstances of the case»⁴⁵.

Lo storico Ernesto Galli della Loggia osserva a sua volta come «nella seconda metà del XX secolo», «l'organizzazione transnazionale della guerra partigiana», «la guerriglia abbia contribuito, come poche altre cose, a dissolvere alcuni punti essenziali del diritto internazionale regolante i rapporti tra gli Stati»⁴⁶. In realtà, durante le guerriglie anti-occidentali (in molte delle quali comunismo ed anticolonialismo erano intrecciati) si erano già osservati molti dei caratteri dei conflitti di oggi: guerre asimmetriche, operazioni di *peace enforcement*, interventi militari a scopo di *regime change* o *state building*. In questi ultimi il rapporto con le popolazioni civili è ovviamente fondamentale per ottenere la vittoria.

Nel corso della storia le guerre sono state combattute per infiniti motivi, che è superfluo ricordare in questa sede. Tra essi vi era anche, talvolta, come nelle guerre di successione del XVIII secolo, quello di scegliere o mutare il sovrano o la forma politica dello Stato oggetto della guerra. Il vincitore comunque non si preoccupava affatto di aiutare il vinto a risollevarsi. Diversamente avvenne nella seconda guerra mondiale riguardo a Germania, Giappone ed Italia. Durante tale conflitto, i manuali dell'Esercito americano parlavano di *civil affairs* per riferirsi alle attività di occupazione nei territori liberati ed invece di *military government* per quelle nei paesi nemici conquistati⁴⁷. Nei primi le necessità dell'Esercito e gli scopi degli Alleati potevano essere largamente soddisfatti e conseguiti attraverso le leggi ed il personale locale esistenti, nei secondi erano necessari drastici cambiamenti nelle leggi,

43 Schmitt, *Premessa*, cit., p. 92. Von Clausewitz accenna alle ragioni perché «les guerres des nations civilisées sont beaucoup moins cruelles et destructrices que celles des nations non-civilisées ...» (*De la guerre*, cit., pp. 52-53), ma, secondo Keegan, non le approfondì, perché «he was struggling to advance a universal theory of what war ought to be, rather than what it actually was and had been» (*A History of Warfare*, cit., p. 6).

44 M. Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, New York 2002, pp. 99-109.

45 *Manual of Military Law*, 1914, p. 237, par. 7, cit. in G. Pastori, *L'Occidente in guerra con gli «altri»: lezioni storiche*, in M. de Leonardis-G. Pastori, *Le nuove sfide per la forza militare e la diplomazia. Il ruolo della NATO*, Bologna, 2007, pp. 37-38.

46 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ...* cit., p. 257.

47 Cfr. H. L. Coles-A.K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors*, Washington D.C., 1964, p. IX.

nelle istituzioni e nei funzionari. Nel primo caso il modello era quello della *indirect rule*, già largamente usato dai britannici nel loro Impero. Francia ed Europa Nord-Occidentale furono esempi del primo tipo di attività, Germania e Giappone della seconda, con l'Italia in una situazione più simile alle prime dopo l'armistizio del settembre 1943. Una *Civil Affairs Division* fu costituita presso il *War Department*, con la denominazione di *Provost Marshal General's Office*, per coordinare la pianificazione e l'addestramento del personale da impiegare, per il quale fu allestita una scuola apposita a Charlottesville, e sezioni G-5 (*civil affairs and military government*) furono create a livello di gruppi d'armate, di corpi d'armata e perfino di divisione⁴⁸.

Nei paesi nemici conquistati lo scopo dell'occupazione militare anglo-americana era di eliminare le strutture autoritarie o totalitarie e porre le basi per la transizione ad un diverso ordine politico interno, premessa a sua volta di un nuovo ordine internazionale. Vi era una compresenza difficile di necessità militari (il territorio liberato era anche retrovia del fronte) ed esigenze politico-amministrative, particolarmente in un paese come l'Italia dove il fronte si mosse lentamente verso nord dal settembre 1943 all'aprile 1945. I militari erano assai preoccupati dei loro compiti civili. «The sooner I can get rid of all these questions, that are outside the military in scope, the happier I will be! – scriveva nel novembre 1942 il Generale Eisenhower al capo di Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito Generale Marshall all'inizio della campagna in Africa Settentrionale – Sometimes I think I live ten tears each week, of which at least nine are absorbed in political and economic matters». Entrando in una città siciliana un ufficiale americano commentava nel luglio 1943: «And what a lot of headaches I found. Water supply damaged. No power. No food. No fuel, and corpses all over town to bury»⁴⁹.

Le attività civili richiedevano capacità diverse da quelle normalmente parte di una educazione militare. In particolare occorre la capacità di valutare i consigli e le informazioni forniti dai notabili della popolazione amministrata. All'epoca l'Esercito americano, come tutti gli altri, era basato sulla leva e quindi erano disponibili in larga misura ufficiali che nella vita civile svolgevano i più diversi compiti amministrativi. Un altro vantaggio, nella seconda guerra mondiale, a differenza di quanto avviene oggi in Afghanistan o in Iraq, era che nel territorio conquistato o liberato le operazioni militari erano effettivamente cessate e non vi erano attività di guerriglia o di sabotaggio.

Al contrario che in Germania ed in Giappone, in Vietnam, negli anni Cinquanta, Sessanta e Settanta, la guerriglia impediva il funzionamento delle istituzioni politiche e amministrative. In Vietnam il compito dei militari americani non era di sostituire un governo sconfitto, ma di rafforzare quello di Saigon, alleato degli Stati Uniti. Lo stesso problema di amministrare e contemporaneamente contrastare la guerriglia si trovarono di fronte gli inglesi, in diverse parti del loro Impero scosso dall'ondata di decolonizzazione e, forti della loro tradizione imperiale, lo risolsero in genere più felicemente. In questi casi l'esigenza era di trovare tra la classe politica un interlocutore credibile, che allo stesso tempo godesse del consenso della popolazione locale, ma fosse anche amico della potenza straniera che lo voleva sostenere,

48 Per brevità si fa riferimento qui all'esperienza americana; va ricordato però che, ad eccezione del Giappone, l'occupazione fu congiunta degli anglo-americani. Sull'organizzazione britannica cfr. F.S.V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government: Central Organisation and Planning*, Londra, 1966.

49 Coles-Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 45 e 192.

dotato di carisma, ma non troppo autoritario, e in grado di realizzare riforme, nella speranza, spesso illusoria, di eliminare le ragioni di malcontento su cui facevano leva i guerriglieri rivoluzionari⁵⁰. La guerriglia ovviamente puntava ad eliminare, soprattutto nei villaggi, i funzionari locali più efficienti ed onesti, in modo da costringere ad impiegare personaggi incapaci e corrotti, che avrebbero provocato discredito all'amministrazione. Occorreva, come si disse, vincere i cuori e le menti delle popolazioni indigene e questo era talvolta in conflitto con le esigenze militari. Se la guerriglia agiva come un pesce nell'acqua, secondo l'espressione del Generale Giap, bisognava togliergli l'acqua, ma senza provocare troppe perdite tra la popolazione, presa tra i due fuochi delle rappresaglie della guerriglia e della repressione del governo. La guerra già allora iper-tecnologica che volevano combattere gli americani per ridurre le loro perdite spesso non permetteva di raggiungere tale obiettivo: un villaggio distrutto dal *napalm* difficilmente era un buon viatico per conquistare appunto i cuori e le menti. «Era stato necessario distruggere il villaggio per poterlo salvare», fu la paradossale dichiarazione di un maggiore dell'Esercito americano, al termine di uno scontro nella città di B n Tre, sul delta del Mekong⁵¹. Un problema questo che si ripresenta oggi.

In Vietnam si videro la combinazione tra «illusione tecnologica» e debolezza morale che portò gli americani alla sconfitta e la dicotomia tra la guerra tecnologica dell'Occidente, che vuole minimizzare i rischi per i propri uomini in divisa, e le guerre «sporche» delle tribù, delle etnie e dei gruppi politici e religiosi dell'«altro mondo». Commentando quel conflitto, uno storico ha scritto: «Il pensiero militare dell'Occidente è giunto addirittura a concepire l'utopia di una guerra in cui sia possibile far combattere, in pratica, solo le macchine, con appena qualche decina di uomini al loro servizio». Già in Algeria e Indocina, negli anni '50 e '60 vi era stata la crisi delle fanterie, antico nerbo di tutti gli eserciti, a causa della «crescente incapacità dei popoli dell'Occidente di fare i conti con la dimensione della fatica fisica, del sacrificio ed infine della morte, che invece è propria delle società pre-industriali»⁵², e francesi ed americani avevano dovuto affidarsi a corpi speciali, Legione Straniera o Berretti Verdi.

Contro le guerriglie successive alla seconda guerra mondiale, peraltro, i britannici conseguirono significativi successi⁵³, il più importante in Malesia, seguendo una strategia politico-militare basata su collaborazione con le autorità indigene conservatrici, massimo rispetto per le culture e le tradizioni locali, aiuti economici e sostegno amministrativo per eliminare il malcontento, addestramento delle forze regolari amiche, uso limitato di aviazione ed artiglieria per evitare vittime tra i civili dei quali si cercava l'appoggio, alto livello di combattività delle

50 In realtà «Le stratège révolutionnaire ne cherche pas la solution des problèmes qu'il dénonce. Sa dénonciation a le double rôle de lui donner un statut et de jeter de l'huile sur le feu. Pour cette raison, l'illusion serait de penser qu'apporter une réponse au problème ponctuel objet du débat mufferait à désamorcer la subversion» (E. Langlois, *Guerre classique et guerre révolutionnaire: l'illusion de la différence*, in *Stratégie*, n. 85, 2005, p. 11).

51 Cfr. G. C. Herring, *America's Longest War. The United States in Vietnam 1950-1975*, IVth ed., New York, 2002, p. 233.

52 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ...*, pp. 266-68 (tutto il cap. VII, *L'Occidente alla guerra*, è di grande interesse). Il soldato occidentale, grazie ai moderni sistemi d'arma, cerca di «non venire a contatto con gli spargimenti di sangue» (Qiao Liang-Wang Xiangsui, *Guerra senza limiti. L'arte della guerra asimmetrica fra terrorismo e globalizzazione*, Gorizia, 2001. p. 75 [I ediz., Pechino, 1999; *La guerre hors limites*, traduit du chinois et annoté par H. Denes, Paris, 2006]).

53 Per una sintetica esposizione cfr. J. Pimlott (ed.), *British Military Operations 1945-1984*, Londra, 1984.

forze speciali che operavano a stretto contatto con le popolazioni, pattugliamento aggressivo delle zone di frontiera per impedire afflusso di rifornimenti ai guerriglieri e la loro fuga.

Il problema tattico di come affrontare guerriglieri e terroristi che operano mescolandosi alla popolazione civile, con essi solidale o da essi costretta, è uno dei principali da affrontare nei conflitti di oggi. Per risolverlo sarebbe illusorio puntare solo su sistemi d'arma sempre più «intelligenti». Se lo scopo dichiarato delle guerre di oggi, peraltro non più chiamate con il loro nome ma con una vasta gamma di altre denominazioni *politically correct*, è di mutare la situazione politica, sociale ed economica del Paese nel quale s'interviene, la vittoria militare sul campo contro le forze regolari nemiche (che non sempre esistono) è solo un primo risultato. Ancor più importante è la fase successiva nella quale occorre garantire allo stesso tempo la sicurezza e la ricostruzione. Come in tutte le operazioni di contro-guerriglia gli aspetti non militari sono rilevanti per ottenere il sostegno e la collaborazione della popolazione. Il vero successo si misurerà poi nel lungo periodo: «La guerra è quindi strettamente legata al dopoguerra e la componente militare a quella civile ... La guerra moderna si vince o si perde in base ai risultati di ciò che si fa dopo e non nell'abbattimento dell'avversario. Dalla fase post-bellica si capisce se la guerra o le operazioni sono servite a qualcosa»⁵⁴.

CONCLUSIONE

Come ci ricorda un maestro della storia militare, «war appears to be as old as mankind, but peace is a modern invention»⁵⁵. Gran parte del secolo XX e l'attuale appena iniziato hanno espresso una condanna della guerra ed un elogio della pace tanto nuovi ed insistiti, quanto ancora largamente inefficaci in molte parti del mondo, dove purtroppo le popolazioni civili sono direttamente coinvolte nei conflitti.

54 F. Mini, *La guerra dopo la guerra. Soldati, burocrati e mercenari nell'epoca della pace virtuale*, Torino 2003, p. 173.

55 Sir Henry Maine [1822-1888], cit. in esergo a M. Howard, *The Invention of Peace. Reflections on War and International Order*, New Haven & London, 2000.

Régimes politiques, systèmes internationaux et caractère des guerres: guerres totales, limitées, asymétriques

MASSIMO DE LEONARDIS*

GUERRES STASIS ET GUERRES POLEMOS

Le pourcentage de militaires morts et de victimes civiles n'est pas exclusivement lié à la puissance des armes utilisées et aux tactiques mises en place¹. Le caractère limité ou total des guerres résulte également de la nature des régimes politiques et des systèmes internationaux.

Dans cette perspective, pour illustrer les conflits on pourrait adopter deux termes différents que les Grecs, et notamment Platon², utilisaient: (*stasis*), c'est-à-dire la guerre entre des ennemis défendant des intérêts opposés mais appartenant à un système de valeurs et institutionnel partagé, et $\pi \mu$ (*polemos*), la guerre entre des ennemis séparés par une conception opposée du monde et des systèmes politiques³. Comme le souligne Raymond Aron, par rapport à l'idéologie, les systèmes internationaux peuvent être homogènes ou hétérogènes⁴, selon que les acteurs principaux partagent ou pas la même conception du monde: dans le premier cas, les guerres qui en résulteront seront des (*stasis*), comme entre la paix de Westphalie de 1648 et la Révolution française et entre 1815 et 1914; dans l'autre cas, on aura des $\pi \mu$ (*polemos*), comme les guerres de religion, les guerres de la France révolutionnaire et de l'époque napoléonienne ainsi que la seconde guerre mondiale. Von Clausewitz met en exergue justement que ce fut l'apparition d'un nouvel acteur international, la France révolutionnaire refusant le système en vigueur, qui entraîna la guerre absolue et non pas le contraire⁵.

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1 On peut tuer beaucoup de gens même en utilisant des armes rudimentaires. Par exemple, les prêtres aztèques, en se donnant la relève autours de quatre différents tables, en quatre jours pouvaient sacrifier, par leur poignard, plus de 80000 prisonniers de guerre (voir V. D. Hanson, *Massacri e cultura: le battaglie che hanno portato la civiltà occidentale a dominare il mondo*, Milan, 2002, pp. 232-37 et, en particulier, p. 234; l'édition original est *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, New York, 2001) et aux années '90 du XX siècle «au Rwanda et au Bourundi le nombre de victimes des machettes a été cinq fois supérieur aux morts causés par la bombe atomique d'Hiroshima» (C. Jean, *L'uso della forza. Se vuoi la pace comprendi la guerra*, Rome-Bari, 1996, pp. 16-17).

2 «L'inimitié entre les alliés et les amis s'appelle sédition; entre les étrangers elle se nomme proprement guerre», Platon, *Dialoghi politici e lettere*, par F. Adorno, vol. I, Tourin, 1970, *Repubblica*, livre V, chapitre. XVI, p. 426 (la traduction citée est celle de Jean Nicolas Grou en 1765).

3 À cet égard voir G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto. Una ipotesi generale sulle regolarità del ciclo politico*, maintenant en Id., *Le regolarità della politica*, Milan, 1988, vol. II, et notamment les pages 773-74.

4 Voir R. Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, Paris, 1962, pp. 108-113 et Id., *La politica, la guerra, la storia*, Boulogne, 1992, p. 74 [Introduction par A. Panebianco].

5 K. von Clausewitz, *De la guerre*, Paris, 1955, livre VIII, pp. 708-10.

Evidemment, compte tenu de la multiforme réalité de l'histoire, il faut toujours considérer les exceptions existant dans toute rigoureuse classification⁶. À différentes époques, à côté de la typologie prévalente de guerre, on peut en identifier d'autres, peut-être dans le cadre de zones géopolitiques distinctes, alors que dans le cadre du même conflit, des affrontements appartenant à des typologies différentes peuvent se manifester⁷. La classification citée s'applique notamment aux guerres entre états et non pas à la guerre civile, qui a toujours un caractère $\omega \mu$ car, comme Gianfranco Miglio a souligné, il s'agit de «la plus 'véritable' des guerres ... la guerre la plus 'totale', pendant laquelle on ne reconnaît aucune limite à l'agressivité, ni aucune règle humanitaire»⁸. La «guerre totale», entre états ou civile, comme Carl Schmitt a remarqué, «dépassa la distinction entre combattants et non combattants»⁹.

Au cours de l'histoire, différentes tentatives ont été faites pour éviter l'éclatement des guerres ou pour imposer des règles limitant leur cruauté. À partir de S. Augustin d'Ippone, l'Église Catholique en particulier s'est interrogée sur la moralité de la guerre, en élaborant le concept de «guerre juste».

Il existe cinq conditions selon lesquelles la guerre «peut être justifiée et avoir sa valeur éthique»¹⁰: certaines ont trait au caractère licite de l'emploi de la force, en termes juridiques c'est le *jus ad bellum*: *Auctoritas principis* (seulement ceux qui exercent le pouvoir souverain ont le droit de déclarer la guerre), *Iusta causa* (c'est-à-dire la nécessité de protéger des droits fondamentaux, comme le droit à la vie, à la liberté, à son propre territoire, à ses biens, à son honneur; la cause doit être proportionnée aux terribles malheurs entraînés par la guerre et elle doit être certaine; enfin, il faut avoir bon espoir que les avantages l'emportent sur les inconvénients), *Ultima ratio* (si les moyens pour une solution pacifique du différend ont échoué). Il existe, d'autre part, des règles rentrant dans le cadre du *jus in bello*, c'est-à-dire les normes à appliquer au cours du conflit: il s'agit du *Iustus modus*, selon lequel la force doit être utilisée contre les armées ennemies et tout ce qui n'est pas demandé pour réclamer l'application du droit est illicite, et, en partie, l'*Intentio recta*, comme Saint Thomas d'Aquin dit, les belligérants doivent avoir l'intention de faire le bien et éviter le mal.

6 Les tableaux I et IV publiés par M. Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, Stanford, 1999, offrent, le premier, une idée de l'évolution des guerres à partir du XVII^e siècle jusqu'à aujourd'hui, en établissant une relation entre situation politique, objectifs de guerre, type d'armée, technique militaire et économie de guerre; le deuxième tableau établit une correspondance entre modèles de systèmes internationaux, institutions politiques, sources de légitimité et paradigmes de la sécurité, en se projetant vers l'avenir. Sur ce thème voir aussi le livre de K. J. Holsti, *Peace and war: armed conflicts and international order 1648-1989*, Cambridge, 1991.

7 Pendant la seconde guerre mondiale, par exemple, des événements chevaleresques typiques du Moyen Âge et des actes d'une extrême brutalité se sont produits. Après 1945 et après 1990 il semble que les conflits des siècles passés aient laissé chacun leur propre héritage.

8 G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto* ..., cit., p. 772.

9 C. Schmitt, *Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, écrit en 1938, maintenant en Id., *Le categorie del 'politico'. Saggi di teoria politica*, par G. Miglio et P. Schiera, Boulogne, 1972, p. 201.

10 A. Brucculeri S. I., *Moralità della guerra*, VI ed., Roma, 1953 [avec l'approbation des Autorités Ecclésiastiques], pp. 49-58.

Au cours des siècles pendant lesquels l'Église exerça une influence maximum sur les règles à adopter à l'intérieur de la *Respublica Christiana*, elle agit aussi pour réglementer le phénomène de la guerre, en limitant son champ d'action, sa cruauté et sa durée. La première mesure adoptée fut la Paix de Dieu, organisée à partir de la fin du X^e siècle et progressivement élargie, introduisant la distinction entre combattants et civils, interdisant les mauvais traitements des femmes, des enfants, des paysans et des prêtres et déclarant l'inviolabilité des églises et des maisons des paysans. La Trêve de Dieu, instaurée dès le début du XI^e siècle, limitait la durée de la guerre en interdisant les combats du premier dimanche de l'Avent jusqu'à l'octave de l'Épiphanie, du premier jour de Carême jusqu'à l'octave de l'Ascension et, pendant les autres périodes de l'année, du mercredi soir au lundi matin.

La quarantaine-le-roi, instituée par Philippe Auguste de France, imposait un intervalle de quarante jours pendant lequel l'offensé ne pouvait venger son injure. Les mesures citées, tout comme les résolutions actuelles de l'ONU, n'étaient pas toujours honorées et elles ne valaient qu'entre les chrétiens, toutefois ceux ne les respectaient pas, s'exposaient à de sévères sanctions matérielles et spirituelles.¹¹ «Dans plusieurs régions, – Philippe Contamine¹² écrit – pendant la période centrale du Moyen Âge, même si la guerre ne disparaît pas complètement, on assiste cependant à une marginalisation de la guerre qui s'inscrit dans la durée; et, même si une guerre éclatait, ses effets étaient plus 'canalisés'». «Les modalités de la guerre courtoise», en raison des armements utilisés, ainsi que des défenses et des tactiques mises en place, menaient à des affrontements peut sanglants et chevaleresques, au moins entre chrétiens¹³.

LA SUCCESSION DE DIFFÉRENTS TYPES DE GUERRE À L'ÉPOQUE MODERNE ET CONTEMPORAINE

Au début de l'âge moderne, à l'occasion des guerres du XVI^e siècle et de la première moitié du XVII^e siècle, les conflits armés devinrent plus âpres, en conséquence de la «révolution militaire»¹⁴, avec une utilisation élargie de la poudre à canon, de nouveaux armements et de nouveaux modèles organisationnels, ainsi que de l'élément idéologique représenté par les conflits religieux entraînés par la réforme protestante.

Après la Paix de Westphalie de 1648, cependant, la guerre prend à nouveau un caractère plus limité, encore une fois pour des raisons techniques et 'idéologiques'. Les armées professionnelles du XVIII^e siècle représentaient un bien précieux, que les commandants ne souhaitaient pas mettre en danger dans le cadre de batailles décisives¹⁵. L'organisation et

11 R. Pernoud, *Lumière du moyen âge*, Paris, 1944, pp. 91-93.

12 Cette phrase n'apparaît qu'à la page 13 de l'*Introduzione all'edizione italiana* (P. Contamine, *La guerra nel Medioevo*, Boulogne, 1986; l'édition originale française est *La Guerre au moyen âge*, Paris, 1986). Par rapport au sujet de notre intérêt, voir notamment le IX^e chapitre (X dans l'édition italienne), abordant de manière assez approfondie et articulée le même thème analysé de manière synthétique par M.me Pernoud.

13 Voir *La Guerre au moyen âge*, cit., pp. 414-15.

14 Voir G. Parker, *The military revolution: military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 1988.

15 «Je ne suis pas pour les batailles rangées, surtout au commencement d'une guerre – le Maréchal Maurice de Saxe écrivait en 1732 dans ses *Rêveries de Guerre* – et je suis convaincu qu'un général pourrait même faire

la logistique des armées professionnelles permettaient largement de réaliser l'intention de Frédéric II de Prusse: «Les sujets ne doivent pas se rendre compte si le souverain est en guerre». Les guerres du XVIII^e siècle eurent une durée moyenne d'une année seulement; la guerre des Sept Ans (1756-1763) fut dénommée de cette manière car elle représentait une exception évidente à cette règle.

La *Realpolitik* évitait toute diabolisation de l'ennemi, ouvrant les portes à un conflit sans haine¹⁶. La guerre ne visait pas à anéantir l'adversaire car il pouvait représenter un futur allié : dans une Europe politiquement homogène, qui avait adopté le concept d'équilibre des forces en tant que principe régulateur, le bouleversement des alliances était une stratégie diplomatique acceptée et appréciée. En même temps, aux XVIII^e et XIX^e siècles, compte tenu que le magistère de l'Église n'était plus reconnu au niveau international et primant, au contraire, le concept d'origine machiavélique que la souveraineté légitime toujours les actions de l'État, on abandonna les discussions sur la «guerre juste» pour tout ce qui avait trait au *jus ad bellum*. Le droit international «n'a pas de choix ... il doit accepter la guerre – un juriste anglais écrivait en 1880¹⁷ – indépendamment du bien-fondé de son origine ... en se limitant à régler les effets de cette relation». Et encore, en 1915, Benedetto Croce soulignait: «que la guerre éclate ou pas, elle est si peu morale ou immorale comme un tremblement de terre», et les citoyens n'ont «autre devoir morale que prendre position ... pour défendre la patrie», seulement «une idéologie fausse, un sophisme des petits gens de lettres peut essayer de remplacer ces concepts simples et sévères avec l'idéologie de la raison et du tort, de la guerre juste et de la guerre injuste»¹⁸.

Cependant, entre le XVIII^e et le XIX^e siècle, la révolution française donna à nouveau à la guerre un caractère totalitaire, avec la levée en masse et la stratégie napoléonienne fondée sur l'affrontement rangé décisif et idéologique, moyennant la proclamation de la croisade révolutionnaire. «Il faut déclarer la guerre aux rois et la paix aux nations!», le député Merlin de Thionville s'exclama à l'occasion de la déclaration de guerre du 20 avril 1792; «paix aux chaumières, guerre aux châteaux!», écrivit Condorcet, philosophe et savant¹⁹. Toutefois, ces affirmations ne conduisirent pas à épargner les populations: bien au contraire, la guerre révolutionnaire provoqua une guerre civile à l'intérieur de la France (le sommet fut atteint en Vendée) et dans les pays envahis, où les armées françaises trouvèrent des opposants, les insurgés catholiques et royalistes²⁰. Ce schéma se produisit à nouveau à l'occasion de la seconde guerre mondiale, avec les collaborationnistes et les maquisards antinazis

la guerre toute sa vie sans jamais avoir à en mener une seule» (cité par M. Howard, *La guerra e le armi nella storia d'Europa*, Roma-Bari, 1981, p. 71).

16 «Ce n'est pas la haine qui confère la qualité d'ennemi de l'Etat, mais c'est le droit» (B. Spinoza, *Trattato teologico-politico*, dans *Etica e Trattato teologico-politico*, par R. Cantoni et F. Fergnani, Tourin, 1980, p. 655).

17 Cité par J. Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, London, 1993, p. 383.

18 B. Croce, *Pagine sparse*, Serie seconda, *Pagine sulla guerra*, recueillies par G. Castellano, Naples, 1919, pp. 86-87.

19 J. Tulard-J.-F. Fayard-A. Fierro, *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1987, pp. 91-92.

20 Pour une introduction aux rebellions au niveau européen voir J. Godechot, *La contre-révolution: doctrine et action: 1789-1804*, Paris, 1961; en Italie, l'oeuvre la plus complète est de M. Viglione, *Rivolte dimenticate. Le insorgenze degli italiani dalle origini al 1815*, Rome, 1999.

et, probablement, on aurait eu la même situation si la guerre froide était devenue chaude et les armées soviétiques avaient envahi l'Europe occidentale, avec des compagnons de route ainsi que des combattants anticomunistes. Dans le passé les souverains avaient parfois appuyé les sujets rebelles contre des Princes avec lesquels ils étaient en guerre, mais cela avait entraîné des scrupules moraux et n'avait aucune connotation idéologique²¹.

Après 1815 la fidélité à l'État, dynastique et/ou nationaliste («Avec Dieu, pour le Roi et la Patrie», la devise de la *Landwehr* prussienne, peut être considéré comme la réponse conservatrice à la révolutionnaire «nation armée»), ceux qui supportaient l'ennemi étaient simplement considérés comme des traîtres²². Par la suite, les «internationales» nazi-fasciste et communiste présentèrent à nouveau le problème de la «double fidélité», à l'État ainsi que à l'idéologie. La question concernant la légitimité du combat de l'insurgent, du maquisard ou du guérillero ne peut pas être résolue en termes purement juridiques: «une réglementation du problème des maquisards est impossible du point de vue juridique», et d'autre part «un maquisard moderne ne s'attend de son ennemi ni droit ni pitié»²³.

Entre 1815 et 1914 le système international se fonda substantiellement sur le «concert européen» des Grandes Puissances, avec des périodes pendant lesquelles la collaboration et la conscience d'être part d'une «société européenne commune» s'accroissaient ou baissaient et, au cours de la dernière phase, une difficulté croissante à contenir les rivalités et les poussées nationalistes.

L'idéologie, dans ce cas-là les principes de liberté et de nationalité, joua un rôle important, au moins jusqu'à l'unification italienne, mais en tout cas toujours à côté des principes classiques de la politique de puissance, tant que la grande explosion révolutionnaire de 1848-49 ne perturba guère la paix entre les Grandes Puissances. Les guerres de ce siècle furent courtes, limitées et sans inconvénient au niveau social pour certaines puissances: «Avant 1914 la guerre était presque universellement considérée comme un moyen acceptable, parfois incontournable ou, par beaucoup de gens, souhaitable, pour résoudre les différends internationaux et, en général, la guerre à laquelle on s'attendait, tout en n'étant pas exactement *frisch und fröhlich*, était certainement de courte durée, sûrement pas plus longue de la guerre de 1870 qui, consciemment ou inconsciemment, était prise comme modèle par cette génération»²⁴.

Au début, la première guerre mondiale fut un conflit classique éclaté pour des raisons de puissance mais, au fur et à mesure, elle prit aussi un caractère idéologique²⁵. La Grande

21 Voir E. Luard, *The Balance of Power. The System of International Relations, 1648-1815*, London, 1992, pp. 125-26; pour la pratique diplomatique, voir aussi M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*, New York, 1993.

22 La loyauté à l'égard de la Couronne avait toujours un caractère de quelque sorte contractuel: un mauvais prince pouvait être renié, la fidélité pouvait être refusée ou conditionnée. Mais comment était-il possible de faire cela avec une Nation qui était simplement *vous-même* et votre volonté générale?» (M. Howard, *The causes of wars and other essays*, London, 1983, p. 26).

23 C. Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano. Integrazione al concetto del politico*, Milan, 2005 [1 ed., Berlin, 1963], pp. 53 et 20-21.

24 Howard, *The causes of wars* ..., cit., p. 9; le même avis exprimé par A. J. P. Taylor, *The struggle for mastery in Europe: 1848-1918*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 529-30.

25 Elle «commença comme une guerre conventionnelle s'inscrivant dans le cadre du droit international euro-

Guerre, si longue, sanglante et totale, entraînant des bouleversements politiques et sociaux effroyables, fut différente des conflits brefs et limités du XIX^e siècle et elle introduisit de nouveaux modes de penser. Pendant ce conflit trois types de “nouvelles diplomaties” surgirent, c’est à dire la wilsonienne, la bolchevique et la pontificale contemporaine, toutes rejetant, plus ou moins de bonne fois, la guerre. En réalité, l’Église seulement confirma par la suite une attitude que, simplifiant, on peut définir «pacifiste»²⁶.

Au comble des illusions entraînées par le nouveau concept de sécurité collective²⁷, la guerre fut naïvement déclarée hors loi par le fameux pacte Kellogg-Briand de 1928 qui, à l’article n.1 affirme: «Les Hautes Parties contractantes déclarent solennellement au nom de leurs peuples respectifs qu’elles condamnent le recours à la guerre pour le règlement des différends internationaux et y renoncent en tant qu’instrument de politique nationale dans leurs relations mutuelles», en ne justifiant, donc, que la guerre déclarée par la communauté internationale contre un pays reconnu en tant qu’agresseur par la Société des Nations. Dans des écrits très intéressants de 1932 et de 1938 Carl Schmitt²⁸ adressa une critique serrée au pacte et à la Société des Nations, en prévoyant que leurs effets n’auraient pas été la renonce à l’utilisation de la force dans les relations internationales mais simplement la disparitions des déclarations de guerre et que «un impérialisme de type économique cherchera à créer une situation mondiale dans laquelle utiliser ouvertement, autant que nécessaire, les outils économiques à sa disposition, à savoir les restrictions de crédit, l’embargo sur les matières premières, la dévaluation de la devise étrangère, etc. Il considérera comme une ‘violence extra économique’ la tentative d’un peuple ou d’autres groupes humains de se soustraire aux effets de ces moyens ‘pacifiques’».

Cependant, la remarque la plus incisive de Schmitt fut la suivante: «si un état lutte contre son ennemi politique au nom de l’humanité, il ne s’agit pas d’une guerre de l’humanité mais d’un affrontement moyennant lequel un état cherche à s’emparer, contre son ennemi, d’un concept universel afin de se donner une identité (aux dépenses de son ennemi) ... l’humanité est un outil particulièrement approprié pour les expansionnismes impérialistes et, du point de vue éthique et humanitaire, est un moyen spécifique de l’impérialisme économique. A ce sujet, même si avec un changement nécessaire, il faut citer

péen et se termina par une guerre civile mondiale de l’inimitié de la classe révolutionnaire» (Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano*, cit., pp. 131-32).

- 26 L’Eglise est “pacificatrice” et non pas “pacifiste” et son Magistère a réaffirmé encore récemment la doctrine traditionnelle de la “guerre juste”. A cet égard voir *Catechismo della Chiesa cattolica. Testo integrale e commento teologico*, par Mons. R. Fisichella, Casale Monferrato, 1993, pp. 426-27 et Pontificio Consiglio della Giustizia e della Pace, *Compendio della dottrina sociale della Chiesa*, Cité du Vatican, 2004, nn. 500-502; pour un examen de la question, voir R. de Mattei, *Guerra santa guerra giusta. Islam e Cristianesimo in guerra*, Casale Monferrato, 2002, P. Corrêa de Oliveira, *Nobiltà ed élites tradizionali analoghe nelle allocuzioni di Pio XII al Patriziato ed alla Nobiltà romana*, Milan, 1993, *Documenti*, XI, *Il pensiero di Papi, Santi, Dottori e Teologi sulla liceità della guerra*, la partie troisième, *La Chiesa, i militari e la guerra*, de M. de Leonardis, *ULTIMA RATIO REGUM. Forza militare e relazioni internazionali*, I tirage, Boulogne, 2005.
- 27 Pour une définition de ce concept voir. F. Andreatta, *Istituzioni per la pace. Teoria e pratica della sicurezza collettiva da Versailles alla ex Jugoslavia*, Boulogne, 2000, pp. 25-26.
- 28 C. Schmitt, *Il concetto di ‘politico’ et Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, maintenant en Id., *Le categorie del ‘politico’*, cit., pp. 101-65 e 193-203.

une phrase célèbre de Proudhon: ceux qui parlent d'humanité veulent vous tromper»²⁹. A ce sujet il faut encore citer Schmitt qui, en 1929 écrivait: «désormais nous connaissons bien la loi secrète de ce jargon et nous savons très bien que, à l'heure actuelle, la guerre la plus terrible ne peut être menée qu'au nom de la paix»³⁰. Il s'agissait des origines lointaines d'une novlangue de type orwellienne, s'étant déjà révélées en 1914 avec le slogan, somme des illusions (ou des hypocrisies ?) idéalistes de H. G. Wells sur «la guerre pour terminer toutes les guerres» et qui atteint son sommet en 1999 avec l'oxymoron de la «guerre humanitaire»³¹.

La condamnation morale de la guerre fut encore plus marquée après la seconde guerre mondiale, en raison aussi des dévastations effroyables provoquées. Terroriser et tuer les civils par le biais des bombardements aériens avait été une des tactiques mises en œuvre; les actions de la lutte partisane et, en particulier, sa répression, avaient impliqué pleinement les populations civiles.

Toutefois, l'exclusion du recours à la force armée de la gamme des options possibles fut beaucoup plus évidente dans les pays vaincus, soit Allemagne, Italie et Japon, que dans les pays vainqueurs. En tout cas ce fut surtout l'équilibre de la terreur, la destruction mutuelle assurée³², qui évita une guerre générale. La Guerre en Europe ne fut que «froide». Le Vieux Continent connut une période de paix de 45 ans; mais au delà de ses frontières cette période ne fut pas aussi pacifique : les deux blocs s'affrontèrent dans les «guerres par procuration», de la Corée au Vietnam, jusqu'aux multiples rebellions communistes. Alors qu'en Europe la guerre était fausse, «riche et abstraite », ailleurs la guerre était véritable, sale, «pauvre et concrète», dans laquelle on pouvait déjà identifier beaucoup d'éléments typiques des conflits de la période post-bipolaire³³. On peut déjà affirmer que «la guerre froide se moque de toute distinction classique entre guerre, paix et neutralité, entre politique et économie, entre militaire et civil, entre combattants et non combattants»³⁴.

LES GUERRES ENTRE LA DEUXIÈME MOITIÉ DU XX ET LE XXI SIÈCLE

Entre la deuxième moitié du XX siècle et le début du siècle courant la typologie de la guerre a radicalement changé. Les affrontements entre les nations appartenant à la civilisation occidentale ont disparues³⁵. Par contre, même si le contexte politique et diplomatique

29 Schmitt, *Il concetto di 'politico'*, cit., p. 139.

30 C. Schmitt, *L'epoca delle neutralizzazioni e delle spoliticizzazioni*, Id., *Le categorie del 'politico'*, cit., p. 182.

31 Voir M. Howard, *War and the liberal conscience*, Oxford, 1981 [une série de leçons consacrées aux apories du pacifisme libéral], p. 74.

32 Voir M. de Leonardis, *The Cold War as Total War: the Interaction of Military Strategies and Diplomacy from "Massive Retaliation" to "Flexible Response"*, in *The Total War. The Total Defence, 1789-2000*, Acta of the XXVIth International Congress of Military History, Stockholm, 2001, pp. 383-94.

33 Les adjectifs cités sont utilisés par E. Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo (1945-1980)*, Boulogne, 1982, p. 25.

34 C. Schmitt, *Premessa*, mars 1963, in Id., *Il concetto di 'politico'*, cit., pp. 99-100.

35 Quant au recours à la force militaire, Henry Kissinger observe que l'Occident démocratique a aboli la guerre à l'intérieur de ses frontières. L'Asie ressemble à l'Europe du XIX siècle: les Grandes Puissances, à savoir la Russie, l'Inde, la Chine et le Japon se voient comme des rivales stratégiques; la paix est fondée sur l'équilibre, mais la guerre n'est pas exclue de la gamme d'options possibles. Les conflits au Moyen Orient

a changé par rapport à l'époque du colonialisme et de la décolonisation, les conflits continuent, pour les pays occidentaux, dans les théâtres géopolitiques du Tiers-Monde, sous forme d'opérations de *peace enforcement*, guerre au terrorisme, interventions militaires visant au *regime change* et au *state building*.

Au Tiers-Monde les guerres ethniques, tribales et civiles, que le colonialisme avait fortement limitées, ont réapparues massivement³⁶. En Europe même et à ses frontières les plus proches, des conflits en même temps civils et interétatiques ont réapparus, comme dans la ex-Yougoslavie et au Caucase. En d'autres mots, les guerres menées sur la base de règles visant à en limiter la cruauté ont presque disparues, tandis qu'on assiste à une prolifération des conflits pour lesquels la violation des dites règles fait partie intégrante des tactiques mises en œuvre et la population civile est pleinement impliquée dans les opérations. Au début du XX siècle la proportion entre victimes militaires et civiles était de huit contre un; au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale on atteint une situation d'égalité; aujourd'hui le rapport a été inversé, soit un militaire mort contre huit civils.

Bien évidemment, il faut aussi tenir compte d'une autre donnée selon laquelle au XX siècle les conflits infra étatiques ont causé 119 millions de victimes et les conflits interétatiques en ont causés 36 millions³⁷. Une fois terminée la Guerre Froide et le danger d'un affrontement nucléaire global disparu, l'Occident, les habitants des pays occidentaux, où les guerres interétatiques et civiles ont été abolies, ainsi que la conscription obligatoire, pouvaient se considérer à l'abri de tout danger ; au contraire, à l'heure actuelle c'est la menace du terrorisme de matrice islamique qui est suspendue sur leur tête et les civils occidentaux aussi sont menacés de mort³⁸.

nous rappellent l'époque des guerres de religion: les conflits ne sont pas de nature économique, comme à l'Occident, ou stratégique, comme en Asie, mais idéologique et religieuse. Les acteurs dénie l'un l'autre leur légitimité (*Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, New York, 2001, pp. 25-26). Robert Cooper, ancien conseiller de politique étrangère de M. Blair, à présent directeur général des affaires étrangères de l'UE partage le monde en trois zones géopolitiques les *postmodern states*, comme les états de l'UE qui ne font jamais de guerre entre eux; les *modern states*, bismarckiens, souvent dotés d'armements nucléaires, comme la Chine et l'Inde, qui pourraient utiliser leur puissance; les *«post-imperial chaos»* des *premodern states*, qui demandent la présence "coloniale" des constructeurs de nations et de paix (*The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*, New York, 2003, chapitres 1-2).

- 36 «Même si on tient compte de l'aide apportée par les mitrailleuses et les explosifs à haut potentiel, le nombre total des morts causés par les européens en Afrique et en Asie doit avoir été insignifiant par rapport au nombre des morts infligés par leurs propres bourreaux, en Afrique moyennant des guerres, en Asie par la répression des émeutes ... Face aux coûts de la conquête occidentale il faut considérer qu'elle mit fin à une effusion de sang endémique datant de longtemps» (V. G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse 1815-1960*, Leicester, 1982, p. 227).
- 37 Voir J.-J. Roche, *Théories des relations internationales*, Paris, 2006, p. 104. Selon d'autres calculs, les civils morts s'élevèrent à 10% pendant la I guerre mondiale, à 52% au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, et à 90% pendant les guerres qui ont eu lieu après 1945 (R. Toscano, *Il volto del nemico. La sfida dell'etica nelle relazioni internazionali*, Milan, 2000, p. 150, n. 49).
- 38 E. Cecchini observe que (*Storia della guerriglia. Dall'antichità all'età nucleare*, Milano, 1990): «Si l'histoire de la guérilla – sans règles, féroce et sans discernement – peut être considérée, sous plusieurs aspects, comme faisant partie intégrante de l'histoire militaire, l'histoire du terrorisme appartient à la criminologie». Malheureusement il n'existe pas une définition de terrorisme acceptée au niveau international permettant d'établir une différence entre les guérillas et les guerres de libération; il s'agit, en effet, d'un vieux problè-

En contradiction avec le vieil adage de Cicéron, repris par Grotius «*Inter bellum & pacem nihil est medium*»³⁹, des nombreuses zones du monde vivent dans un état intermédiaire de «*de-institutionalized war*»⁴⁰. Après 1945, une « guerre typique » ne commence pas par une déclaration formelle et il est souvent difficile d'identifier une date exacte de début des hostilités; elle peut durer des décennies (comme le conflit au Vietnam, compte tenu des deux phases, française et américaine, ou la rébellion en Erythrée, commencée en 1961 et terminée en 1991) et ne terminer pas par un traité de paix formel (comme la guerre de Corée). Le lien solide entre souveraineté étatique, monopole de la force et enracinement territorial est desserré; des terroristes et des criminels «souvent ils possèdent des grands arsenaux, que, dans le passé, les seuls gouvernements qui percevaient les impôts pouvaient se permettre, mais ils n'obéissent pas aux règles observées par les gouvernements souverains»⁴¹. Une violence organisée surgit impérieusement, mettant de côté les distinctions traditionnelles

elles entre conflits internes ou civils et guerres transnationales, entre les guerres menées par des «acteurs légitimes» et les guerres privées se rapprochant à des épisodes de crime organisé, entre agressions externes et rebellions, entre répressions légitimes de groupes violents et violations sur vaste échelles des droits de l'homme.

Ces conflits sont menés par les armées régulières aussi bien que par les unités paramilitaires des seigneurs de la guerre, ou par des groupes de mercenaires,⁴² des bandes criminelles, des forces de police et des unités s'étant détachées des armées régulières. Toute distinction existante entre combattant légitime et non légitime, combattants et civiles, militaires, forces de police et criminels s'estompent.

Les combattants irréguliers disposent, eux aussi, de technologies avancées, de portables, de mines non identifiées, d'armements légers d'un maniement aisé que les enfants aussi peuvent utiliser; ils financent leurs guerres par le pillage, le marché noir, l'assistance extérieure, notamment les aides des diasporas ethniques et religieuses, la «taxation» de l'assistance humanitaire, le soutien de gouvernements limitrophes ou les trafics de drogues, d'armements et de biens de valeur, comme le pétrole ou les diamants.

me, déjà surgi au cours de la seconde guerre mondiale, comme témoigné, par exemple, par les polémiques sur l'attentat de Via Rasella à Rome en 1944.

39 Cicéron dans la VIII philippique, cit. in H. Grotii, *De jure belli ac pacis*, Amstelaedami, 1735, liber III, caput 21, § 1, p. 907.

40 K. J. Holsti, *The state, war and the state of war*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 20-21, 27.

41 J. Keegan, *The Changing Face of War*, in *Wall Street Journal Europe*, 26-11-01, p. A6. Les organisations terroristes sont un exemple de «déterritorialisation» des relations internationales, dans un système «post-wesphalien», dans lequel agissent «d'acteurs transnationaux cherchant à faire reconnaître leur autonomie par la contestation des prérogatives étatiques» (Roche, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

42 Un aspect spécifique, et distingué, de ce phénomène est l'existence, aux Etats-Unis et en Grande Bretagne, d'agences reconnues par l'Etat qui fournissent des «services militaires», en d'autres mots des mercenaires, lorsque l'état ne peut pas employer les forces régulières (voir O. Hubac-Occhipinti, *Armées: La relative privatisation de la violence armée*, in F. Géré-A. Blin [sous la direction de], *Puissances et influences. Annuaire géopolitique et géostratégique 2002-2003*. Paris, 2002, pp. 189-94).

L'OCCIDENT EN GUERRE DANS D'AUTRES THÉÂTRES GÉOPOLITIQUES

«Le droit international européen relatif à la guerre territoriale entre États» a réussi à réglementer et limiter la guerre, «reste à savoir comment il pourra s'adapter à d'autres peuples qui n'ont connu, dans leur histoire, que des guerres coloniales ou civiles»⁴³. En réalité, les Européens et les Américains eux-mêmes, entre le XIX et le XX siècle déjà, en combattant dans les théâtres du Tiers-Monde n'appliquaient pas les règles de ce droit. Au début du XX siècle, pour dompter la guérilla indépendantiste dans les Philippines, les Américains adoptèrent une stratégie de terre brûlée qui consistait à ne pas faire de prisonniers et à tuer des civils sans discrimination⁴⁴. Dans ces mêmes années à peu près, lors de la guerre anglo-boère, les Anglais instituèrent des camps de concentration dont les conditions provoquèrent une très grande mortalité des civils qui y étaient internés. Dans le manuel de droit de la guerre britannique de 1914 l'on pouvait lire: «Il faut souligner que les dispositions du droit international ne s'appliquent qu'aux guerres menées entre nations civilisées, lorsque les deux parties sont en mesure de les comprendre et de les appliquer. Elle ne s'appliquent pas aux guerres contre les états et les tribus non civilisées [vis-à-vis desquels le rôle de ces dispositions] est remplacé par la pouvoir discrétionnaire des commandants, ainsi que par les principes de justice et d'humanité dictés par les circonstances spécifiques»⁴⁵.

L'historien Ernesto Galli della Loggia observe à son tour que «dans la seconde moitié du XX siècle», «l'organisation transnationale de la guerre partisane», «la guérilla a contribué, plus que toute autre chose, à désagréger certains points essentiels du droit international régissant les rapports entre les États»⁴⁶. En réalité, durant les guérillas anti-occidentales (où le communisme et l'anticolonialisme étaient souvent étroitement liés) avaient déjà été observés plusieurs des caractères des conflits d'aujourd'hui: guerres asymétriques, opérations de *peace enforcement*, interventions militaires dans un but de *regime change* ou de *state building*. Dans ces dernières interventions, le rapport avec les populations civiles est naturellement fondamental pour obtenir la victoire.

Tout au long de l'histoire, les guerres ont été combattues pour mille et une raisons qu'il est superflu de rappeler ici. Entre autres, il y avait parfois aussi, comme dans les guerres de succession du XVIII siècle, celle de choisir ou de changer le souverain ou la forme politique de l'Etat faisant l'objet de la guerre. Le vainqueur ne se souciait en tout cas aucunement d'aider le vaincu à se redresser. Il n'en a pas été de même lors de la seconde guerre mondiale concernant l'Allemagne, le Japon et l'Italie. Durant ce conflit, les manuels de l'Armée américaine parlaient de *civil affairs* pour se référer aux activités d'occupation

43 Schmitt, *Premessa*, cit., page 92. Von Clausewitz parle des raisons pour lesquelles «les guerres des nations civilisées sont beaucoup moins cruelles et destructrices que celles des nations non-civilisées ...» (*De la guerre*, cit., pages 52-53), mais, selon Keegan, il ne les approfondit pas, parce que «Il avait l'intention d'identifier une théorie universelle de ce que la guerre aurait dû être, et non pas de ce qu'elle était ou avait été» (*A History of Warfare*, cit., page 6).

44 M. Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, New York 2002, pages 99-109.

45 *Manual of Military Law*, 1914, page 237, par. 7, cit. in G. Pastori, *L'Occidente in guerra con gli «altri»: lezioni storiche*, in M. de Leonardis-G. Pastori, *Le nuove sfide per la forza militare e la diplomazia. Il ruolo della NATO*, Boulogne, 2007, pages 37-38.

46 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ... cit.*, page 257.

dans les territoires libérés et par contre de *military government* pour celles dans les pays ennemis conquis⁴⁷. Dans les premiers, les nécessités de l'Armée et les objectifs des Alliés pouvaient être largement satisfaits et atteints à travers les lois et le personnel local existants, dans les seconds étaient nécessaires des changements drastiques dans les lois, dans les institutions et dans les fonctionnaires. Dans le premier cas, le modèle était celui de la *indirect rule*, déjà largement utilisé par les Britanniques dans leur Empire. La France et l'Europe Nord-Occidentale furent des exemples du premier type d'activité, l'Allemagne et le Japon de la seconde, l'Italie étant dans une situation plus semblable aux premières après les armistices de septembre 1943. Une *Civil Affairs Division* fut constituée auprès du *War Department*, sous la dénomination de *Provost Marshal General's Office*, pour coordonner la planification et l'instruction du personnel à employer, pour lequel fut organisée une école spéciale à Charlottesville et furent créées des sections G-5 (*civil affairs and military government*) au niveau de groupes d'armées, de corps d'armée et même de division⁴⁸.

Dans les pays ennemis conquis, le but de l'occupation militaire anglo-américaine était d'éliminer les structures autoritaires ou totalitaires et de jeter les bases pour la transition vers un ordre politique interne différent, prélude à son tour d'un nouvel ordre international. Il y avait une coexistence difficile de nécessités militaires (le territoire libéré était aussi l'arrière du front) et d'exigences politico-administratives, en particulier dans un pays tel que l'Italie où le front avançait lentement vers le nord du mois de septembre 1943 au mois d'avril 1945. Les militaires étaient fort inquiets de leurs tâches civiles. « Je serai très heureux lorsque j'arriverai à m'affranchir de ces questions ne rentrant pas dans les cadre des tâches militaires! – écrivait en novembre 1942 le Général Eisenhower au chef d'Etat Major de l'Armée, le Général Marshall, au début de la campagne en Afrique du Nord – Chaque semaine semble avoir une durée de dix ans, neuf desquels au moins sont consacrés aux problèmes politiques et économiques ». En entrant dans une ville sicilienne, un officier américain commentait en juillet 1943: « Que de casse-tête que j'ai rencontrés. Le système d'approvisionnement en eau est endommagé. Pas d'énergie. Pas de nourriture. Pas de combustible et, partout dans la ville, des cadavres à enterrer »⁴⁹.

Les activités civiles exigeaient des capacités différentes de celles qui font normalement partie d'une instruction militaire. En particulier, il fallait être capable d'évaluer les informations et conseils fournis par les notables de la population administrée. A cette époque-là, l'Armée américaine était, comme toutes les autres, basée sur le recrutement et il était donc possible de disposer de nombreux officiers qui, dans la vie civile, exerçaient les plus diverses tâches administratives. Un autre avantage, dans la seconde guerre mondiale, était que – contrairement à ce qui se passe aujourd'hui en Afghanistan ou en Iraq – dans le territoire conquis ou libéré les opérations militaires avaient effectivement cessé et qu'il n'y avait pas d'activités de guérilla ou de sabotage.

47 Voir H. L. Coles-A.K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors*, Washington D.C., 1964, page IX.

48 Par brièveté l'on se réfère ici à l'expérience américaine; rappelons cependant que, à l'exception du Japon, l'occupation fut conjointe des Anglo-Américains. Sur l'organisation britannique, voir F. S. V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government: Central Organisation and Planning*, Londres, 1966.

49 Coles-Weinberg, *op. cit.*, pages 45 et 192.

Contrairement à ce qui s'était passé en Allemagne et au Japon, au Viêt-nam, dans les années cinquante, soixante et soixante-dix la guérilla empêchait le fonctionnement des institutions politiques et administratives. En ce lieu, la tâche des militaires américains n'était pas de remplacer un gouvernement battu, mais de renforcer celui de Saïgon, allié des États-Unis. Au même problème d'administrer et dans le même temps de lutter contre la guérilla durent se mesurer les Anglais, dans différentes parties de leur Empire secoué par la vague de décolonisation, et, forts de leur tradition impériale, ils arrivèrent à le résoudre de façon en général plus heureuse. Dans ces cas, il était nécessaire de trouver dans la classe politique un interlocuteur crédible, jouissant dans le même temps du consensus de la population locale mais étant aussi ami de la puissance étrangère qui voulait le soutenir, doué de charisme mais pas trop autoritaire et étant à même de réaliser des réformes, dans l'espoir, souvent illusoire, d'éliminer les raisons de mécontentement exploitées par les guérilleros révolutionnaires⁵⁰.

La guérilla visait naturellement à éliminer, dans les villages surtout, les fonctionnaires locaux les plus efficaces et honnêtes, de façon à obliger à utiliser des personnages incapables et corrompus, qui auraient jeté le discrédit sur l'administration. Il fallait, comme cela fut dit, vaincre les cœurs et les esprits des populations indigènes, ce qui entraînait parfois en conflit avec les exigences militaires. Si la guérilla agissait comme un poisson dans l'eau, selon l'expression du général Giap, il fallait lui enlever l'eau, mais sans provoquer trop de pertes dans la population, prise entre les deux feux des représailles de la guérilla et de la répression du gouvernement.

La guerre – alors déjà hyper-technologique – que voulaient combattre les Américains pour réduire leurs pertes ne permettait pas toujours d'atteindre cet objectif : un village détruit par le *napalm* était difficilement un bon viatique pour conquérir précisément les cœurs et les esprits. «Il avait été nécessaire de détruire le village pour pouvoir le sauver», telle fut la déclaration paradoxale d'un major de l'Armée américaine, au terme d'un combat dans la ville de B n Tre, sur le delta du Mékong⁵¹. Il s'agissait là d'un problème qui se représente aujourd'hui.

Au Viêt-nam il y eut la combinaison entre «illusion technologique» et faiblesse morale qui conduisit les Américains à la défaite et il y eut la dichotomie entre la guerre technologique de l'Occident, qui veut minimiser les risques pour ses propres hommes en uniforme, et les guerres «sales» des tribus, des ethnies et des groupes politiques et religieux de l'«autre monde». En commentant ce conflit, un historien a écrit : «La pensée militaire de l'Occident est même parvenue à concevoir l'utopie d'une guerre où il serait possible de ne faire combattre, pratiquement, que les machines, avec à peine quelques dizaines d'hommes à leur service». En Algérie et en Indochine déjà, dans les années 50 et 60 il y avait eu la crise des infanteries, ancien nerf de toutes les armées, à cause de la «croissante incapacité des peu-

50 En réalité «Le stratège révolutionnaire ne cherche pas la solution des problèmes qu'il dénonce. Sa dénonciation a le double rôle de lui donner un statut et de jeter de l'huile sur le feu. Pour cette raison, l'illusion serait de penser qu'apporter une réponse au problème ponctuel objet du débat suffirait à désamorcer la subversion» (E. Langlois, *Guerre classique et guerre révolutionnaire : l'illusion de la différence*, in *Stratégie*, n° 85, 2005, page 11).

51 Voir G. C. Herring, *America's Longest War. The United States in Vietnam 1950-1975*, IVth ed., New York, 2002, page 233.

ples de l'Occident de se mesurer avec la dimension de la fatigue physique, du sacrifice et enfin de la mort, qui appartient au contraire aux sociétés préindustrielles»⁵², et les Français et les Américains avaient dû faire appel à des corps spéciaux comme la Légion étrangère ou les Bérêts verts.

Contre les guérillas qui eurent lieu après la seconde guerre mondiale, par ailleurs, les Britanniques remportèrent des succès significatifs⁵³, dont le plus important fut en Malaisie, en suivant une stratégie politico-militaire basée sur une collaboration avec les autorités indigènes conservatrices, un respect total des cultures et des traditions locales, des aides financières et un soutien administratif pour éliminer le mécontentement, une instruction des forces régulières amies, une utilisation limitée de l'aviation et de l'artillerie pour éviter des victimes chez les civils dont on recherchait l'appui, un niveau élevé de combativité des forces spéciales qui opéraient en contact étroit avec les populations, une patrouille agressive des zones de frontière pour empêcher un afflux de ravitaillement aux guérilleros et leur fuite.

Comment affronter les guérilleros et les terroristes qui opèrent en se mêlant à la population civile, solidaire de ceux-ci ou bien par ceux-ci contrainte: il s'agit là d'un des principaux problèmes tactiques à aborder dans les conflits d'aujourd'hui. Pour le résoudre, il serait illusoire de miser uniquement sur des systèmes d'arme de plus en plus «intelligents». Si le but déclaré des guerres d'aujourd'hui – qui, par ailleurs, ne sont plus appelées par leur nom mais par une large gamme d'autres dénominations politiquement correctes – est de changer la situation politique, sociale et économique du pays où l'on intervient, la victoire militaire sur le terrain contre les forces régulières ennemies (qui n'existent pas toujours) n'est qu'un premier résultat.

Encore plus importante est la phase suivante, dans laquelle il faut garantir tout à la fois la sécurité et la reconstruction. Comme dans toutes les opérations de contre-guérilla, les aspects non militaires sont importants pour obtenir le soutien et la collaboration de la population. Le véritable succès se mesurera ensuite à long terme: «La guerre est donc étroitement liée à l'après-guerre et la composante militaire à la civile ... La guerre moderne se gagne ou se perd sur la base des résultats de ce que l'on fait après et non pas dans l'élimination de l'adversaire. Par la phase de l'après-guerre l'on comprend si la guerre ou les opérations ont servi à quelque chose»⁵⁴.

52 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ...*, pages 266-68 (tout le chap. VII, *L'Occidente alla guerra*, est très intéressant). Grâce aux modernes systèmes d'arme, le soldat occidental s'efforce de «ne pas entrer en contact avec les effusions de sang» (Qiao Liang-Wang Xiangsui, *Guerra senza limiti. L'arte della guerra asimmetrica fra terrorismo e globalizzazione*, Gorizia, 2001. page 75 [I édit., Pékin, 1999; *La guerre hors limites*, traduit du chinois et annoté par H. Denes, Paris, 2006]).

53 Pour une exposition synthétique, voir J. Pimlott (éd.), *British Military Operations 1945-1984*, Londres, 1984.

54 F. Mini, *La guerra dopo la guerra. Soldati, burocrati e mercenari nell'epoca della pace virtuale*, Torino 2003, page 173.

CONCLUSION

Comme nous le rappelle un maître de l'histoire militaire, «la guerre est aussi ancienne que l'humanité, mais la paix est une invention moderne»⁵⁵. Une grande partie du XX siècle et le siècle qui vient juste de commencer ont exprimé une condamnation de la guerre et un éloge de la paix aussi nouveaux et insistants qu'encore largement inefficaces dans de nombreuses parties du monde où, malheureusement, les populations civiles sont directement impliquées dans les conflits.

55 Sir Henry Maine [1822-1888], cité en exergue à M. Howard, *The Invention of Peace. Reflections on War and International Order*, New Haven & London, 2000.

Political regimes, international systems and types of wars: total wars, limited wars and asymmetric wars

MASSIMO DE LEONARDIS *

STASIS AND POLEMOS-TYPE WARS

The percentage of deaths among soldiers and the number of civilian casualties do not depend exclusively on the power of armies and tactics employed¹. Whether a war is limited or total depends also on the type of political regimes and international systems.

From this point of view, two words used by ancient Greeks, especially Plato, can help us describe conflicts²: $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$, war among adversaries separated by matters of interest, though within an institutional framework and having common values, and $\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\mu\varsigma$, war between enemies, divided by opposite conceptions of the World and political systems³. As Raymond Aron points out, international systems concerning ideologies can be homogeneous or heterogeneous⁴ depending on whether the main actors share a common worldview or not: the former lead to $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\varsigma$ wars, such as the one between the Westphalia peace of 1648 and the French Revolution and from 1815 to 1914, and the latter lead to $\pi\omega\lambda\epsilon\mu\varsigma$ wars, such as religious wars, the French revolutionary wars, Napoleon's wars and the Second World War. Von Clausewitz brings to the attention that it was the coming into sight of an actor, the Revolutionary France, which rejected the existing system, that lead to an absolute war and not the other way around.⁵

Naturally, the many-sided truth of history forces us to admit exceptions to such rigid classifications⁶. In various times, different types of wars may have existed alongside the

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1 Even rudimental weapons are sufficient to kill many people. For instance, Aztec priests could take shifts at four tables and stab more than 80,000 war prisoners with a dagger in four days as a sacrifice and for intimidation (see V. D. Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power*, New York, 2001) and in the '90s of the 20th century «more than five times as many people got hacked to death by machetes in Rwanda and Burundi than killed by the atom bomb in Hiroshima» (C. Jean, *L'uso della forza. Se vuoi la pace comprendi la guerra*, Rome-Bari, 1996, pp. 16-17.)

2 «Enmity among relatives is called disagreement, enmity with strangers is war», Plato, *Dialoghi politici e lettere*, ed. by F. Adorno, Vol. 1, Turin, 1970, *Repubblica*, book V, chapter. XVI, p. 426.

3 On this matter, see G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto. Una ipotesi generale sulle regolarità del ciclo politico*, now in Id., *Le regolarità della politica*, Milan, 1988, Vol. II, pp. 773-774 in particular.

4 See. R. Aron, *Paix et guerre entre les nations*, Paris, 1962, pp. 108-113 and Id., *La politica, la guerra, la storia*, Bologna, 1992, p. 74 [Introduction by A. Panebianco].

5 K. von Clausewitz, *Della guerra*, Milan, 1970, libro VIII, pp. 774-777.

6 In M. Kaldor, *New and old wars: organized violence in a global era*, Stanford, 1999, Table I provides an overview on the evolution of wars from the 17th century to date, which links political systems, goals of war, types of armies, military techniques and war economy and Table IV correlates models of international

main type of war. They may occur in different geopolitical areas, just as different types may co-exist within a given conflict⁷. The classification recalled above can be applied especially to wars among States and not to civil wars, which always have a nature of being *total*, since, as Gianfranco Miglio puts it, they are «the most ‘real’ war of wars ... the most ‘total’ war, during which there are no limits to aggressiveness, nor are there any humanitarian rules»⁸. The “*total war*” among States or civil wars, points out Carl Schmitt, «exceeds the distinction between combatants and non-combatants»⁹.

Throughout history, there have been various attempts to prevent wars from breaking out and to carry them out according to rules so as to limit their ferocity. Especially the Catholic Church questioned itself on the morality of war since S. Augustine of Hippo, dwelling on the concept of «just war». Some of the five basic conditions based on which a war «can be allowed and have an ethical value»¹⁰, concern the lawfulness of resorting to force, *jus ad bellum* in legal terms: *Auctoritas principis* (only the sovereign authority has the right to declare war), *Iusta causa* (which translates as the need to defend a right of utmost importance, i.e. right to exist, liberty, land, property and honour. The cause must measure up to serious damages, which are faced in war and must be certain and there must be legitimate hopes that advantages shall prevail over damages,) *Ultima ratio* (when all peaceful methods for resolving the dispute have failed.) On the other hand, rules to be respected during the conflict concern *jus in bello*; the condition of *Iustus modus*, according to which force must be used only against armed enemies and anything that is not required to claim one’s right is illegitimate; and, partly, *Intentio recta*, too: the intention of belligerents must be to do good and avoid evil, says St. Thomas of Aquino.

The Church tried to govern the phenomenon of war during the centuries in which it exercised its utmost influence to shape the laws of the *Christian Republic*, limiting wars’ field of existence, cruelty and duration. The first of these measures was the Peace of God, established at the end of the 10th century and extended progressively, which established the distinction between combatants and civilians, prohibited maltreating women, children, peasants, priests and declared the houses of peasants and churches as inviolable. The Truce of God was established from the beginning of the 11th century and limited the duration of wars and banned fighting from the first Sunday of Advent till the Octave of the Epiphany, from the first day of Lent till the Octave of the Ascension and from Wednesday evenings till Monday mornings throughout the year. The Quarantine of the King, established by Philip August of France, imposed a forty day’s interval between receiving an offence and opening hostilities. These provisions, like UN resolutions today, were not always abided by and held valid only

systems, political institutions, sources of legitimacy and safety paradigms looking into the future. On this subject, see the important study of K. J. Holsti, *Peace and war: armed conflicts and international order 1648-1989*, Cambridge, 1991.

7 For instance, the Second World War witnessed episodes of chivalry and savage brutality. After 1945 and 1990, one may think that conflicts of the past millennia have each left their heritage.

8 G. Miglio, *Guerra, pace, diritto*. ..., cit., p. 772.

9 C. Schmitt, *Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, written in 1938, now in Id., *Le categorie del ‘politico’*. *Saggi di teoria politica*, ed. by G. Miglio and P. Schiera, Bologna, 1972, p. 201.

10 A. Brucculeri S. I., *Moralità della guerra*, 6th ed., Rome, 1953 [with the approval of Ecclesiastical Authority], pp. 49-58.

between wars among Christians, but those who violated them knew that they faced severe material and spiritual sanctions¹¹. Philippe Contamine writes: «During the central centuries of the Middle Ages, not few regions enjoyed at least a durable marginalization of war, if not a total eradication thereof. And when it [war] took place, its effects were more ‘controlled’»¹². «The forms of courtly war» lead to relatively chivalrous battles without bloodshed, at least among Christians, also thanks to the types of weapons, defence and tactics employed¹³.

THE SUCCESSION OF KINDS OF WARS IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY AGES

From the very beginning of the modern era, during the 16th century wars and those of the first half of the 17th century, armed conflicts became more exacerbated due to both the «military revolution»¹⁴, with the widespread use of gunpowder, new weapons and new organizational models, and ideological elements consisting of religious conflicts triggered by the Protestant Reform. After the Westphalia Peace of 1648, war returned to be more limited, out of both technical and “ideological” motives, once again. Professional armies of the 18th century were precious goods, so that their commanders were reluctant to risk in decisive open-field battles.¹⁵ The organization and logistics of professional armies allowed for accomplishing Frederic II of Prussia’s intention broadly: «Subjects must not notice when the sovereign goes to war». On average, 18th century wars used to last one year only. The Seven-Year War (1756-1763) was named so, because it was a considerable exception to that rule.

Realpolitik avoided demonizing the enemy and could lead to a conflict without hatred¹⁶. Wars did not aim at annihilating adversaries, since they could become allies tomorrow: in a politically homogeneous Europe, which had the balance of power as the supreme principle of regulation, overturning alliances was a diplomatic strategy that was accepted and appreciated. In the meanwhile, discussions on «just war» were left aside regarding all aspects concerning *jus ad bellum*, since the official teaching of the Church was no longer internationally accepted during the 18th and 19th centuries and the concept of Machiavellian derivation prevailed, according to which sovereignty legitimates the actions of the State in any way. International law «has ... no alternative ... but to accept war, independently of the justice of

11 R. Pernoud, *Lumière du moyen age*, Paris, 1944, pp. 91-93.

12 This sentence appears only on p.13 of *Introduzione all’edizione italiana* to P. Contamine, *La guerra nel Medioevo*, Bologna 1986. The original French edition is titled *La Guerre au moyen age*, Paris, 1986. Relevant to our topic is the entire chapter 9 of this work (chapter 10 in the Italian edition), which contains a more articulate and problematic description of what Pernoud narrates in a more synthetic and popular fashion.

13 *La guerra nel Medioevo*, cit., pp. 414-415.

14 See G. Parker’s classic, *The military revolution: military innovation and the rise of the West, 1500-1800*, Cambridge, 1988.

15 «I do not favour pitched battles, especially at the beginning of a war» – wrote Field-Marshal Maurice of Saxony in his work *Rêveries de Guerre* in 1732 – «and I am convinced that a skilful general could make war all his life without being forced into one» (quoted in M. Howard, *War in European History*, Oxford, 1976, p. 71).

16 «It is not the sentiment of hatred, but a legal situation what defines someone as the enemy of the State» (B. Spinoza, *Trattato teologico-politico*, in *Etica e Trattato teologico-politico*, ed. by R. Cantoni and F. Fergnani, Turin, 1980, p. 655.)

its origin, as a relation which the parties, may set up if they choose» – wrote an English jurist in 1880¹⁷ – «and to bury itself only in regulating the effect of the relation». Still in 1915, Benedetto Croce wrote that «whether the war breaks or not, it is as little moral or immoral as an earthquake» citizens had no other «moral duty than to deploy ... to defend the fatherland», [and] only «a false ideology, a sophism of petty literary people could try to surrogate such simple and severe concepts with the ideology of right and wrong, just and unjust war».¹⁸

On the turn of the 18th and 19th centuries, the French revolution gave wars a totalitarian nature again, with the *levée en masse* and Napoleonic strategy anchored on decisive open-field battles, and ideological, through declaring a revolutionary crusade. «We must declare war to the Kings and peace to Nations!», cried Merlin de Thionville, member of the legislative assembly, on the occasion of the declaration of war on 20th April 1792; «peace to hamlets, war to castles!», wrote Condorcet, philosopher and scientist.¹⁹ However, such declarations did not lead to sparing populations, on the contrary, revolutionary war triggered the civil war all around France (reaching its apex in Vandea) and in invaded countries, where the French army found allies but above all opponents, namely Catholic and monarchist loyalists²⁰. This became a pattern that repeated itself during the Second World War, featuring collaborationists and Anti-Nazi partisans and would have repeated itself, if the Cold War became hot and Soviet armies invaded Western Europe, where they would fellow-travellers as well as anti-communist combatants. Sometimes in the past Sovereigns had supported rebels against Princes with whom they were at war, but they did that with moral scruples and without any ideological connotations²¹. After 1815, dynastic and/or nationalistic loyalty to one's State («With God, for King and Fatherland», the Prussian motto of *Landwehr*, can be taken as a conservative response to the revolutionary «nation armée») lead to consider simply as traitors those who sided with the enemy²². Nazi-Fascist and Communist «Internationals» brought to the fore the problem of the «double loyalty», to one's State or to one's ideology. The problem if a rebel, a partisan or a guerrilla fighter is fully justified as a legitimate combatant cannot be solved in pure legal terms: «a regulation of the partisan question is legally impossible» and in any case «a modern partisan does expect neither rights nor pity from the enemy»²³.

From 1815 till 1914, the international system was mainly ruled by the «concert of Eu-

17 Quoted in J. Keegan, *A History of Warfare*, London, 1993, p. 383.

18 B. Croce, *Pagine sparse*, Second series, *Pagine sulla guerra*, collected by G. Castellano, Naples, 1919, pp. 86-87.

19 J. Tulard-J.-F. Fayard-A. Fierro, *Histoire et dictionnaire de la Révolution française*, Paris, 1987, pp. 91-92.

20 For an introduction to these revolts at a European level see J. Godechot, *La contre-révolution: doctrine et action: 1789-1804*, Paris, 1961; as regards Italy, the best and most thorough work is M. Viglione, *Rivolte dimenticate. Le insorgenze degli italiani dalle origini al 1815*, Rome, 1999..

21 See E. Luard, *The Balance of Power. The System of International Relations, 1648-1815*, London, 1992, pp. 125-126. As for diplomatic practice, see also M. S. Anderson, *The Rise of Modern Diplomacy 1450-1919*, New York, 1993.

22 «Loyalty to the Crown was always to some degree contractual: an evil prince could be disowned, allegiance could be renounced or limited. But how could this be done with a *Nation* which was simply *you* and your own general will?» (M. Howard, *The causes of wars and other essays*, London, 1983, p. 26).

23 C. Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano. Integrazione al concetto del politico*, Milan, 2005 [1st ed., Berlin, 1963], pp. 53 and 20-21.

rope» of the Great Powers, with moments of greater or lesser collaboration and awareness of belonging to a common «European Society» and an increasing difficulty in limiting competition and nationalistic impulses in the final years. Ideology, in this case the principles of liberalism and nationality, played an important role, at least until the Unification of Italy, but in any case alongside to the classic principles of power politics, so that the big revolutionary explosion of 1848-1849 could not undermine the peace among the Great Powers. The wars of that century were short and limited to some Powers and had no social consequences: «Before 1914 war was almost universally considered an acceptable, perhaps an inevitable and for many people a desirable way of settling international differences, and the war generally foreseen was expected to be, if not exactly *frisch und fröhlich*, then certainly brief; no longer, certainly, than the war of 1870 that was consciously or unconsciously taken by that generation as a model”²⁴.

The First World War I began as a classic conflict motivated by power politics, but over time it acquired a greater ideological character.²⁵ The Great War differed from the short and non-general 19th century conflicts; it was very long, bloody, and total, gave birth to immense political and social consequences and led to new ways of thinking. During that conflict three different types of «new diplomacies» were born: Wilson’s, Bolshevik and contemporary papal, which all repudiated war, sincerely or not so sincerely. Actually, only the Church remained faithful to a position, which, for the sake of brevity, albeit with imprecision, can be defined as «pacifist»²⁶.

At the peak of illusions concerning the new concept of collective security²⁷, war was naively «outlawed» by the famous Kellogg-Briand pact of 1928, whose first article is as follows: «The High Contracting Parties solemnly declare in the names of their respective peoples that they condemn recourse to war for the solution of international controversies, and renounce it, as an instrument of national policy in their relations with one another», thus allowing only a war declared by the international community to a country acknowledged by the League of Nations as an aggressor. In some the illuminating pages written in 1932 and 1938, Carl Schmitt²⁸ subjected that pact and the League of Nations to a strict criticism, predicting that their

24 Howard, *The causes of wars* ..., cit., p. 9; same considerations in A. J. P. Taylor, *The struggle for mastery in Europe: 1848-1918*, Oxford, 1954, pp. 529-30.

25 It «began as a conventional war concerning European international law and ended with a world-wide civil war of revolutionary class enmity” (Schmitt, *Teoria del partigiano*. ..., cit., pp. 131-132.)

26 The Church is «peacemaker», but it is not «pacifist» and its official teaching has recently reasserted the traditional doctrine of «just war». On this subject, see *Catechismo della Chiesa cattolica. Testo integrale e commento teologico*, ed. by Msgr. R. Fisichella, Casale Monferrato, 1993, pp. 426-427 and Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendio della dottrina sociale della Chiesa*, The Vatican City, 2004, n. 500-502. For an assessment of this issue see R. de Mattei, *Guerra santa guerra giusta. Islam e Cristianesimo in guerra*, Casale Monferrato, 2002, P. Corrêa de Oliveira, *Nobiltà ed élites tradizionali analoghe nelle allocuzioni di Pio XII al Patriziato ed alla Nobiltà romana*, Milan, 1993, *Documenti*, XI, *Il pensiero di Papi, Santi, Dottori e Teologi sulla liceità della guerra*, part three, *La Chiesa, i militari e la guerra*, of M. de Leonardis, *ULTIMA RATIO REGUM. Forza militare e relazioni internazionali*, 1st reprint, Bologna, 2005.

27 For a definition of «collective security», see F. Andreatta, *Istituzioni per la pace. Teoria e pratica della sicurezza collettiva da Versailles alla ex Jugoslavia*, Bologna, 2000, pp.25-26.

28 C. Schmitt, *Il concetto di ‘politico’ and Sulla relazione intercorrente fra i concetti di guerra e di nemico*, now in Id. *Le categorie del ‘politico’*, cit., pp. 101-65 and 193-203.

effect would not be renouncing recourse to force in international relations, but simply the disappearance of declarations of war and that «an imperialism based on economical grounds shall naturally try to create a world situation in which it can openly use its economical instruments of power to the extent required, such as restricting credit, blocking raw materials, devaluating foreign currencies, etc. It would consider as ‘extra-economic violence’ the attempt of a people or another group of humans to avoid the effects of such ‘pacific’ means»

Schmitt’s most incisive observation was the following: «If a State fights its political enemy in the name of humanity, its war is not for the sake of humanity, but a war for which against its adversary a given State tries to appropriate a universal concept, in which it can identify itself (at the expense of its enemy) ... Humanity is a particularly suitable tool for imperialistic expansion and it is a specific tool of economic imperialism in its ethical-humanitarian form. On this matter, a saying of Proudhon holds true, although it needs an amendment: he, who talks of humanity, is trying to deceive you»²⁹. On this subject we shall quote for the last time Schmitt, who wrote in 1929: «By now we have learned the secret law behind this word and we know that, today, the most terrible war can only be carried out in the name of peace»³⁰. These were the remote origins of an Orwellian-style new-language which emerged back in 1914 in H.G. Wells’ slogan on «the war to end war», the peak of idealist illusions (or hypocrisies?), and reached its apex in 1999 with the oxymoron of the «humanitarian war»³¹.

The moral condemnation of war even stronger after the Second World War, also owing to the immense devastation it caused. Terrorizing and killing civilians by air raids was one of the tactics used. The partisan resistance and, above all, its repression severely affected civil populations. Yet, the removal of the use of military forces from the spectrum of possible options was a lot stronger in the defeated countries, namely Germany, Italy and Japan, than in winner countries. A general war was made impossible by the balance of terror: the so-called mutual assured destruction³². The war in Europe was only “cold.” The Old Continent remained in peace for 45 years, but that period was not as much peaceful outside of its borders, where the two blocs clashed in the so-called «proxy wars», ranging from the wars in Korea and Vietnam to many communist guerrilla warfare. While a fake, «rich and abstract» war was being fought in Europe, a real, dirty, «poor and concrete» war was being fought elsewhere, in which many of the elements that characterized the conflicts of the post-bipolar period were already present³³. Already «the cold war scoffs at all the classical distinctions between war, peace and neutrality, politics and economics, military and civilian, combatants and non-combatants»³⁴.

29 Schmitt, *Il concetto di ‘politico’*, cit., pp. 139.

30 C. Schmitt, *[L’epoca delle neutralizzazioni e delle spoliticizzazioni]*, now in Id., *Le categorie del ‘politico’*, cit., p. 182.

31 See M. Howard, *War and the liberal conscience*, Oxford, 1981 [series of lessons dedicated to the contradictions of liberal pacifism], p. 74.

32 See, for a brief but precise presentation, M. de Leonardis, *The Cold War as Total War: the Interaction of Military Strategies and Diplomacy from “Massive Retaliation” to “Flexible Response”*, in *The Total War. The Total Defence, 1789-2000, Acta of the 26th International Congress of Military History*, Stockholm, 2001, pp. 383-394.

33 The adjectives quoted appear in E. Galli della Loggia’s *Il mondo contemporaneo (1945-1980)*, Bologna, 1982, p. 25.

34 C. Schmitt, *Premessa*, March 1963, in Id. *Il concetto di ‘politico’*, cit., pp. 99-100.

WARS BETWEEN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY AND THE 21ST CENTURY

In the second half of the 20th century and at the dawn of the 21st century, the predominant type of war has changed radically. Wars between nations belonging to the Western Civilization have disappeared³⁵. Albeit in a political-diplomatic context different from that of colonialism and decolonization era, the West continues to be engaged in conflicts in the geopolitical theatres of the Third World, in the new forms of *peace-enforcement* operations, war on terrorism, military interventions aiming at *regime change* and *state building*. In the Third World, ethnic, tribal and civil wars, strongly abated by colonialism, have now reappeared on a large scale³⁶. Civil and inter-state conflicts have reappeared within Europe and next to its borders, such as ex Yugoslavia and the Caucasus. In other words, wars fought under rules to limit cruelty have disappeared almost completely, whereas conflicts have proliferated in which the violation of the rules is a fundamental part of the tactics employed and civil populations are fully affected by the operations. At the beginning of the 20th century, the ratio of military to civilian casualties was eight to one. The ratio became even in the Second World War and now eight civilians die for each military fallen. Obviously, these data must be compared to the other, which tells us that in the 20th century, 119 million victims were caused by infra-state conflicts and 36 million victims were killed in inter-state conflicts.³⁷ Once the Cold War ended and the danger of a global nuclear conflict disappeared with it, the inhabitants of the West, which has abolished both inter-state and civil wars within itself as well as mandatory draft, could think they were at safe. But the threat of terrorism of Islamic background now hangs over their heads and Western Civilians are also threatened by death³⁸.

35 From the point of view of resorting to military force, Henry Kissinger notes that the democratic West has abolished wars within itself. Asia reminds of 19th century Europe: big powers, Russia, India, China and Japan perceive each other as strategic rivals. Peace is founded on the balance of power, but war is not ruled out from the spectrum of possible options. Middle East conflicts remind of the era of religious wars: the conflicts are not based on economical grounds, such as those within the West, or any strategic grounds, such as in Asia, but they are ideological and religious, since the parties reject one another's legitimacy (*Does America Need a Foreign Policy?: toward a Diplomacy for the 21st Century*, New York, 2001, pp. 25-26). Robert Cooper, who was Blair's foreign policy advisor, and who is now EU's foreign affairs general director, divides the World into three geo-political areas: the post-modern states, such as those in the EU, which will never fight among each other; modern, Bismarckian states, which usually own nuclear weapons, such as China and India, which might resort to force; the «post-imperial chaos» of pre-modern states, which require the «colonial» presence of nation-builders and peace-makers (*The Breaking of Nations: Order and Chaos in the Twenty-first Century*, New York, 2003, chapters 1-2).

36 «Even with the aid of machine-guns and high explosives, the total of deaths inflicted on Afro-Asia by Europe must have been trifling compared with the number inflicted on it by its own rulers, in Africa chiefly through wars, in Asia chiefly in crushing revolts ... Against the price of Western conquest has to be set the cessation it brought of old endemic bloodshed» (V. G. Kiernan, *European Empires from Conquest to Collapse 1815-1960*, Leicester, 1982, p. 227).

37 See J.-J. Roche, *Théories des relations internationales*, Paris, 2006, p. 104. According to other calculations, civilian casualties amounted to 10% of the total in the First World War, 52% in the Second World War and 90% in the conflicts after 1945 (R. Toscano, *Il volto del nemico. La sfida dell'etica nelle relazioni internazionali*, Milan, 2000, p. 150, n. 49).

38 E. Cecchini (*Storia della guerriglia. Dall'antichità all'età nucleare*, Milan, 1990) writes: «If the history of guerrilla warfare – although lacking rules, ferocious and indiscriminate – can be considered to be a part of the big picture of military history under many aspects, the history of terrorism belongs to criminology».

Many parts of the world live in an intermediary status of «de-institutionalized war»³⁹, contradicting Cicero's old saying, also quoted by Grotius, that «*Inter bellum & pacem nihil est medium*»⁴⁰. After 1945, a «typical war» does not start with a formal declaration, often it is hard to identify a precise date when hostilities begin, may last for decades (such as the Vietnam conflict, in its two stages, French and American, or the revolt in Eritrea that began in 1961 and ended only in 1991) and not end with a formal peace treaty (like the Korean War). The consolidated relationship between state sovereignty, the monopoly of force and territory got loose. Terrorists and criminals «often command large arsenals previously affordable only to tax-raising governments, [but] they do not obey the rules that sovereign governments observe»⁴¹. Forcefully a type of organized violence emerges, which obfuscates traditional distinctions between internal or civil conflicts and transnational wars, wars fought by «legitimate actors» and private wars bordering organized crime, external aggressions and revolts, legitimate repressions of violent groups and large-scale violation of human rights. Apart from regular armies, combatants of these conflicts are paramilitary units of local war lords, mercenary groups⁴², criminal bands, police forces and army drop-out units. Distinctions between legitimate combatants and illegitimate combatants, combatants and civilians, soldiers, policemen and criminals vanish. Irregular fighters also enjoy advanced technology, non-detectable landmines, light and easy-to-use weapons, which can even be used by children, mobile telephones and are financed by robbery, black market, foreign aid, such as aids from ethnic and religious diasporas, «taxation» on humanitarian aid, support from neighbour governments, smuggling arms, drugs, precious goods, like oil and diamond.

THE WEST AT WAR IN OTHER GEOPOLITICAL SCENES

«European international law on territory wars between States» succeeded in governing and limiting wars, but «one should still see how it could be adapted to other populations who have only seen colonial or civil wars in their past»⁴³. Actually, the very same Europeans and

Unfortunately, there exists no internationally accepted definition for terrorism, which distinguishes it from guerrilla warfare and freedom wars. This is an old problem that appeared already during the Second World War; just think of the issues raised on the Via Rasella attack in Rome.

39 K. J. Holsti, *The state, war and the state of war*, Cambridge, 1996, pp. 20-21, 27.

40 Cicero in the 8th Philippic, quoted in H. Grotii, *De jure belli ac pacis*, Amstelaedami, 1735, liber III, caput 21, § 1, p. 907.

41 J. Keegan, *The Changing Face of War*, in *Wall Street Journal Europe*, November 26th, 2001, p. A6. Terrorist organizations are an example of «deterritorialization» of international relations in a «post-Wesphalien» system, in which there are «transnational actors trying to have their autonomy recognized by contesting the prerogatives of the states» (Roche, *op. cit.*, p. 112).

42 A particular and distinct aspect of the phenomenon is the existence of agencies in the United States and Great Britain, which are acknowledged by the state, offer «military services», in other words mercenaries, and are hired when regular forces cannot be used (See O. Hubac-Occhipinti, *Armées; La relative privatisation de la violence armée*, in F. Géré-A. Blin [ed. by], *Puissances et influences. Annuaire géopolitique et géostratégique 2002-2003*, Paris, 2002, pp. 189-194).

43 Schmitt, *Premessa*, cit., p. 92. Von Clausewitz mentions the reasons according to which «wars among civilized nations are much less cruel and devastating than those among uncivilized ones» (*Della guerra*, cit., pp. 20-21), but, according to Keegan, he did not study this issue in-depth, because «he was struggling to advance

Americans did not apply the rules of that law, while they were fighting in Third World scenarios in the 19th and 20th centuries. At the beginning of the 20th century, in order to crash the guerrillas during the independence war in the Philippines Americans adopted a strategy of scorched earth, which included not taking prisoners and killing civilians indiscriminately⁴⁴. Almost in the same years, during the Anglo-Boer war, the British set up concentration camps whose conditions led to a high rate of death among civilians interned therein. The British manual of military law of 1914 decreed the following: «It must be emphasized that the rules of International Law apply only to warfare between civilized nations, where both parties understand them and are prepared to carry them out. They do not apply in wars with uncivilized States and tribes, where their place is taken by the discretion of the commander and such rules of justice and humanity as recommended themselves in the particular circumstances of the case»⁴⁵.

The historian Ernesto Galli della Loggia notes that «in the second half of the 20th century», «the transnational organization of partisan war», «guerrilla warfare, much more than other factors, contributed to dissolve some essential points of international law governing relations among States»⁴⁶. Actually, many characteristics of today's conflicts were already present during anti-west guerrilla warfare (in most of which communism and anti-colonialism were intertwined): asymmetric wars, *peace enforcement* operations, military operations whose purpose is *regime change* or *state building*. Obviously, relations with civilians are clearly fundamental to get victory in the latter ones.

In the course of history, wars have been fought for infinite reasons, but it would be superfluous to discuss this subject here. Sometimes, as in the 18th century succession wars, the reason was to designate the sovereign or change the political status of a State. Actually the winner did not consider his concern to foster the loser's recovery. However the opposite happened after the Second World War, concerning Germany, Italy and Japan. During this conflict, the U. S. Army's manuals mentioned *civil affairs* referring to occupation tasks in liberated territories as well as *military government* for activities in conquered enemy countries⁴⁷. In the former ones, the Army's needs and the scopes of the Allies could be satisfied on a large scale and obtained by means of existing local laws and personnel, in the latter ones, drastic changes to laws, institutions and executives were needed. In the first case, the model was that of the *indirect rule*, used by the British on a large scale across their Empire. France and North-Western Europe were examples for the former type of operations, whereas Germany and Japan were examples for the latter; after the armistices of September 1943 Italy was in a situation which more resembled the first type. A *Civil Affairs Division* was established at the *War Department*, under the name of *Provost Marshal General's Office*, in order to coordinate

a universal theory of what war *ought* to be, rather than what it actually was and had been» (*A History of Warfare*, cit., p. 6).

44 M. Boot, *The Savage Wars of Peace: Small Wars and the Rise of American Power*, New York, 2002, pp. 99-109.

45 *Manual of Military Law*, 1914, p. 237, par. 7, quoted in G. Pastori, *L'Occidente in guerra con gli «altri»: lezioni storiche*, in M. de Leonardis-G. Pastori (eds.), *Le nuove sfide per la forza militare e la diplomazia. Il ruolo della NATO*, Bologna, 2007, pp. 37-38.

46 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ...*, cit., p. 257.

47 See H. L. Coles-A.K. Weinberg, *Civil Affairs: Soldiers Become Governors*, Washington D.C., 1964, p. IX.

the planning and training of personnel to be used, for which a special school was inaugurated in Charlottesville. G-5 sections (*civil affairs and military government*) were established at army group, army corps and even division levels.⁴⁸

In conquered enemy countries, the purpose of Anglo-American military occupation was to eliminate the authoritarian or totalitarian structure and set up the bases for a transition towards a different internal political order, also leading to a new international order. There was a difficult co-existence of military needs (the liberated territory was also the zone behind front) and political-administrative demands, especially in a country like Italy, where the front moved slowly towards the North between September 1943 and April 1945. The military were very much worried about their civil duties. «The sooner I can get rid of all these questions, that are outside the military in scope, the happier I will be! – wrote General Eisenhower in November 1942 to the Chief of the Army General Marshall at the beginning of the campaign in North Africa – «Sometimes I think I live ten years each week, of which at least nine are absorbed in political and economic matters». Entering a city in Sicily in July 1943, an American officer commented: «And what a lot of headaches I found. Water supply damaged. No power. No food. No fuel, and corpses all over town to bury»⁴⁹.

Civil tasks required competences beyond those normally taught in military academies. In particular, one had to have the ability of assessing advice and information provided by notables of the ruled population. The American Army, like all other armies, at that time was based on draft and many officers were available, who performed the most diverse administrative tasks in their civil lives. In the Second World War, another advantage was that military operations had actually ceased and there were no further guerrilla warfare or sabotage in the conquered or liberated territories, unlike in Afghanistan or Iraq today.

Unlike in Germany or Japan, in Vietnam during the Fifties, Sixties and Seventies the guerrillas prevented the functioning of political and administrative structures. In Vietnam, the duty of American soldiers was not to replace a defeated government, but to strengthen Saigon's government, which was an ally to the United States. The British faced the same problem of governing and at the same time contrasting guerrillas in different parts of their Empire shaken by the decolonization wave, but owing to the strength of their imperial tradition, they generally resolved it more cleverly. In these cases, it was necessary to find a credible interlocutor among the political class, who enjoyed the consensus of the local population but at the same time would be a friend to the foreign power that supported him, had charisma but was not too authoritarian, and could carry out reforms, in the hopes, usually illusory, of eliminating the grievances exploited by revolutionary guerrillas⁵⁰. Obviously the guerrillas

48 The American experience is referred to for the sake of brevity, but it must be remembered that the occupation was carried out by the English and Americans jointly, except for in Japan. On the British organization, see F. S. V. Donnison, *Civil Affairs and Military Government: Central Organisation and Planning*, London, 1966.

49 Coles-Weinberg, *wrk, quote.*, pp.45 and 192

50 Actually, «The revolutionary strategist does not look for a solution of the problems he denounces. His denunciation has the double purpose of giving him a role and to throw fuel on the fire. For this reason, it would be illusory to think that to offer a solution to the specific problem raised would suffice to undermine subversion» (E. Langlois, *Guerre classique et guerre révolutionnaire: l'illusion de la différence*, in *Stratégie*, n. 85, 2005, p. 11).

strived to eliminate the most efficient and honest local officials, especially in the villages, so as to force the government to employ inept and corrupt personnel, who would discredit the public administration. As it was said, it was necessary to win the hearts and minds of the indigenous people but sometimes that was in conflict with military demands. According to General Giap's imagine, if the guerrilla was like a fish in the water, one needed to deprive it of water, but without causing too much loss to the population, which was trapped in the crossfire between guerrilla retaliation and government repression. Hyper-technological wars that Americans wanted to fight to reduce their losses often did not let to obtain that goal: a village destroyed by *napalm* was hardly a good way to conquer the hearts and minds of the people. «It was necessary to destroy the village in order to save it», was the paradoxical declaration of a U. S. Army Major at the end of a battle in the city of Ben Tre, on the Mekong delta.⁵¹ This is a problem that repeats itself today.

In Vietnam, one saw the combination of «technological illusion» and moral weakness which led Americans to being defeated and the dichotomy between the technological wars of the West, which wanted to minimize risks for its soldiers and the «dirty» wars of tribes, ethnic, political and religious groups of the «other World». Commenting that conflict an historian wrote: «The military doctrine of the West has actually evolved to conceive the utopia of wars in which it is possible to fight only with machines, employing just tens of men to make them work». Already in Algeria and Indochina in the '50s and '60s, there was the crisis of infantries, the oldest backbone of all armies, due to the «increasing inability of the Western populations to cope with the amount of physical fatigue, sacrifice and, ultimately, death, a capacity which pre-industrial populations still possess»⁵², so that French and Americans had to rely on special corps, like the Foreign Legion or the Green Berets.

The British had significant successes in fighting guerrillas after the Second World War⁵³. The most important was in Malaya, following a political-military strategy based on collaboration with the conservative indigenous authorities, utmost respect for the local culture and traditions, economic aids and administrative support to eliminate dissatisfaction, training of regular friendly forces and limited use of air force and artillery to avoid victims among civilians whose support was sought, high combat level of special forces which operated in close contact with the population and aggressive border patrolling to prevent the inflow of support for guerrillas and to prevent them from escaping.

The tactical problem of how to confront guerrillas and terrorists who worked infiltrating into the civil population, which was loyal to them or forced by them, has been one of the main problems to be solved in today's conflicts. It would be an illusion to look for ever more «intelligent» weapons to solve it. If the declared purpose of today's wars, which are no longer called by their name but rather under a vast list of other politically correct definitions, is to change the political, social and economic situation of the countries in which the

51 See G. C. Herring, *America's Longest War. The United States in Vietnam 1950-1975*, IVth ed., New York, 2002, p. 233.

52 Galli della Loggia, *Il mondo contemporaneo ...*, cit., pp. 266-268 (the whole chapter 7, *L'Occidente alla guerra*, is particularly interesting.) Thanks to their modern weaponry, Western soldiers try not to «get into contact with bloodshed» (Qiao Liang-Wang Xiangsui, *Guerra senza limiti. L'arte della guerra asimmetrica fra terrorismo e globalizzazione*, Gorizia, 2001. p. 75 [1st ed., Beijing, 1999]).

53 For a brief description, see J. Pimlott, (ed.) *British Military Operations 1945-1984*, London, 1984.

intervention is made, military victory on regular enemy forces (which do not always exist) in the battlefield is only a preliminary result. The following stage is much more important, when it is necessary to guarantee safety and reconstruction at the same time. Like in all counter-guerrilla operations, non-military aspects are important to obtain the support and collaboration of populations. The real success is measured in the long run: «Hence, wars are tightly associated with post-war and their military and civil components are closely connected ... Modern wars are won or lost depending on the results of what is done afterwards and not simply on the enemy's defeat. One can infer from the post-war phase whether the war or the operations were of any use»⁵⁴.

CONCLUSION

As a master of military history recalls, «war appears to be as old as mankind, but peace is a modern invention»⁵⁵. Most of the 20th century that just ended and the 21st century that has just begun have expressed a condemnation of war and a praise of peace which are new and resonant, but at the same time still largely ineffective in many parts of the world, where unfortunately civilians are directly involved in conflicts.

54 F. Mini, *La guerra dopo la guerra. Soldati, burocrati e mercenari nell'epoca della pace virtuale*, Turin, 2003, p. 173.

55 Sir Henry Maine [1822-1888], quoted in exergue to M. Howard, *The Invention of Peace. Reflections on War and International Order*, New Haven & London, 2000.

Relazioni

Concetti Generali - Il Mondo Antico



La naissance de la notion de civil dans le monde grec

JEAN NICOLAS CORVISIER

Si l'on en croit la définition ordinaire du mot civil, le sujet qui va nous retenir quelques instants n'aurait aucune raison d'être. Issu du latin, le terme civil sert en effet à définir tout ce qui caractérise le citoyen (*civis*) et, par extension seulement, ce qui le différencie son statut de l'état ecclésiastique et de l'état militaire. Or, dans le monde antique traditionnel, l'équivalence soldat = citoyen est à la base même de l'organisation politique. Le citoyen est donc nécessairement un soldat et ne saurait donc être qualifié de civil. Et pourtant, la différenciation s'est faite, d'autant qu'elle est dans l'ordre des choses. Pour le monde latin, on perçoit assez bien le processus. Simple cité au départ, Rome avait une armée de citoyens, celle à laquelle s'appliquait le système servien des classes d'âge. Il reste d'ailleurs en vigueur jusqu'à la fin de la République, puisqu'il interfère avec l'organisation politique des comices. Mais, dans la pratique, à partir du moment où la mobilisation générale n'est plus indispensable du fait de la présence des alliés, ce qui est déjà le cas avant les guerres puniques, et à partir du moment où l'organisation de la légion manipulaire s'est imposée, on a pris le parti de créer, quand besoin était, une légion dans le cadre d'un engagement de longue durée. Ainsi est-on passé, insensiblement, à une armée de métier, même prise en partie dans le corps des citoyens, transformation qui donne la Légion Romaine d'époque impériale. Pour le monde grec au contraire, la transformation a été beaucoup plus complexe et moins aboutie. Notre propos est d'en mettre en évidence les modalités et le processus¹.

QU'EST-CE QU'UN CIVIL, QU'EST-CE QU'UN MILITAIRE DANS LE MONDE GREC TRADITIONNEL ?

La notion de civil étant moderne, il n'y a bien évidemment aucun terme pour désigner le civil en grec ancien. Il n'y en a d'ailleurs pas pour désigner le militaire. Celui s'en rapproche le plus est celui de *stratiôtès*. Sémantiquement, c'est celui qui se trouve *en strateia*, c'est-à-dire en campagne. Un autre vocable est celui de *misthophoros*, c'est-à-dire de soldat au sens propre, de stripendé, de celui qui touche la solde. Celle-ci n'est pas une obligation de départ : à la période archaïque, on ne sait rien à son sujet : le soldat citoyen fournissait son équipement et partait avec le nombre de jours prescrits. Mais, lorsque la guerre cessa d'être frontalière, l'obligation de la solde s'imposa. Il semble que les rameurs (mais c'étaient les thètes, les plus pauvres, ceux qui n'étaient pas obligés de fournir un équipement) dès l'époque de Thémistocle aient reçu 2 oboles par jour. Lors de l'expédition de Potidée, la solde est rentrée dans les mœurs. Identique au *misthos* athénien, elle est, *de facto*, l'indemnisation du temps passé au service de la cité. Mais son versement s'applique à tous : un mercenaire reçoit normalement même solde qu'un citoyen : une drachme par jour au départ s'il est fantassin,

1 Sur les tendances de la recherche actuelle et la bibliographie récente sur le monde grec, J.-N. Corvisier, 1985-2005, vingt ans de travaux sur la guerre grecque antique, *Revue des Etudes Militaires Antiques*, 2, 2005, p. 31-55 et 3, 2006.

même si le coût de la guerre du Péloponnèse va entraîner une diminution des soldes².

Dans ces conditions, la notion moderne de civil ne peut s'appliquer, et de façon anachronique, qu'à ceux qui n'ont pas normalement à faire la guerre. Puisque le soldat-citoyen est, par définition, un *amateur*, les « civils », ce seront les *inaptes* par le sexe — les femmes —, par l'âge — les enfants de moins de 18 ans et les hommes de plus de 60 ans dont, le nombre, à en juger par les tables de mortalité, se situe entre 9 et 10% de la population³. *A contrario*, il s'avère extrêmement difficile de faire une distinction entre les citoyens mobilisables et les autres, ceux qui seraient « pleinement civils » il n'y a que chez les Macédoniens d'époque classique qu'on a pu postuler l'existence d'une assemblée des citoyens différente de l'assemblée de l'armée, et dans toutes les Cités, les plus de 60 ans, ceux qui ne peuvent plus être que civils, ne sont pas exclus de l'assemblée ni, dans la quasi-totalité des cas, des magistratures⁴. Ce qui fait problème, c'est la situation des non-citoyens : esclaves, ils n'ont pas normalement à être admis à l'honneur de défendre la Cité ; étrangers, ils ne sont soumis à l'obligation militaire que dans leur propre Cité. Dans la pratique, ces interdictions n'ont pas été entièrement respectées. On ne s'est jamais privé d'utiliser les esclaves en cas de nécessité, soit dans la défense d'une ville assiégée, soit même sur le champ de bataille, comme les Athéniens le firent à Marathon ; subsistait le barrage de la situation juridique : on ne faisait pas de l'esclave un phalangite, sauf à l'avoir préalablement affranchi, ce qui se produisit au moins chez les Achéens lors de la Guerre de Corinthe. D'ailleurs, les « dépendants » de type hilotique devaient le service de guerre. Quant aux étrangers, non seulement ils finançaient la guerre lorsqu'ils faisaient partie des étrangers domiciliés (métèques), mais ils pouvaient être mobilisés dans des corps spéciaux.

S'il est vrai que le civil, c'est donc à priori celui qui n'est normalement pas soumis à la guerre, et donc celui qui est logiquement protégé de ses effets, on constate que, dans le monde grec, ce ne sont que les usages et la chance qui font d'une personne non soumise au service de guerre, une personne civile. La contre-épreuve de ce que la notion moderne de civil ne peut avoir de pleine valeur sera trouvée dans le traitement des populations lors d'une prise de ville. Lorsqu'elle a été prise d'assaut, donc lorsqu'elle s'est défendue jusqu'au bout, les usages de la guerre permettent que les femmes et les enfants soient réduits en esclavage et les hommes soient tués, droit dont les vainqueurs semblent avoir effectivement usé dans au moins 1/4 des cas, selon les calculs de P. Ducrey⁵. Tout « civil » est donc tenu pour un combattant potentiel.

2 Données chiffrées et références dans J.-N. Corvisier, *Guerre et Sociétés dans les mondes Grecs 490-322*, Paris 1999, p. 141-155 (nouvelle éd. augmentée sous presse).

3 J.-N. Corvisier, *Vieillesse et âge au décès dans l'Antiquité grecque, le point de vue du démographe*, in *L'Anticenneté chez les Anciens*, Colloque International de Montpellier 22-23 novembre 2001 (éd. B. Bakhouché), Presses de l'Univ. de Montpellier 2003, p. 9-21.

4 L'inaptitude militaire n'entraîne pas normalement l'inaptitude politique — dont l'inaptitude à des décisions de direction de la guerre — : seuls les Maliens, petit peuple de Grèce centrale, écartent des magistratures les hommes de plus de 60 ans. Sur l'assemblée macédonienne, P. Briant, *Les dix premières années de pouvoir d'Antigone le Borgne et les problèmes de l'assemblée macédonienne*, Paris, 1973, qui distingue deux assemblées. Ce point de vue a été partiellement accepté par N.G.L. Hammond (notamment dans *A History of Macedonia*, II, 1979. Les travaux récents de M. B. Hatzopoulos (notamment *Macedonian Institutions over the Kings*, Athènes, 1996) pourraient le rendre caduc. De toute façon, il ne s'agirait que d'un cas unique.

5 Le traitement des prisonniers de guerre dans la Grèce Antique, Paris, de Boccard, 1968.

Le « civil » ne serait-il pas alors « celui qui ne sait pas », celui qui, culturellement ou par le fait des circonstances, n'a jamais été confronté à la guerre, n'a même jamais *pensé* la guerre ? On ne peut pas l'exclure, si l'on s'avise de ce que le contenu même des batailles, le *vécu* de la guerre paraît avoir été soigneusement masqué durant la période classique. Que ce soit pour la victoire ou pour les souffrances consenties afin d'y parvenir, la Cité a gommé l'individu. Il convient cependant d'apporter quelque nuance : quelque forme qu'elle ait pu prendre, l'éphébie inculquait à tout futur citoyen une *paideia* militaire ; la fréquence des guerres, de l'ordre d'une année sur trois, était telle que le fait guerrier ne pouvait avoir été ignoré ; enfin, le poids démographique de la guerre sur la société était loin d'être nul. Une recherche systématique a montré d'ailleurs qu'il est resté à peu près identique entre le milieu du V^{ème} siècle et la fin de la période hellénistique⁶.

Dans ces conditions, plus que la distinction civil/militaire, celle qui peut paraître pertinente pour le monde grec traditionnel est la distinction amateur/professionnel. Eu égard à nos critères, le citoyen est un amateur susceptible alternativement d'être civil ou militaire. Le seul vrai militaire, le professionnel, ne peut être qu'un mercenaire, évidemment méprisé car il combat pour de l'argent et non pour sa Cité. Faut-il voir une exception dans la situation du soldat spartiate ? On ne saurait même en être assuré

LES PRODROMES DE LA TRANSFORMATION À LA PÉRIODE CLASSIQUE

Si la situation qui vient d'être brièvement brossée conserve sa pleine valeur à l'époque classique, au moins comme modèle culturel, notamment par le biais de la *Belle Mort*, la réalité paraît s'en être quelque peu écartée, notamment par le déroulement de la Guerre du Péloponnèse. Non que le fait civil ait été perçu *en tant que tel*. Mais la technicité plus grande de la guerre a commencé à faire effet : la semi professionnalisation de la guerre a tendu à reléguer le soldat citoyen au rang d'une catégorie de « connaissant moins le combat », l'archétype du civil.

Certes, le « Grec moyen » n'avait aucune véritable conscience de cette transformation. Lorsque, dans ses discours refaits prêtés à Périclès, Thucydide oppose les amateurs athéniens aux professionnels spartiates pour ensuite montrer que les premiers, quoique non spécialistes, font jeu égal avec les seconds, il ne fait qu'exprimer une opinion commune à Athènes. Ce faisant, d'ailleurs, pour flatter ses concitoyens, il contribue à créer le mythe du « Spartiate-seul soldat professionnel en Grèce », dont les spécialistes actuellement voient de plus en plus le caractère décalé par rapport à la réalité. Car ce que nous avons longtemps tenu pour seules structures de l'armée sont en fait les structures politiques de l'état spartiate et on a souvent oublié que le Spartiate était aussi un citoyen. Seul la réduction numérique et ce que nous croyons savoir de leur *paideia* a pu amener un temps les Modernes à en faire de véritables professionnels⁷.

6 J.-N. Corvisier, *Guerre et Démographie dans le monde antique*, CRUSUDMA, 2006, notamment p. 261-275.

7 Sur les structures de l'armée, entre autres, F. Lazenby, *The Spartan Army*, Warminster, 1985, très précis sur le sujet. Les tendances de l'historiographie spartiates pourront être trouvées notamment chez Ed. Lévy, *Sparte*, 2003, ou dans les multiples études de J. Ducat. Les textes concernant l'*agôgê* sont même remis en question par certains savants pour qui ce qu'on croit deviner chez Xénophon et ce que décrit Plutarque 5 siècles plus tard n'a pas valeur pour tous les citoyens, mais seulement pour le Bataillon Sacré. Au surplus,

Il n'y a donc, dans le monde grec, de véritables professionnels de la guerre que les mercenaires. Leur état est d'autant plus méprisé qu'il s'exerce le plus souvent, à partir de la réforme hoplitique, à l'étranger : la manière grecque de faire la guerre est tenue pour la plus efficace, à partir du VI^{ème} siècle, aussi bien en Egypte, dans le monde perse, à Chypre ou en Italie du sud. Inévitablement étrangers, les mercenaires vivent à part, hors cités, dans des camps tels celui du Ténare ou celui, récemment fouillé, qui se trouve à proximité de Cûmes, et ils n'ont d'autre ambition, lorsqu'ils sont Grecs, que de revenir dans leur Cité fortune faite et d'y vivre comme un citoyen respecté, des terres qu'ils auront pu y acquérir. Cadets de famille, originaires de régions pauvres ou jeunes gens fortunés mais baroudeurs comme le fut encore Xénophon, ils font comme hoplites ou comme cavaliers ce que tout citoyen a appris à faire, le mercenariat étant devenu le substitut de la colonisation.

La Guerre du Péloponnèse changea cependant la donne. Devenue acharnée, totale, exigeant des expéditions de longue durée comme celles de Brasidas ou de Sicile, elle rendit plus difficile le maintien du système du soldat-citoyen. Pour bien faire la guerre, il fallait l'avoir appris et l'avoir fréquemment exercée. La transformation se fit à un double niveau, celui des chefs et celui de certaines troupes.

Traditionnellement, dans le monde grec, les cadres militaires étaient élus. De même, les chefs étaient des magistrats élus par tous les citoyens. Point n'était nécessairement besoin qu'ils fussent spécialistes du commandement : Sophocle ainsi fut élu stratège à Athènes. Périclès était plus un politique qu'un spécialiste de la guerre. Mais l'importance de la guerre exigea des choix non plus politiques mais techniques. La sociologie des stratèges athéniens le montre : un Nicias, un Conon sont des spécialistes. On le voit aussi ailleurs : Lysandre fut navarque à Sparte malgré son peu de naissance. Désormais, les chefs militaires sont formés pour cela. L'archétype du chef nouveau pourrait avoir été Brasidas, selon une étude récente⁸. Plus tard, il est clair que les stratèges athéniens du IV^{ème} siècle sont des professionnels de la guerre et ne sont plus des politiques. Au point de devenir ces stratèges condottieri dont K. W. Pritchett a mis en évidence les parcours : entre les périodes où ils sont élus par leur cité pour commander en chef ou pour préparer la guerre, ils se font mercenaires au service d'un souverain étranger ... et parfois en même temps de la diplomatie de leur Cité⁹. Ils ont leurs troupes, fidèles, qu'ils entraînent qui les suivent partout en formant le fer de lance de leur contingent. Ils ont *de facto* la formation qu'auront les souverains hellénistiques, chefs *ès qualités*, ce qui leur permettra d'exercer des commandements jusqu'à des âges élevés.

A cette professionnalisation des chefs répond une semi-professionnalisation des troupes. Elle est inscrite dans les nécessités tactiques. Se développent en effet durant la même guerre du Péloponnèse, des corps spécialisés : peltastes d'abord, puis javelotiers, frondeurs, archers, dont le rôle dans l'action peut être déterminant. Sont-ce des mercenaires ? Aux yeux des auteurs anciens, oui : les peltastes *sont* thraces, les archers *sont* crétois. Mais ce sont aussi des spécialistes qui réduisent les citoyens au rang d'amateurs. Or, des professionnels forcés, il y en a : en entraînant des prises et des destructions de villes, en créant des apatrides - même

les citoyens à Sparte n'étaient pas les seuls à combattre.

8 J. Boëldieu-Trevet, *Commander dans le monde grec au V^e siècle avant notre ère*, P.U. de Franche Comté, 2007.

9 The Condottieri of the fourth century, *The Greek State at War*, II, p. 59-116.

si une Cité finit toujours par être recrée -, la guerre suscite des vocations de mercenaires : comment gagner sa vie quand on n'a plus de Cité et qu'on n'a plus de terres, sinon en faisant ce que tout citoyen a appris à faire, la guerre, même si il faut y apprendre des techniques nouvelles. On notera d'ailleurs que les Cités ont toujours eu des professionnels de la guerre distincts des simples soldats-citoyens, en la personne des membres des bataillons sacrés, des « choisis » qui sont soumis à un entraînement permanent et constituent le fer de lance de l'armée : le fait est avéré en Béotie mais aussi ailleurs. Mais pendant longtemps, on a pensé que cela suffisait¹⁰.

Toutefois, la professionnalisation de la guerre à la période classique demeura limitée. A Athènes où nous avons des sources, le gros des mobilisés du IV^{ème} siècle resta constitué de citoyens-amateurs et l'idéologie de la guerre demeura identique. Le blocage était d'ordre mental : le chef de guerre restait, dans les esprits, un simple hoplite et un citoyen comme un autre, et le professionnel un mercenaire, donc un danger potentiel pour la Cité. Même l'impérialisme n'avait pas conduit les Athéniens, à plus forte raison les Spartiates, à sauter le pas. La création des clérouques n'entraînait pas *ipso-facto* une distinction entre « citoyens-civils » et « citoyens soldats ». Car la première clérouque athénienne, celle de Salamine dont l'épigraphie nous a conservé certains contours, n'était qu'un moyen de mettre la main sur le territoire et de maintenir sur place les citoyens athéniens désignés pour y prendre résidence, et les clérouques instituées durant la première confédération militaire étaient, pour l'essentiel, une forme de châtiment pour une Cité rebelle : en imposant la présence d'un Athénien nourri par le travail d'un citoyen de cette cité « alliée », sur la terre qu'il possédait lui-même et sur laquelle le nouveau-venu athénien se voyait accorder un droit et le versement d'une redevance, les Athéniens se faisaient payer par l'allié rebelle, sans débours pour eux, une garnison minimale susceptible d'y maintenir l'ordre athénien et de peser sur sa conduite ultérieure. Il y avait les prodromes d'une distinction entre civil et militaire, le citoyen paysan, civil, entretenant le militaire professionnel. Mais les prodromes seulement : une telle situation était exceptionnelle et n'était pas destinée à durer. On en verra la contre-épreuve par l'exemple spartiate : lorsque les Lacédémoniens devaient tenir un point d'appui pour la durée du conflit, ils n'hésitaient pas à nommer un harmoste et à envoyer des troupes destinées à former une garnison ; mais, lorsqu'ils voulurent établir une tête de pont durable pour tenir les Thermopyles au nord, c'est une ville qu'ils fondèrent, avec quelques colons de chez eux et des colons alliés. Héraclée Trachinienne avait ainsi des spécialistes de la guerre péloponnésiens comme aides, présents au titre d'alliés seulement, mais surtout citoyens-soldats dont le nombre nous est connu par Xénophon et par Diodore, non des garnisaires qui en réduisaient les citoyens au rang de civils. C'est par le retour de la royauté que le processus se trouva relancé.

LE PROCESSUS DE TRANSFORMATION HELLÉNISTIQUE

La double mise en place de la phalange macédonienne et de la royauté hellénistique transforma un peu plus encore les citoyens-soldats potentiels en civils. D'abord, car faire partie d'une phalange macédonienne ne s'improvise pas. Il faut un entraînement supérieur à celui du simple hoplite, comme on le voit dès l'époque de Philippe II avec Diodore et

10 Cf. G. Hoffmann, Les Choisis : un ordre dans la Cité grecque, *Droit et culture*, 9-10, 1985, p. 15-26. Voir aussi plus haut, n. 7.

Justin¹¹. Le fait devient encore plus clair avec les Etats hellénistiques. Il n'est plus nécessaire simplement d'être en bonne condition physique et on ne peut s'entraîner uniquement quelques jours avant la bataille. Les *stratégistes* insistent sur la nécessité d'un entraînement d'hiver, voire quotidien ; la place de chacun au sein de la phalange est dorénavant strictement déterminée. Et les commandements tels qu'Asclépiodote les fait connaître au I^{er} siècle avant notre ère, montre que les manœuvres d'entraînement étaient particulièrement nécessaires, tant pour passer des formations de route aux formations de combat, que pour répondre à tout commandement pour modifier l'ordre de bataille. Les cadres doivent manifestement être des professionnels. Le texte ne le dit pas, mais il le sous-entend même des hommes¹². Cela n'induit pas obligatoirement que les phalangites, mercenaires ou soldats professionnels, aient transformé les citoyens soldats traditionnels en civils ; les Cités ont d'ailleurs transformé progressivement, courant III^{ème} siècle, leurs phalanges hoplitiques en phalanges macédoniennes. L'amalgame restait possible. Mais le mouvement de semi-professionnalisation de l'armée était lancé. On en verra d'ailleurs une preuve dans les textes concernant l'armée d'Alexandre. Arrien comme Quinte Curce insistent bien souvent sur les états d'âme des Macédoniens, compagnons d'armes de Philippe II depuis vingt ans, notamment à propos de la sédition d'Opis. Le fait est ordinairement accepté comme normal sans que les Modernes ne se demandent quel était le statut de ces vétérans, particulièrement nombreux puisque les « fournées » de retour vers la Macédoine de tous ceux auxquels le conquérant de l'Asie donnait argent et droit pour s'établir chez lui ont été de plusieurs milliers ! Faut-il en faire des mercenaires ? Leur qualité de Macédoniens s'y oppose, et plus encore, ce que nous savons des finances de Philippe II : jamais il n'aurait disposé des moyens lui permettant d'avoir plus, comme mercenaires, qu'un minimum de troupes disponibles l'hiver et servant éventuellement de fer de lance à l'armée. Et la connaissance dont nous disposons par Arrien des districts de recrutement macédonien à l'époque d'Alexandre, montre que l'intégration dans l'armée royale était un fait normal et régulier¹³. Pourtant, le royaume macédonien, semblable en cela aux Cités grecques comme l'a montré M. Hatzopoulos, avait une véritable citoyenneté. Nous n'avons aucune source sur l'existence d'un engagement de longue durée, légalement établi. Il faut en déduire que d'année en année, avant l'ouverture de la campagne, le souverain indiquait les nombres de soldats de quelque type que ce soit dont il pensait avoir besoin, et que l'engagement de volontaires suppléait aux besoins. Il faut en déduire aussi que d'année en année, certains Macédoniens rengageaient pour la durée de la campagne, imitant ce que déjà faisaient certains Athéniens à l'époque des stratèges condottieri. On en arriva ainsi à une sorte d'armée de métier, sans qu'elle ait été réellement codifiée. Ceux qui n'éprouaient pas le désir de participer à l'aventure militaire, sauf à l'occasion d'une mobilisation générale, une *pandèmeia*, n'étaient-ils pas déjà des *civils* ? Ce

11 On constate à la fois la nécessité d'allègement, la disparition de l'esclave aide de l'hoplite et les longues marches d'entraînement. Cf. Diodore, Justin, et surtout Polyen, IV, 2, 10. J.-N. Corvisier, *Philippe II de Macédoine*, Paris, Fayard, 2002, p. 97-103.

12 Onasander, IX et X 1. Asclépiodote, I, 4 ; X. A contrario, Polybe, V, 66 sur Séleucos qui disperse ses troupes pour l'hiver, et ne les entraîne plus, car il est persuadé qu'il ne leur sera pas nécessaire de combattre.

13 M. B. Hatzopoulos, *Macedonian Institutions over the Kings*, Athènes, 1996, p. 443-460. Sur les rapports entre l'organisation politique et l'organisation militaire au III^{ème} siècle, plus récemment, *L'organisation de l'armée macédonienne sous les Antigonides*, Athènes, 2001.

même fonctionnement se maintint dans les royaumes hellénistiques.

Pour les Cités traditionnelles, celles qui conservèrent le plus longtemps possible leurs systèmes de défense traditionnel, la présence de garnisons accentuait la différence entre citoyens = soldats potentiels et garnisaires = soldats professionnels. La mise en œuvre récente de séries épigraphique a permis de mieux connaître ces garnisaires dont on ne peut plus faire uniquement des mercenaires imposés de l'extérieur. A Athènes, ainsi, pour plus de la moitié, ce sont des soldats-citoyens, mais devenus spécialistes, installés à demeure dans une garnison éloignée de leur dème d'origine, qui vivent en symbiose avec les paysans qu'ils sont chargés de défendre : leurs relations sont devenues des relations de civils à soldats appointés, même s'ils sont tous athéniens. Dans d'autres cas, ce sont des *paroikoi*, étrangers domiciliés et fixés à demeure en bénéficiant d'un statut spécial, qui finalement sont enterrés dans le village le plus proche de la garnison où ils se trouvent¹⁴. L'apport des garnisons à la constitution des populations locales a d'ailleurs été diversement interprété, mais ne saurait être considéré comme nul¹⁵.

Ces garnisons sont difficiles à percevoir par des Modernes. Au point de vue militaire, elles sont normales, pleinement intégrées dans la défense statique d'une Cité ou d'un Etat territorial ; mais au point de vue politique, elles peuvent avoir été imposées, de façon punitive, aux cités rebelles : Diodore ou Polybe ne se privent pas de les mentionner, ce qui nous permet d'en dresser la liste. A les en croire cependant, les garnisaires ne sont des mercenaires, comme d'ailleurs ils laissent l'impression que l'essentiel des effectifs des armées hellénistiques, pourtant fort nombreuses, n'étaient que des mercenaires, jugement que suivent, en général, les Modernes¹⁶. Pour les chefs ou les garnisaires imposés, on le croira sans peine, encore qu'ils aient bien été au départ recrutés et appointés par un souverain, et qu'ils puissent même conserver leur poste alors qu'ils ne sont pas payés depuis longtemps, ce qu'on ne peut attendre raisonnablement de vulgaires mercenaires¹⁷. Pour les autres, il est

14 Voir notamment J. Ch. Couvenhes, l'approche prosopographique des aires géographiques de recrutement des garnisaires de l'Attique à l'époque hellénistique : enjeux et limites du traitement statistique, dans J.-N. Corvisier, *Guerre et démographie dans le monde antique*, op. cit., p. 73-92.

15 Cf. par exemple A. Chaniotis, *Constructing and Crossing Boundaries in Hellenistic Cities with Garrisons*, in (éd.) A. Chaniotis et P. Ducrey, *Army and Power in the Ancient World*, Stuttgart, 2002, p. 1090-123, et J. Ma, « Oversexed, Overpaid and over here » : A Response to Angelos Chaniotis, *ibid.*, p. 115-122.

16 Pour les garnisons imposées, la fiction d'autonomie est maintenue, en revanche, par les sources épigraphiques. Cf. le classique M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1949-1950, rééd. 1987, p. 638-643. L'étude de M. Launey, qui prend en compte les origines ethniques, véritables ou obligatoires pour raisons culturelles ou techniques, de tous les soldats que nous font connaître les sources p. 104-617, puis qui examine leur condition sociale p. 724-812 ou leur place dans la société, reste un travail fondamental qui a orienté l'essentiel des études contemporaines, voit l'essentiel des soldats comme des mercenaires ; beaucoup plus brièvement mais plus récemment P. Baker, *La guerre*, dans A. Erskine, *Le Monde hellénistique*, trad. fr., PUR, 2004, p. 477-496. Très suggestif, A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Blackwell, 2005, principalement p. 78-99. Le rôle du mercenariat, traditionnellement jugé constitutif du recrutement hellénistique explique la part que celui-ci occupe dans la bibliographie, cf. l'étude bibliographique de J.-C. Couvenhes et S. Péré-Noguès, *Quoi de neuf sur la guerre ?*, *Pallas*, 76, 2005, p. 379-399, consacrée pour moitié à ce phénomène.

17 On sait que c'est en réglant les nombreux arriérés de solde dus par le souverain antigonide que les Athéniens obtinrent le départ de la garnison imposée par Antigone Gonatas après la guerre de Chrémonidès, fait que Démétrios II eut la sagesse d'admettre sans protestation (Plutarque, *Aratos*, 34 ou Pausanias, II, 8, 6).

clair que mercenaire s'oppose, dans nos sources, à soldat citoyen. Ces « mercenaires » sont tout simplement des soldats professionnels appointés par un souverain.

A ce point de notre raisonnement, il faut prendre en compte les vecteurs de notre information : en dehors des historiens anciens qui prennent en compte la guerre mais non ceux qui la font sauf épisodiquement les chefs, nous sommes tributaires de l'épigraphie, c'est-à-dire pour la période hellénistique, très largement des inscriptions honorifiques émanant des Cités. Ainsi, nous percevons quelque peu les relations inter-étatiques à l'échelle civique, mais le fonctionnement des armées régulières au sein des royaumes nous échappe pour l'essentiel. Nous connaissons au moins partiellement la manière dont ils se procurent des mercenaires, fût-ce dans le cas d'accords internationaux ; nous savons comment ils cherchent à fixer ces étrangers sur leur territoire pour en faire des soldats à demeure. Mais nous ignorons largement comment ils recrutaient *chez eux*. Pourtant, on ne saurait douter qu'ils le faisaient ; on en verra pour preuve un simple passage de Polybe concernant le roi macédonien Philippe V : alors que pour l'hiver il s'établissait à Argos, il renvoyait ses soldats en Macédoine¹⁸. Pourquoi le faire ? S'il s'agissait de mercenaires, il lui suffisait de les laisser rentrer dans leurs Cités respectives pour les 2 ou 3 mois durant lesquels les opérations s'arrêtaient, sans qu'il fût besoin de les payer, en attendant la reprise de la campagne. S'il les renvoyait en Macédoine, c'est soit qu'il les laisse hiverner chez eux - mais comment était-il sûr qu'ils reviendraient lors de la campagne suivante ? Il fallait alors qu'ils eussent signé un engagement pour plusieurs années ... et nous sommes dans le cas d'une armée de métier, soit qu'il les y entretienne dans le cadre d'un *stathmos*, d'une réquisition¹⁹, et nous sommes dans le cadre d'un véritable contrat pluriannuel pour des mercenaires étrangers ou d'une armée nationale mise en contact avec ce que nous ne pouvons qu'appeler des *civils*. On voit ici l'ampleur du décalage qui existe entre nos sources et nos attentes !

Une chose en tout cas est certaine : le soldat est désormais perçu en tant que tel. Son personnage est un type humain fréquemment présenté dans la Comédie Nouvelle, sans apparaître nécessairement sous les traits d'un soudard (même si on le voit souvent comme un hâbleur), et leur supériorité sur les soldats-citoyens est reconnue²⁰. Mais alors, que sont ces derniers sinon des soldats potentiels, en un mot des *civils*. Le système hellénistique de la clérouquie amena également à parfaire la distinction entre le civil et le militaire. On sait comment firent les Lagides : création d'un bail individuel dans lequel le clérouque obtenait l'usufruit d'une terre cultivée au départ par un locataire. Le soldat recevait en même temps, par le système du *stathmos*, un logement chez l'indigène. Le système ne pouvait fonctionner que s'il y avait bien un soldat professionnel et un paysan civil. Que le clérouque ait tendu à devenir propriétaire-exploitant et la clérouquie héréditaire n'affecte pas le principe de la spécialisation. Et si les clérouques séleucides ou attalides prenaient la forme de colonies permanentes, rurales ou urbaines, liées à des *phourai* (fortins), il n'empêche : les colons établis devaient, à côté de leurs obligations de défense locale, un service préférentiel dans les armées royales²¹. Les autres habitants n'en devenaient-ils pas des *civils* ?

18 Polybe, IV, 87.

19 Celui-ci est connu, mais hors du monde antigonide, cf. M. Launey, p. 692-715.

20 Diodore, XXIX, 6.

21 Récemment sur ces points, L. Capdetrey, *Le pouvoir Séleucide : territoire, administration et finances d'un*

UN POINT D'ABOUTISSEMENT INACHEVÉ

Pour qui veut risquer une conclusion, il conviendra cependant de remarquer que le processus de transformation demeura inabouti. Le monde grec resta marqué, mentalement et effectivement, par le système du soldat citoyen. On en verra pour preuve que dès qu'il était possible, on tentait d'intégrer les spécialistes de la guerre à une Cité. Les politographies ou les *anaplêrôseis* imposées par les souverains hellénistiques n'avaient pas d'autre but : en demandant, parfois avec insistance, à des cités de créer de nouveaux citoyens, ils s'y assuraient à la fois de l'existence de soutiens politiques et de soldats locaux²². Lorsque la sociologie des nouveaux entrants est perceptible, comme c'est le cas de la fameuse inscription d'Ilion, on constate que ce sont en quasi-totalité des hommes déjà âgés et peu pourvus d'enfants. Au lieu d'y voir la preuve de la faible fécondité du monde grec et de sa dépopulation, ce qu'on a trop souvent fait²³, il vaut mieux y voir le témoignage de l'entrée de soldats professionnels dans des corps civiques : soldats différents des civils comme le prouve leur démographie, mais cherchant au moins à le devenir ou à s'en rapprocher.

Ainsi, le civil n'a jamais été *pensé en tant que tel* par les Grecs Anciens. Même à l'époque où la guerre ne concerne plus guère que les Etats territoriaux et ne touche les Cités que par la bande, les éphébie subsistent plus que jamais²⁴. Remarquons toutefois qu'elles concernent les citoyens, qui tendent à devenir une minorité dans les populations urbaines. Les autres sont à proprement parler des civils *ès qualités*. A l'époque de la paix romaine, la *paidéia* passe toujours par la guerre, même si celle-ci n'est plus un fait courant. Dans le roman grec, elle se réfugie ainsi soit dans la lutte contre le brigandage, soit dans le passé²⁵. L'état de civil est devenu normal, mais il reste inavoué.

royaume hellénistique, Pr. Univ. Rennes, 2007, p. 110-112 pour l'intégration d'*ethnè* non grecques, alors considérées comme des *symmachoi* (alliés) dans les troupes royales par réquisition ; sur le double aspect des *katoikia*, colonies pas seulement militaires mais aussi agricoles, qu'on distinguera des simples *phrouria*, p. 158-166.

22 A Larissa : *IG*, IX 2, 517 ; à Pharsale, *IG*, IX 2, 234 ; à Hermioné, *IG*, IV, 729 ; à Dymé, *SIG*³, 529. Sur ces textes et quelques autres, M. Launey, p. 658-664. Pour les intégrations autrement que comme citoyens, *ibid.*, p. 643-653 et plus haut, n. 14.

23 Les interprétations traditionnelles d'A. Landry, Quelques aperçus concernant la dépopulation dans l'Antiquité gréco-romaine, *Revue Historique*, 177, 1936, p. 1-33, sont rendues caduques par la comparaison avec d'autres politographies, et les tentatives de reconstructions démographiques par comparaison avec les Inuits de P. Brulé (Enquête démographique sur la famille grecque antique, *Revue des Etudes Anciennes*, 92, 3-4, 1990, p. 233-258) n'ont pas toujours convaincu (cf. J.-N. Corvisier et W. Suder, *La population de l'Antiquité classique*, Paris, 2000, notamment p. 60-63).

24 On en verra pour preuve les études de B. Legras sur l'Égypte (*Néôtès. Recherches sur les jeunes Grecs dans l'Égypte Ptolémaïque*, Genève, 1999) ou de A. Chankowski (L'Ephébie hellénistique, étude d'une institution civique dans les cités grecques des îles de la Mer Egée et d'Asie Mineure, sous presse, cf. L'entraînement militaire des éphèbes dans les cités grecques d'Asie Mineure, nécessité pratique ou tradition atrophiee, in (éd.) J.-C. Couvenhes et H.-L. Fernoux, *Les Cités grecques et la guerre en Asie Mineure à l'époque hellénistique*, Tours, 2004, p. 55-76), tout comme la fameuse loi béotienne de préparation militaire (P. Roesch, *Etudes Béotiennes*, Paris 1982, p.

25 J.-N. Corvisier, La Guerre dans le roman grec, « Dialogue militaire entre les Anciens et les Modernes », 30 mars 2001, textes réunis par J.-P. Bois, Pr. Univ. Rennes 2004, p. 39-52.

Total War – the Ancient Perspective

JORIT WINTJES

INTRODUCTION

A hypothetical scenario: an army of for example the English Civil Wars, that is laying siege to an enemy town, at some point succeeds in forcing its way into the city. But instead of meeting a shaken crowd of townspeople eager to capitulate and to avert any possible horrors from their city, the victorious army is faced with stubborn resistance not only by the remnants of the town's garrison, but also by the citizens themselves - men, women and children have taken to the roofs of their houses and are blasting away at the invaders with everything at their disposal right down to roof tiles. Such behaviour, particularly if displayed by women and children, would probably have seriously irritated any contemporary observer.

In antiquity however, things were different. Here, active participation in war of people normally considered to be non-combatants was quite a commonplace occurrence. When in 278 BC the Galatians invaded Greece, the citizens of the various Aetolean cities decided to join forces in order to repel the invading Gauls. They took to the field with literally everyone who was able to carry a weapon, which included the womenfolk of the towns, and eventually managed to push the invaders back.¹ Many other examples show how widely accepted the direct use of force by non-combatants had been. One particularly well-attested case is the defence put up by the Plataeans against the Thebans at the outbreak of the Peloponnesian War in 431 BC.² In a surprise attack a fairly small force of Thebans managed to get inside the walls of Plataea; after the citizens had recovered from their initial shock, bitter street fighting followed in which the Plataean soldiers were greatly aided by women, children and even slaves, which took to the roofs of their houses and pelted the Thebans with stones and tiles. In the end those few of the Thebans who were not killed in the fighting surrendered. The case of the Sicilian town Selinus, which was attacked by an Carthaginian army in 407 BC provides a similar example, though with a different outcome.³ Here, the invader again managed to break into the town, where he faced not only the defenders but also the women of the town throwing tiles from the rooftops. The Selinuntines managed to keep the Carthaginians at bay for some time, but once the roofs had been stripped of all the tiles the Carthaginians finally prevailed; Selinunt fell and its inhabitants were enslaved. Without doubt the most famous example is king Pyrrhus of Epirus, one of the great military figures of his age. Pyrrhus was killed by

1 Paus. 10.22.5-7 (abbreviations of ancient authors follow H. G. Liddell/R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon*, Oxford 1968, G. W. H. Lampe, *A Patristic Greek Lexicon*, Oxford 1969 and P.G.W. Glare, *Oxford Latin Dictionary*, Oxford 1983); see also C. Antonetti, *Les Étoléens. Image et religion*, Paris 1990, 126-31. Pausanias emphasizes that the Aetolian women displayed greater courage than the men did.

2 Thuc. 2. 4, Aen. Tact. 2.6, Diod. 12.41. The three accounts show only minor differences regarding the importance of the tile-throwing action for the overall outcome of the battle; in Thucydides and Aeneas Tacticus the tile barrage is just one element of the Plataean counterattack, while in Diodorus it is the military action of the women which eventually brings about the decision in favour of the Plataeans.

3 Diod. 13.56.7-8.

an elderly woman during street-fighting in the town of Argos in 272 BC, when his troops, bogged down in a maze of tiny little streets, were attacked not only by soldiers, but also by the Argivan population throwing tiles from the rooftops.⁴ In general, the extent to which non-combatants could be directly involved in war in antiquity is quite surprising at first.

A closer look however at who actively participated in war reveals a question of considerable complexity. On the one hand active participation in combat by people normally considered to be non-combatants was not only accepted as a reality of life, it was also the subject of theoretical reflections both by military theorists and by philosophers. In the 3rd century BC Philon of Byzantium, better known for his works on artillery, suggested in his collection of stratagems that in the defence of a city, everybody should play an active role, including children, female slaves, women and virgins.⁵ And already about a century earlier Plato was particularly explicit in his *Laws* on possible roles of women in wartime - should the army proper be away on a campaign, they were to be responsible for the defence of the state. To that end, women not only had to care for their physical fitness, but were even allowed to train in the use of weapons and to take part in monthly military maneuvers.⁶

On the other hand active participation of non-combatants only took place under very specific circumstances. Thus, while there is substantial evidence for non-combatants taking part in defence efforts, offensive operations were always undertaken by armies in which women or children had no place. Similarly, only men were involved in most of the rituals around warfare that were common in Greek cities, having no part in the prayers, sacrifices and celebrations before or after a battle.⁷

In general, the phenomenon seems to have been mainly one of Greek history. Evidence for Rome suggests similar developments mainly for the early and middle Republic, when Rome found itself at the receiving end of civilian participation in war. During C. Marcius' attack on the Volscan city Corioli, the women of the town are said to have put up a barrage of roof tiles against the Romans.⁸ Similarly, in 396 the Roman attack on Veii was met by women and slaves of the town throwing tiles against the Romans.⁹ The Romans themselves were apparently not

4 Plut. *Pyrroh.* 34.2; Polyae. 8.68; Paus. 1.13.8. Fittingly, W. D. Barry, Roof Tiles and Urban Violence in the Ancient World, in: *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 37, 1996, 55-74, speaks of "perhaps the most historically significant roof tile" (Barry 1996, 55).

5 Ph. C 31 (Y. Garlan, *Recherches de poliorcétique grecque*, Paris 1973).

6 Pl. *Lg.* 813e-814a. See also *R.* 456a1-2 for a more radical view, according to which women can actually participate on the battlefield with the army. It is doubtful whether Plato considered it possible for women to be members of the army proper in the *Laws*; S.B. Levin, Plato on women's nature: Reflection on the "Laws", in: *Ancient Philosophy* 20, 2000, 81-97 points out that in the *Laws*, women's military activity is too limited to qualify for inclusion into the army. For a less sceptical interpretation see R.F. Stalley, *An Introduction to Plato's Laws*, Indianapolis 1983, 105 and D. Cohen, The legal status and political role of Women in Plato's *Laws*, in: *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 34, 27-40, 37.

7 See for example A. *Th.* 230: "It is the man's duty to offer victims and sacrifices to the gods when they test their enemy". See also R. Lonis, *Guerre et religion à l'époque classique*, Paris 1979, 95-7 and 129-30.

8 D.H. *Antiquitates Romanae* 6.92.6; see also Plut. *Cor.* 9. Although the historicity of the whole episode is at least questionable, it nevertheless clearly shows that the Romans did not consider the supposed behaviour of the Coriolian women to be extraordinary or surprising.

9 Liv. 5.21.10. Again it is at the very least debatable, whether this episode is historical or not. However, it shows that the idea of non-combatant citizens taking to the roofs and participating in the fighting was gene-

involved in such activities, most probably because after the sack of Rome by the Gauls following the defeat in the battle of the Allia in 390 BC, the city itself was never again besieged.¹⁰

While non-combatant male citizens continued to engage in street fighting right into the empire during civil wars,¹¹ there is no evidence for such active participation of women and children in Roman cities. In fact, from the beginning of the late Republic onwards, Rome underwent a significant transformation: society, which was basically one of warrior-citizens, so to speak, turned into one which employed first some of its own members and later even outsiders to perform military functions. The main reason for this development can be found in the fundamental changes Roman military affairs underwent from the decades after the final destruction of Carthage onwards. These changes completely reshaped the relationship of the civilian population towards war and had a profound influence Roman society.

THE GREEK CITY STATE

Before turning to the Romans it is instructive to take a very brief look at the Greek experience of war. In the context of a Greek city state, any military effort was in a way a total one, as only those who were able to carry arms - and indeed could afford them in the first place - enjoyed full citizenship. Thus, when the Greek city state went at war, taking part in the fighting was one of the most important political acts defining its citizens.¹² This also meant that there was no proper "military" in the sense of a permanent establishment within the society; war was always an effort of all citizens, the city state as a whole effectively transformed into a "military", so to speak.

The consequences for those citizens that could not take part in combat - the elderly, women and children - were twofold: On the one hand most if not all of them would have had a direct relationship to those involved in military action through family ties; on the other hand, as the war effort was one undertaken by the whole community, when something went wrong the whole community would be drawn into it - often ending up on the tops of their houses throwing things at an invader. Although Greek society knew sharp distinctions between private and public spheres, with political action and war normally firmly located within the public sphere and therefore entirely confined to male citizens, once war broke into the private sphere, so to speak, the active participation even of women was not only accepted, it was even backed as was shown above by military theorists and philosophers. When in need, everybody was to be mobilized, and indeed such an eventuality may well have been one of the reasons for the physical education Spartan women received.¹³

rally acceptable.

10 No military activity by the non-combatant citizens of Rome is attested for the invasion of the Gauls.

11 In 88 BC Sulla's first attack in Rome was frustrated by citizens throwing tiles and stones, see Plut. *Sull.* 9. When during the civil war following the death of Nero the failed attempt of emperor Vitellius at negotiations with Vespasian's brother resulted in street fighting in Rome, the followers of the Flavians were pushed back to the Capitol. There they defended themselves throwing tiles and stones at their opponents, see Tac. *Hist.* 3.71 and D.C. 64.19.3.

12 On citizen armies in the Greek and Roman world in general see Y. Garlan, *War in the Ancient World*, London 1975, 86-93. For the citizen armies of the Hellenistic world see A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2005, 20-26.

13 Plut. *Lyk.* 14. The military value of the participation of non-combatant citizens is debatable. Arist. *Pol.* 1269b

At the end of the classical period of Greek history however one of the most important developments in ancient military history slowly began to gain momentum - the introduction of a professional military. Already during the latter stages of the Peloponnesian War mercenaries had played an increasingly important role as they could provide skills highly sought after by the opponents - thus, Persian money bought the Spartans rowers from all over the eastern Mediterranean which eventually allowed them to carry the war right into the Aegean sea and into Ionia. In the Hellenistic period, the importance of professional soldiers grew considerably. Mercenaries were enlisted by Hellenistic kings as well as city states that were either in need of great numbers or looking for particular skills. Cretan archers were hired by anyone who could afford them, gaining citizenship in cities all over Ionia.¹⁴ But although the armies of Hellenistic kings contained a high proportion of mercenaries, Greek cities continued to rely mainly on citizen militias just as they had done for centuries; the fundamental experience of war for most male Greek citizens still was one of serving as a citizen-in-arms.¹⁵

In Rome it was not until the military reforms traditionally ascribed to Marius that the system of citizen militias, with which the Romans had fought the Carthaginians, was finally abolished. From around 100 BC onwards, Roman armies were now composed of professional soldiers, serving for anything between 15 and 25 years. While this reform was originally aimed at tapping the large number of landless Roman citizens for army recruitment, it had in fact a profound influence on the relationship between the civilian population and military affairs in general.¹⁶

THE ADVENT OF A PROFESSIONAL MILITARY

From now onwards, any military effort would be undertaken either by a distinct group within the society whose profession it was to do so, or even by outsiders who were paid for. This change affected Roman society in a number of ways, one of the most important being the political rise of the military to a position during the principate that was second to no one else within the society.¹⁷ Tacitus called the resulting role of the military as the single most

notes that in 370 BC during the first Theban invasion Spartan women panicked and caused more confusion than the enemy itself. Similarly, Xen. *Hell.* 6.5.28 claims they could not endure the sight of outlying districts of Sparta being plundered and burned by the Thebans; see also D. Schaps, *The Women of Greece in Wartime*, in: *Classical Philology* 77, 1982, 193-213, 195-96. However, when Pyrrhus attacked Sparta in 272 BC, the women proved to be an effective support for the soldiers defending the city, see Phylarch. F 48 (FGrHist 81) and Plut. *Pyrrh.* 27. See also Schaps 1982, 194 and P. Cartledge/A. Spawforth, *Hellenistic and Roman Sparta: A Tale of Two Cities*, London 1989, 33-34.

14 On the role of mercenaries in Hellenistic armies see A. Chaniotis, *War in the Hellenistic World*, Oxford 2005, 78-101. On Cretan mercenaries see P. Ducrey, *Warfare in Ancient Greece*, New York 1985, 130-2, A. Petropoulou, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Gesellschaftsgeschichte Kretas in hellenistischer Zeit*, Frankfurt 1985, 15-31 and M. Launey, *Recherches sur les armées hellénistiques*, Paris 1987, 248-286.

15 See J. Ma, *Fighting poleis of the Hellenistic world*, in: P. van Wees, *War and Violence in Ancient Greece*, London 2000, 337-376.

16 See E. Gabba (ed.), *Republican Rome. The Army and Allies*, Oxford 1976, N. Rosenstein, *Rome at War. Farms, Families and Death in the Middle Republic*, Chapel Hill 2004 and P. Cagnat, *The Late Republican Army (146-30 BC)*, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 80-95.

17 See J. B. Campbell, *The emperor and the Roman army 31 BC - AD 235*, Oxford 1984 and A. Birley, *Making Emperors. Imperial Instrument or Independent Force?*, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 379-394

important factor in Roman politics the “*arcana imperii*”, the innermost secrets of power,¹⁸ and Emperor Septimius Severus famously advised his sons to “be harmonious, enrich the soldiers, and scorn all other men.”¹⁹

But apart from the reshaping, so to speak, of the political landscape the introduction of a professional military on a lower level also had a profound influence on the civilian population - indeed, one might not go too far in saying that it actually was instrumental in establishing a truly civilian population in the first place. Unlike the Hellenistic period, citizen militias now ceased to exist; enlistment in Roman army units was by and large voluntary apart from a few rare and exceptional occasions when military setbacks or longer-term campaigns resulted in a sudden shortage of manpower and made conscription necessary.²⁰ Also, there are a few cases when in the context of civil wars civilians were recruited to form ad-hoc army units - a famous example being the units raised by Iulius Vindex in Gaul at the beginning of the *bellum Neronis*²¹ - but they were usually of a very poor quality. Military service, which in the world of the Greek city state had been one of the most important political activities for all male citizens had now turned into a highly specialized skill that only a small group within Roman society had at its disposal.²²

Outside the army, the civilian population became more and more detached from military affairs, even if a large number of civilians still had some relationship or another towards the army. Many urban centres in the provinces owed their existence to military bases; the city of Eboracum (modern York) is a good example in that it developed quickly from a small village outside the walls of a legionary fort into one of the most important urban centres of the Roman province of Britain.²³ Also, the army was always a good customer and service in the army proved to be an attractive if arduous way of improving one's social status considerably by gaining Roman citizenship.²⁴ Nevertheless military action as such was no longer a common experience of all the citizens.

In fact, with the establishment of the empire wars were mostly regionalized or even localized. Up to the end of the second century BC wars along the borders, even if they could involve sizeable numbers of Roman soldiers, did rarely have a significant impact on the rest of the empire. While border provinces could indeed be considerably affected by military opera-

18 Tac. *Hist.* 1.4.

19 D.C. 77.15.2. The *ultima verba* in HA Sev. 23.3 differ considerably from Dio's and most probably are reminiscent of Sall. *Iug.* 9.4; see H.Brandt, *Aetas et senectus. Gibt es einen Generationen- und Altersdiskurs in der Historia Augusta?*, in: G. Bonamente/H. Brandt (ed.), *Atti dei Convegni sulla historia augustae X*, 2007, 63-72, 70.

20 After the battle of the Teutoburg forest soldiers were conscripted in Italy, see Suet. *Aug.* 24, D.C. 56.23.2. For other examples see Suet. *Nero* 44 (under Nero), Tac. *Hist.* 3.58 (under Vitellius), CIL 8. 7036 (under Hadrian), CIL 6.1377 (under Marcus Antoninus) and CIL V.7989 (under Maximinus Thrax).

21 Plut. *Gal.* 4-5; see also Tac. *Hist.* 1.51.

22 On the development of a professional Roman military see R.E. Smith, *Service in the Post-Marian army*, Manchester 1958; G. Webster, *The Roman Imperial Army*, New York 1969, 1-27 and L. Keppie, *The making of the Roman army*, London 1984.

23 See J. Wachter, *The Towns of Roman Britain*, London 1974, 156-177.

24 See G. Wesch-Klein, *Recruits and Veterans*, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 435-450.

tions, these would have had little if any consequences for distant regions within the empire. Even wars against the Persians, the only foreign enemy that might be called “major”, did normally cause little repercussions throughout the rest of the empire; while the catastrophic defeat Crassus suffered at the hand of the Persians in 53 BC may have been an unpleasant surprise for the urban elite in Rome,²⁵ it did have little practical consequences for someone living for example in the province of Sicily. The plague that forced Marcus Aurelius to abandon his operations in the east in ... is one of the very few examples where the outcome of military operations actually managed to affect a large part of the empire - sending his soldiers back into their quarters most probably helped spread the disease throughout the empire.²⁶ However, even in this case were the negative effects felt throughout the empire not so much caused by the military action itself, but rather by the end of it.

By the end of the first century AD, war itself was not only no longer an experience that all citizens shared, it was something rarely if ever experienced by many who lived in areas that after the Augustan army reforms were, like Gaul, devoid of any military presence. It was only in the context of civil wars that the Romans actually experienced massive disturbances as a consequence of military action, and even then not all regions of the empire were affected.

By removing the army to the borders, vastly reducing its numbers and considerably increasing the number of years one had to serve many inhabitants of provinces within the empire now had a very good chance never to see a soldier in their lifetime, apart perhaps from an old veteran settling in their area; actually, it was exactly this marginalization of military affairs within Roman society that was at the very core of the Augustan reforms.

The famous *pax Augusta* was hailed throughout the empire as an end to war and as the beginning of a new and peaceful era. It did not mean the end of warfare, though, as the Roman expeditions to Germany show that would eventually only come to an end under Tiberius.²⁷ Instead, *pax Augusta* designated a period of internal peace and stability after a century of civil wars and the end of the use of military force within the empire. In order to achieve this, Augustus had to a great degree effectively demilitarized the society, thereby fundamentally changing the relationship between non-combatant citizens and the military. And although the military reforms at the end of the crisis of empire right at the end of the 3rd century again put greater emphasis on conscription,²⁸ society as a whole remained one of civilians that now was increasingly at odds with the military.²⁹

25 It is debatable whether the battle of Carrhae was in any way seen as a turning point by the Romans. E. Wheeler has pointed out that the battle only gains prominence in Rome after 20 BC, when Augustus brought the legionary eagles lost at Carrhae back through negotiations; see E. Wheeler, *The Army and the Limes in the East*, in: P. Erdkamp (ed.), *A Companion to the Roman Army*, Oxford 2007, 235-266, 261.

26 *HA Verus* 8.1-2; *HA Marc.* 13.3-5, 17.2, 21.6; *Amm. Marc.* 6.24.

27 In the overall context of the war in Germany, the famous battle of the Teutoburg forest was just one - admittedly major - Roman setback. The war was resumed again in AD 10 and continued until AD 16, when Tiberius finally ended offensive operations in Germany; see D. Timpe, *Der Triumph des Germanicus*, Bonn 1968.

28 On the reforms of the 3rd century see Y. Bohec/C. Wolff (edd.), *L'armée romaine de Dioclétien à Valentinien Ier*, Paris 2004.

29 Laws like *Cod. Theod.* 7.9.3 prohibiting soldiers to food and clothing from civilians they were billeted with point at a considerable amount of friction between the army and the civilian population.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, it was the introduction and - eventually - the exclusive reliance on a professional military that removed any direct connection between many non-combatant citizens and military action. When the Greek city state went at war, it did so as a whole. While only the able-bodied men within a certain age range were involved in the actual combat, everybody else was indirectly involved in some way as well - right down to actively taking part in street-fighting if the need arose. Military action was not merely a fact of daily life; it was one of the most important aspects of the political existence, so to speak, of every citizen, in whose home the panoply, his military equipment, had a special place as it denoted his status as a citizen.

The introduction of a professional military during the latter days of the Roman republic and in the Roman empire then removed the direct connection between the normally non-combatant citizens and military action. This caused the citizens not in some way or another involved with military affairs to lose contact with the army; not only did war itself become something remote to many citizens, soldiers were mainly no longer seen as fellow citizens, but increasingly regarded as being on the fringe of a society that turned into a civil one. Someone from a Greek city state would probably have thought of soldiers first and foremost as citizens of his own or a foreign city doing the duty they owed to their own community. For someone living in a Roman town as early as the first century AD, soldiers were intruders from a world that was not his own.³⁰ The establishment of a professional military thus had become the most important tool for demilitarizing society. As a result, active participation of non-combatants became something totally unusual and out of the ordinary.

30 Tac. *Ann.* 4.4 famously describes a soldier as someone who has failed in civilian life and joined the army as a last resort.

Protection of Civilians During Armed Conflicts

STYLIANOS POLITIS

The views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not reflect the official policy or position of the Hellenic Ministry for National Defence

INTRODUCTION

The higher cost during a war is always paid by fighters, as thousands of them die and even more get injured. They die having in mind the completion of an aim. When the aim is their country's defence then it is sacred and the sacrifice is the ultimate duty. However, the death of civilians who lose their lives during war conflicts motivated by fanaticism and hate, or by weapons which nowadays become more and more destructive causing "collateral damages" without any distinction, cannot be considered as such. Based on the rules and regulations of modern International Law, efforts are made to cut down and if possible to eliminate war consequences to civilians.

THE CIVILIANS' STATUS IN THE PAST

In the magnificent dialogue of the leader fighter Hector with his wife Andromache, the agony for the future of his family immediately after the occupation of the Trojan castle by the Achaeans, as well as for its consequences dominates. During the battle, Ancient Greek fighters were never attacking civilians. However, after every victory, they used to destroy completely the towns, plunder properties and turn defeated civilians into slaves for the rest of their lives. Slavery was always hard – even in Ancient Greece where the status of slaves was exceptional¹. In the years that followed, the situation became worse, especially during the Middle Ages, when a morbid spirit dominated and wars were wilder. Armies consisted mostly by mercenaries who offered their services hoping to get not only the agreed salary, but also great profits from sacking. These soldiers were not inspired by their patriotism or any of the other military virtues. Mentality though changed gradually over the years. Wars became purely national and the regenerated philosophy gave a fresh impulse to humanity. In case of danger each citizen considered the defence of his country as his ultimate duty. The feelings of hate and fanaticism were considerably reduced compared to those existing in the past. The Spanish philosopher Francisco de Vitoria inspired by the principles of St. Augustine and St Thomas Aquinas taught respect to humans in all instances and considered unacceptable the sacrifice of civilians for a military aim. The "father of international law", Hugo Grotius in

¹ A proof for this is that slaves never revolted in Ancient Greece. They were allowed to walk around free and were even used as pedagogues or teachers enjoying the equivalent respect from their students. Slaves' revolts took place only in Chios and Sparta where there was a special group of slaves called helots.

his work "*De jure belli ac pacis*" (1625), was also against unlimited violence as he supported only the necessary violence for the achievement of a military purpose without affecting civilians. Jean-Jacques Rousseau in his "*Social Contract*" stressed that war refers to the States and not to individuals², and added that those who are not involved in military operations, should if possible carry on with their everyday activities, free of the war consequences.

During the Greek revolution, great sensitivity was raised on humanitarian law issues, especially those referring to the protection of civilians and their property³. Undoubtedly, in order for the leadership of the revolution to realise its intentions, it gave the necessary instructions to the armed fighters. From the very beginning of the Rebellion, written recommendations and proclamations were issued. In addition, the speech of the Chief of the Hellenic Fleet, at his swearing ceremony, was very touching as he gave an oath to respect foreign property, even the Turkish one. At the same time, in April 1825, a great book "*Mr Vattel's extracts on the Law of the Nations*" was published in Nafplion, containing all chapters considered "*related to the present needs and situation of the country*"⁴. One of the most important chapters of the book is that referring to farmers and unarmed population. At this point it can be seen that revolted Greece was the first to show interest in the sector of the civilians' protection and implemented regulations which until then existed only in theory.

THE PRESENT LEGAL STATUS

The 19th century was very important for the present form of the Law of Armed Conflicts. The interest of humanity concentrated mostly on the effort to release fighters who were in a state of need, and war prisoners. The issue of protection of civilians was mainly raised in the middle of 20th century, after the teachings of World War II. Article VI of the Charter of the Nuremberg Trial⁵ was very important. Many other similar texts followed⁶. Before starting the

2 Rousseau J.J., *De Contrat Social*, Liv. 1 Ch. IV., See WERNER, "*Crimes of War and the International Military Hierarchy*" p. 91.

3 Ioannou K., *External Policy and International Law* in '21, publ. Ant. Sakkoulas, Athens Komotini, 1979. Politis S., "*The Greek Freedom Fighters of 1821 and their Status Under International Law*" minutes from International Conference of U.S. Army Center of Military History, Washington DC., USA, 7-9 August 2007.

4 It refers to the important book of Swiss Emmerich de Vattel (1714-1767) entitled *Droit des Gens ou Principes de la loi Naturelle Appliqués à la Conduite et aux Affaires des Nations et des Souverains* (1758), translated and adapted by Sp. Skoufos who signed it using the pseudonym "Patriot".

5 It recites all acts which are punished as crimes according to International Law, and are described as crimes against humanity. These acts are namely, murder, extermination, enslavement, deportation, and other inhuman acts committed against any civilian population or persecutions on political, racial, or religious grounds in execution of or in connection with any crime against peace or in combination with any other war crime.

6 The most important texts that followed are: a. The 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of war, b. Resolution of the Institute of International Law on the distinction between military objectives and non-military objectives in general and particularly the problems associated with weapons of mass destruction (Edinburg, 1969), c. Additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the Protection of Victims of International Armed Conflicts, d. Additional Protocol II to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August 1949 relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts, e. the 1990 New York Convention on the Rights of the Child with article 38, f. the 1265/1999 Security Council Resolution on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, g. the 1296/2000 Security Council Resolution on the protection of civilians in armed conflict, h. the optional Protocol to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (New York 2000).

study of the contemporary regime of civilians in the humanitarian law, it should be stressed that the term civilian refers to any person who does not belong to the armed forces, or participate in general in military operations, nor has voluntarily taken arms to fight against invasion troops⁷. Contemporary Humanitarian Law protects through relevant provisions⁸, the civilian population of international armed conflicts as well as civil population and individual civilians, i.e. all those who do not participate in military operations. The presence within the civilian population of individuals who do not come within the definition of civilians does not deprive the population of its civilian character⁹. Humanitarian law protects civilians on condition that they do not participate in international or even non-international conflicts. Attacks without distinctions as well as terrorism, violent acts and threatens against civilians are forbidden¹⁰. The belligerent States are obliged not only to allow, but also to facilitate any relief actions from neutral states and humanitarian organisations provided that they carry out the necessary search regarding their intention¹¹. The civilians enjoy respect for their persons, their religion, their honour, their family rights, their manners and customs. Women, especially pregnant and mothers of minors and all children are objects of deep respect. Women are protected against any attack of their honour and in particular against rape, enforced prostitution and any form of indecent assault¹². Belligerent parties must protect children in general, especially orphaned or those separated from their families. The age of 15 is the limit for recruitment to the armed forces¹³. However if children under this age limit are arrested for participating to hostilities, don't lose their rights but continue to enjoy protection¹⁴.

The use of civilian population as a human shield to protect military targets or delay military operations is prohibited. Collective penalties, acts or threats of violence, reprisals against civilians and their property, as well as arrest of hostages are also forbidden in occupied territories or during non-international armed conflicts¹⁵. Another important element is

7 See article 50 (par. 1) in combination with article 43 of the Additional Protocol and also article 4A (par. 1, 2, 3 and 6) of the 1949 Geneva Convention on the Treatment of War Prisoners.

8 Additional Protocol II: article 13 to 18.

9 Additional Protocol I: article 50 (par. 3).

10 Geneva Convention (IV): article 27 (provision a), Additional Protocol I: art. 51 (par. 2), Additional Protocol II: art. 13 (par. 2) on civilian population, the 1265/1999 and 1296/2000 Security Council Resolutions on the protection of civilians in armed conflict (New York 1999 & 2000). Article 14 (par. 15d) of the General Regulation of the Hellenic Army forbids strictly the destruction and pillage of private property.

11 Relief can be medicines and healthcare products, objects necessary for religious worship intended only for civilians, foodstuffs, clothing and tonics intended for children under fifteen, expectant mothers and maternity cases. Geneva Convention (IV): article 23. Additional Protocol I: article 70.

12 Geneva Convention (IV): article 27e. Additional Protocol I: article 76 (par. 1, 2 and 3), 77 and 78.

13 Geneva Convention (IV): article 24. Additional Protocol I: article 77 (par. 1, 2 and 3). Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the involvement of Children in Armed Conflicts. According to article 38 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the contacted States shall take all feasible measures to ensure that persons who have not attained the age of fifteen years do not take a direct part in hostilities. In recruiting among those persons who have attained the age of fifteen years but who have not attained the age of eighteen years, States Parties shall endeavour to give priority to those who are oldest.

14 Additional Protocol I: article 77. The right though of legal defence is not abolished in case of attack by a child. Cf. MANGAKIS G. Penal Law, p. 189 et seq.

15 Geneva Convention (IV): articles 28, 33(a, b, c), 34. Additional Protocol I: articles 51(par. 7,2,6), 20. Additional Protocol II article 13 (par. 2). Article 13 (par. 15d and e) of the General Regulation of the Hellenic

the determination of military targets with the exemption of historic monuments which constitute the cultural or spiritual heritage of peoples, and objects indispensable to the survival of civilian population. If attack to military objectives causes loss of civilian life, injury of civilians, damages to civilian targets, it is not permitted. For this reason, military targets should be carefully selected and the early warning of civilians should also be guaranteed¹⁶. The starvation of civilians as a method of warfare is prohibited. Furthermore, it is not permitted to attack civilian objects that are necessary for the survival of the civilian population, unless they are used for the direct support of the adversary or the defence of not occupied national territory during retreat or other military actions aiming to leave the opponent with no food¹⁷. Apart from the direct protection of the civilians, international law also forbids acts that could cause indirect damage. It prohibits any means that could cause damages to the environment, to works and installations which may put in danger the civilian population, as well as to nearby military objectives, such as dams, dykes, nuclear electrical generating stations etc.¹⁸

Moreover, the Geneva Convention on the protection of civilian persons cares for Civil Defence. Its duties are to warn civilians, evacuate regions, manage shelters, enforce blackout measures, rescue, provide medical services, organise fire-fighting, detections and marking of danger areas, decontamination, emergency accommodation and supplies, emergency repair of indispensable public utilities, disposal of dead and in general planning and carrying out of all necessary works for the protection of civilians¹⁹. The Civil Defence Organisations, their staff, civilian and military²⁰, their buildings, material and shelters should be respected and protected²¹. Civil Defence must be identified by its international distinctive sign, an equilateral blue triangle on orange ground, while the personnel must carry the provided identity card²².

International Humanitarian Law is not only restricted to the protection of civilians in time of war. It also provides protection to civilian population of occupied territories where Civil Defence Organisations can continue performing their tasks²³. The 1949 Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in time of war and the additional Protocol I to the Geneva Conventions of 12th August 1949 relating to the Protection of Victims of Interna-

Army strictly forbids destruction and pillage of private property, arrest of hostages, reprisals and collective penalties. The same article (15j) also forbids acts against the bodily integrity of sick, injured, ship-wrecked, hostages and all civilians (threat, torture, amputation etc.) The Greek Penal Code with articles 150 and 161 foresees strict punishment for pillage on occupied territories, violence against civilians and arrest of hostages.

- 16 Additional Protocol I: articles 52 (par. 1, 2) 51 (par. e.b.), 53, 54, 57 (par. 2 aII and c, par3). Resolution of the Institution of International Law on The Distinction between Military Objectives and Non-Military Objectives in General and Particularly the Problems Associated with Weapons of Mass Destruction
- 17 Additional Protocol I: article 54. See: GOGOS K. et.al. Manual on International Humanitarian Law, publ. Army Law Division, Athens 1996, p.40.
- 18 Additional Protocol: articles 55 and 56.
- 19 Additional Protocol: article 61a.
- 20 The Civil Defence personnel can bear light individual weapons for the purpose of maintaining order or for self-defence according to article 65 (par. 3 and 4) of the Additional Protocol I. The military personnel of the Civil Defence Organisations can be prisoners of war (ibid., article 62 par. 2).
- 21 Additional Protocol I: articles 52, 62 and 64.
- 22 Additional Protocol I: articles 66 (par.4) and article 14 of Annex I.
- 23 Additional Protocol I: Article 63.

tional Armed Conflicts refer in detail to the occupation period and contain important provisions on the regime of civilians under occupation, determine the legal conditions of work, guarantee the free passage of relief consignments and the right of departure of inhabitants that are not subject of the occupied state. In addition they forbid recruitment, expatriation and settlement. Generally they refer not only to the rights but the duties of the occupation forces as well as the equivalent rights and duties of the citizens of the occupied state²⁴.

A FEW COMMENTS

There is no doubt that the contribution of all the 1949 Geneva Conventions was important and decisive for the development of the international law of armed conflicts. Also the adoption of the two Additional Protocols was very important. However the existing regime should not be described as absolutely satisfactory, as there is still space for improvement. Several points have to be clarified and many omissions to be added²⁵. At this point a clarification has to be given in order to avoid misunderstandings. According to article 4 of the Convention on the protection of civilian persons in time of war, nationals of States which are not bounded by the Convention are not protected by it. However, further down in the same convention, article 13 extends the enforcement of its Part II referring to the protection in general of populations against certain consequences of war, to the population of all countries in conflict, without any adverse distinction based on race, nationality, religion or political opinion. This last article gives the impression that it reverses partially article 4. No matter though how things are and how the article is interpreted, it should be taken into consideration that all the substantial parts of the Geneva Convention and all other Conventions referring to humanitarian law that were signed in 1949 in Geneva, consist nowadays a customary law. Consequently, all relative rules and provisions contained are valid for all states independently. We cannot say that the rules of these conventions are valid as *jus inter partes* only for the contracting-states. It must also be pointed out that the principle of reciprocity does not apply to the enforcement of humanitarian laws. For this reason the amendment of paragraph 2 of article 96 of the first Additional Protocol, would be a considerable improvement. This provision refers to the application of the Protocol by a non-contracting party, under reciprocity conditions. The protocol is though additional and its provisions mainly clarify and explain in detail the implementation of humanitarian law and such a provision should not there appear²⁶. It is worth mentioning the impressive extract from the American Commander's Handbook on the Law of Naval Operations: "*the concept of reciprocity is not applicable to humanitarian rules of law that protect the victims of armed conflicts, that is, those persons protected by the 1949 Geneva Conventions*"²⁷.

24 Geneva Convention (IV) Part III, Section 3 and Additional Protocol I Part III, Section 4. Article 14 of the General Regulation of the Hellenic Army prohibits the conviction without trial from a court that operates according to all legal guarantees foreseen by the Law. The same article (par. 15) also forbids the recruitment of adversary citizens and their enforcement to participate to operations against their own country.

25 See CHATZIKONSTANTINO K., "*Problems and Speculations regarding a code on war crimes*" pp. 82-3.

26 POLITIS S., "*The Implementation of International Humanitarian Law to Maritime Warfare*".

27 See U.S.N., The Commander's Handbook on the Law of Naval Operations, p. 6-3. ¶ 6.2.4. : Reciprocity: Some obligations under the law of armed conflict are reciprocal in

CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, unfortunately International Law cannot stop war at this stage – nor internal law crime. They have managed though to restrict considerable the consequences. During the recent conflicts although crimes recorded, governments and military administrations took to court all accused of war crimes, and this is a consoling fact. Humanity has great expectations from the International Crime Court. The ex – Secretary General of the United Nations, Mr. Kofi Annan had described its establishment as a moment of great hope and a huge step for justice²⁸. Let's hope that a similar step will be repeated. We all have to help towards this direction by exciting people's interest, promoting the knowledge of this important part of International Law as well as imposing its strict enforcement in time of war.

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that they are binding on the parties only so long as both sides continue to comply with them. major violation by one side will release the other side from all further duty to abide by that obligation. The concept of reciprocity is not applicable to humanitarian rules of law that protect the victims of armed conflict, that is, those persons protected by the 1949 Geneva Conventions. The decision to consider the United States released from a particular obligation following a major violation by the enemy will ordinarily be made by the National Command Authorities (NCA).

28 See NASKOU-PERRAKI P., (research documents), Towards a New International Humanitarian Order – International Criminal Courts, p. 12.

π μ 1957. π μ 9,

Vattel E., *Droit des Gens ou Principes de la loi Naturelle Appliqués à la Conduite et aux Affaires des Nations et des Souverains*, 1758.

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Medio Evo ed Età Moderna

The experience of civilian populations during the Hundred Years War in France c. 1340–c.1440

MATTHEW BENNETT

‘But if on both sides war is decided upon and begun by the Councils of the two kings (of England and France), the soldiery may take spoil from the kingdom at will, and make war freely; and if sometimes the humble and innocent will suffer harm and lose their goods, it cannot be otherwise; ... Valiant men and wise, however, who follow arms should take pains, so far as they can, not to bear hard on the simple and innocent folk but only on those who make and continue war and flee peace.’ (Honoré Bouvet, *The Tree of Battles*, Part Four, ch. 48)¹ This statement in a French vernacular law book, written in the late 14th century and dedicated to the young King Charles VI of France sums up the problem of how to be a responsible warrior. A generation later, a court poet envisaged that ‘Great She-Devil War’, ‘goddess of the infernal regions’ who brings nothing but pain and destruction to the poor inhabitants of the kingdom.² He was not the first to identify how ravaged was France by the intermittent but long-lasting series of conflicts known since the mid-19th century as the Hundred Years War. Jean de Venette, a Carmelite Friar and senior member of that Order wrote feelingly about the disorder in France following the defeat and capture of King John at the battle of Poitiers in 1356.

‘From that time on all went ill with the kingdom and the state was undone. Thieves and robbers rose up everywhere in the land. The nobles despised and hated all others and took no thought for the mutual usefulness and profit of lord and men. They subjected and despoiled the peasantry and the men of the villages. In no way did they defend their country from its enemies. Rather they did trample it under foot, robbing and pillaging the peasants’ goods.’³

It was hardly surprising that within a couple of years there began a series of peasant rebellions known as the Jacquerie. These were named after the archetypal French peasant Jacques Bonhomme; but that should not hide the fact that many people of gentry class and town dwellers found themselves equally at odds with their supposed social betters in the seigneurie.

‘In the same year of 1356, the citizens of Paris, fearing the enemy and putting little trust in the nobility, placed iron chains across the streets and crossroads of their city. They dug a ditch around the walls in the west and the suburbs in the east where no walls had been before, and they built new walls with gates and towers ... They fortified the towers with giant crossbows, cannons, and other artillery. They destroyed all the houses which adjoined the wall and splendid dwellings both inside and out were completely demolished... I myself saw (all this happening)’.⁴

1 Coopland, p.154

2 Pierre de Nesson, *Lay de Guerre*, written c.1429, cited by Wright p. 71.

3 Trans. R. Birdsall, ed. R. Newhall p. 66.

4 Ibid. p. 67.

This eyewitness testimony is again that of Jean de Venette. Also, when later the Parisians fell out with Charles, Duke of Normandy, acting as regent for his captive father, they found themselves besieged by their own countrymen as:

‘In all the country round about, misfortunes and losses due to certain nobles and freebooters were increasing more and more. Foulques de Laval with many Bretons plundered the Beauce and set fire to many villages. He pillaged Etampes, which had already been taken and burned once by freebooters like him, for the second time. The robbers came as far as Orleans and beyond, so that no one dare take the road between the two places. Neither was the road to Compiègne or anywhere else safe or secure.’⁵

‘Losses and injuries were inflicted by friend and foe alike upon the rural population and upon monasteries standing in the open country. Everyone robbed them of their goods and there was no one to defend them. For this reason many men and women, both secular and religious were compelled on all sides to leave their abode and seek out the city ... there was not a monastery in the neighbourhood of Paris, however near, that was not driven by fear of freebooters to enter the city or some other fortification, abandoning their buildings and, ‘Woe is me!’ leaving the divine offices unsung. This tribulation increased in volume, not only around Paris but also in the neighbourhood of Orléans, Tours, Nantes in Brittany, Chartres, and Le Mans, in an amazing way. Villages were burned and their population plundered. Men hastened to the cities with their carts and their goods, their wives and their children, in lamentable fashion.’⁶

There is much here that is familiar to modern student of ‘total war’: the supportive structures of Church and State have collapsed; trade has been stifled; what would now be called Internally Displaced People roam the land and flood towards the apparent protection of towns; civil war and brigandage is rampant in the ensuing chaos; and even the quotidian comforts of communal religious services have been lost amidst the confusion, adding to a sense of moral collapse and loss of confidence in the social order. This situation goes to show just how vulnerable was medieval society to the disorder that warfare often brings in its train. So this begs the question just how common was this state of affairs, whether there was anything distinctive about the nature of warfare half-a-millennium ago, and whether there are any lessons that might be learnt from it today.

First there is the important assumption that a particular group in the society – the nobles – had a unique responsibility for the maintenance of order through force of arms. In theory, only those under the leadership of a legitimate ruler, the prince, had the right to conduct military activity on account of their status. So, if it became apparent that they were failing in their duties, then everything was cast into doubt about the validity of the social structure. Certainly, according to tracts such as the *Tree of Battles*, or the later work of Christine de Pisan, a noblewoman and prolific authoress writing at the Burgundian court in the first decades of the 15th century, warriors had an obligation to behave well towards others according to set of categories. Other nobles they were required to capture rather than to kill and treat well in captivity until a sufficient ransom had been raised to assure the prisoner’s liberty. This situation was the same for anyone with even the lowest title of rank right up to the king himself,

5 Ibid. p. 73.

6 Ibid. p. 75.

as in the case of King John mentioned earlier. In addition, both military custom and Canon Law required that vulnerable members of society should not be brutalised or exploited. Such protections had grown out of the Peace and Truce of God movement (which prefigured the Crusades) in the way that some bishops in the late 10th century and the popes during the 11th century 'revolution' in papal government attempted to control and redirect the violence of the warrior classes. In the words of a recent article entitled 'Collateral Damage?':

'In the late Middle Ages, Honoré Bonet, dispensed with Truce but upheld prohibitions against imprisoning or ransoming a wide range of non-combatants, including old men, women, children, clergy, pilgrims and peasants. In this way the Peace of God helped to establish some of the intellectual foundations for the concept of collateral damage: a distinction between soldier and civilian, and the corresponding idea of the natural immunity of non-combatants and their possessions.'⁷

Such regulation was understood at the time as the Laws of War. Operating outside them could leave a transgressor subject to punishment, not just by the opinion of peers but under the jurisdiction of the state through the royal law courts. Those convicted of such behaviour could face a series of penalties ranging from compensation to victims, to sequestration of landed estates and property, up to public execution. So, in theory at least, there were compelling reasons for soldiers to behave well in respect of these regulations. As is clear from Jean de Venette's reports, though, they could hard to enforce.

The most characteristic form of warfare during the period in question was that of the *chevauchée*, literally a ride through enemy territory with the intention of demonstrating to the hapless population that their own lords could not protect them. Although it might involve or terminate in a battle, this was not the prime requisite for such a campaign. Rather the intent was to inflict damage along the route of march involving not just the usual impact of a hungry, marching army, but also the deliberate acquisition of cattle, destruction of fields, orchards and vines, and of property and economic infrastructure. When Henry V, King of England is reported to have said: 'War without fire is like andouillettes (tripe sausages) without mustard', he was merely mouthing a commonplace.⁸

Hewitt's famous study of the Black Prince's Expedition of 1355-1357 in Gascony and Poitou, encapsulates this medieval military operation:

'Armies fight and 'live on the land'; armies may be allowed or encouraged to plunder; they must also be used to destroy the means of living. Destruction, therefore, of habitations and of the means by which life is maintained becomes an important part of a *chevauchée*. While modern strategy consists in cutting off supplies at source, destroying them in bulk, or disrupting their transport, medieval leaders were obliged to destroy them 'on the spot'. Once the work of destruction is started, it may go further than strict military needs require. If a town has been besieged and resisted its attackers for some time, its ultimate capture may be followed by a combination of butchery, plunder and destruction which is irrational but intelligible. On occasion, undefended villages may suffer the same fate. And, at a time when timber forms so large a part of almost all buildings, the most useful means of destruction is fire. It

7 Hay, p.12.

8 Quoted by Wright from the *Chronicle of Juvenal d'Ursins*. Henry was also renowned for his Ordinances, which restricted the ravaging of his men.

makes no demands on transport, requires no muscular effort and is all-consuming.⁹

Edward III's chevauchée through the Cambresis in 1339 was so devastating as to be worthy of a papal enquiry and aid mission to the region. It has been estimated by Clifford Rogers that armies were capable of a band of devastation some 40 km wide along their line of march. Using this calculation he suggests that the Black Prince's 1355 chevauchée from Bordeaux almost to the Mediterranean may have been responsible for the destruction of 18,000 square kilometres of territory in addition to the specific pillaging and burning of a dozen or so enemy towns. When devastation was a normal tool of commanders it was easy to see how the civilian population was likely to suffer.¹⁰

Clearly, the exactions of several thousand soldiers, the equivalent of a population of a contemporary city, were bound to put a huge drain on the lands through which they passed, before they tended to any deliberate destruction. But stationery garrisons also placed a huge demand upon their surrounding territories. The cost of maintaining troops of cavalry and their specialist auxiliaries such as crossbowmen was high both in terms of pay and sustenance. Contested frontiers placed an additional pressure upon the inhabitants of the disputed territory, as they often had to pay tribute to both sides. Given the often insecure nature of royal finances in both England and France (Edward III actually went bankrupt in 1341 and defaulted on his debts to the Italian banks, bringing a number of them down), such exactions were legitimised under the title of the *appatis*. The studies of Maurice Keen and, more recently, Nigel Wright explore the implications of this burdensome system for local communities. Wright uses the term 'borrowed lordship' to explain how local rulers of expedience, soldiers or mercenaries placed in a position of authority by the exigencies of warfare, could effectively milk a territory dry by their exactions. In the case of mercenaries, of course, if they were paid - and this was not certain - it was only in wartime. During times of truce (all that was recognized throughout the era, peace being often a step too far), mercenaries had to fend for themselves. So it was that bands of them, known as the Free Companies, terrorised large areas of France from the 1350s onwards, causing more damage than even the formal and legitimate military operations sanctioned by the princes.

Just as an aside, although mercenaries have a terrible reputation today and indeed are condemned by the Geneva Conventions, this should not leave us with anachronistic belief that all mercenary troops, at all times, are always a scourge. Under the *ancien régime*, mercenaries often formed the reliable core of royal forces and indeed when the French kings and Burgundian dukes formed their *Compagnies d'Ordnance* in the mid-15th century these were the origin of regular armies in Western Europe. The problem then was not mercenaries *per se*, but unpaid mercenaries. Many of them rightly acquired the title of *échorcheurs* (flayers) in the ways that conducted themselves whilst seeking sustenance or grabbing power. Their 'borrowed lordship' was all the more exploitative because of its uncertain basis.

So, is it then impossible to find any proper regulation of warfare in the pre-modern (pre-1500) period? I would answer 'No'. While it is true that long-running wars destroyed social cohesion and allowed soldiers to bully local populations, in times of relative peace, the royal

9 Hewett, p. 46.

10 Wright citing Rogers 'By Fire and Sword' p. 69 fn. 34. This actual number may be too large but it powerfully evokes the potential impact of chevauchée.

law courts could resume their activities and notable scoundrels were punished.

‘The count of Armagnac wanted the service of Mérigot Marchés on his planned crusade, 1390, not only to rid the Auvergne of an appalling freebooter, but also because “in all deeds of arms he knew Marchés to be skilled and subtle in taking by assault of towns and able to advise in all matters of war that one might need”.¹¹

Yet only a year later this routier was tried for treason by royal judges after he fell into French hands. Marchés protested he was in English service, had three times been ransomed by them, and that he had: ‘done all those things which a man can and ought to do in a just war, as taking Frenchmen and putting them to ransom, living on the country and despoiling it, and leading the company under his command about the realm of France, and burning and firing places in it.’¹²

Despite this defence he was found guilty and publicly decapitated in Les Halles.

So, in some ways, the situation was perhaps not very different from today, where we await the prosecution of ‘war criminals’ from the former-Yugoslavian conflicts of the 1990s. The concept of Just War I have not touched on for reasons of time and it might be a topic to return to in the discussion following this session; but I hope that what I have said will help in forming a wider understanding of how civilians fare in times of war.¹³

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Standing up to the Ottoman Empire: civilian resistance to Turkish expansionism during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries

KELLY DE VRIES

Describing Ottoman Sultan Mehmed II's military goals in the mid-fifteenth century, contemporary Ibn Kemal writes:

"like the world-illuminating sun he succumbed to the desire for world conquest and it was his plan to burn with overpowering fire the agricultural lands of the rebellious rulers who were in the provinces of the land of *R m* [the Byzantine Empire]. He took with the hand of power and the grip of conquest one by one the cities and lands of the princes who were on the sea shores and it was his plan to flow over them in turn like a wave".¹

Although directed specifically at Mehmed II (reigned 1444-46, 1451-81), this description could apply to any of the Ottoman sultans from Osman (c1300) to Suleyman the Magnificent (1520-66). No military leaders or their armies were more feared at the end of the Middle Ages/beginning of the Early Modern period than the Ottomans. There seemed to be no stopping them as they acquired more and more of the Eastern Mediterranean, crushing all who chose to fight against them. Yet, on three occasions they were stopped, however not by superior armies or greater leaders but by the tenacity of the civilian populations who faced them, largely non-military people who determined that they would simply not become Ottoman themselves: at Belgrade in 1456, Rhodes in 1480, and Candia in 1645-69.

Situated as it was at the confluence of the Danube and Sava Rivers, the value of Belgrade to the Ottoman Turks was enormous. Well past this city in their conquests of Southeastern Europe in the mid-fifteenth century, an independent Belgrade meant that they could not proceed farther into Central Europe, while raiders sent from the city threatened poorly garrisoned imperial fortifications and communication and supply lines. But perhaps even more importantly, Belgrade stood as a symbol that the Turks were not invincible. In 1396, following the impressive Turkish victory of Bayezid I over Central and Western European troops, Belgrade had been threatened but had not fallen.² In 1440 it had withstood a siege of six months with the Ottoman Sultan, Murad II, forced to withdraw because of deprivation and dissension in his own ranks.³ And from then until 1456 the city had flaunted its resistance, being used for pro-Crusade propaganda, most especially by a Franciscan friar, John of Capistrano (Giovanni da Capistrano).

But Mehmed II was not Bayezid, his grandfather, nor Murad, his father. In 1453 he had

1 Ibn Kemal, *Tevârih-i Âl-i Osman VII. Defter*, 2 vols. (Ankara, 1954-57), II:180. The translation used is that of Andrew C. Hess, "The Evolution of the Ottoman Seaborne Empire in the Age of the Oceanic Discoveries, 1453-1525," *American Historical Review* 75 (1970), 1902.

2 See Aziz Suryal Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1934).

3 Colin Imber, *The Ottoman Empire, 1300-1650* (Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan, 2002), pp. 24-25, and Kenneth Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant (1204-1571)* (Philadelphia, 1978), II:58.

planned and executed a most brilliant and successful siege against one of the best protected cities in the world, Constantinople.⁴ Three years later he wished to do the same to Belgrade. Throughout the winter of 1455-56 Mehmed planned his campaign. In Spring he amassed a huge army – although contemporary sources claim it was 150,000-400,000 strong, modern historians have justifiably lowered this figure to a still impressive 60,000⁵ – gathered a fleet of numerous riverine vessels – again contemporary figures are probably exaggerated, 200, which modern historians have reduced to 21⁶ – and at least three hundred gunpowder artillery pieces, not counting handheld guns. Some of these cannons were of enormous size and had successfully breached the walls of Constantinople.⁷ Mehmed hoped they would do the same at Belgrade.

What he had not counted on was the continued tenacity of the citizens of Belgrade, or of the ability of the then seventy-year-old John of Capistrano to arouse a sizeable number of men willing to go to the defense of the threatened city – more than 40,000 had taken the cross although it seems that he was only able to enter the city with 2,500, a still sizeable addition to the garrison.⁸ Mostly peasants and villagers, few armed or armored, these irregular soldiers were enthusiastic and zealous, and they mixed well with the equally irregular militia there. While professional soldiers and knights had been slow to answer the call of the Serbs or John of Capistrano, but as the results would show they were not needed.

On 13 June the Turks arrived at Belgrade and almost immediately began an intensive bombardment of the walls. For a month and a half they were content to sit back and let their guns work. With little defensive fire in response, the destruction was impressive. Walls had been breached and towers had been destroyed. The heroic Hungarian prince John Hunyadi, who arrived too late and with too small an army to intervene in the siege, described Belgrade as “not a castle but a field” (*non est castrum sed campus*).⁹ But few lives were lost inside the city, as most of the inhabitants kept out of range of the gunshot, and no one seems to have become discouraged.¹⁰

In the meantime both Hunyadi’s army and a Hungarian fleet had arrived at Belgrade. Hunyadi’s force was too small to do much to relieve the besieged, but the Christian fleet did attack and fight a prolonged, bloody battle on the Danube against the Turkish fleet – contem-

4 On the fall of Constantinople the seminal work remains Steven Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge, 1965). Roger Crowley’s *Constantinople: The Last Great Siege, 1453* (London, 2005) is good, but does not advance the *status questionis* beyond Runciman nor replace it.

5 Franz Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and His Time*, trans. Ralph Manheim, ed. William C. Hickman (Princeton, 1978), p. 140.

6 Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, II:173. Such a drastic reduction is prompted by the tally given in a contemporary German account of the siege.

7 For an assessment of the Turkish gunpowder weapons at Constantinople see Kelly DeVries, “Gunpowder Weaponry at the Siege of Constantinople, 1453,” in *War, Army and Society in the Eastern Mediterranean, 7th-16th Centuries*, ed. Y. Lev (Leiden, 1996), pp. 343-62. Those at Belgrade, and also later at Rhodes in 1480, were virtually the same in size and power.

8 Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, II:174.

9 John Hunyadi, as quoted in Stephen Turnbull, *The Art of Renaissance Warfare: From the Fall of Constantinople to the Thirty Years War* (London, 2006), p. 37. See also Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest: Central European University Press, 2000), p. 27.

10 Babinger, p. 140, and Turnbull, p. 37.

porary sources report a five hour battle.¹¹ More importantly, the arrival of both, and the naval combat, seem to have hurried Mehmed's plans, and on 21 July the Sultan decided to attack the walls. Led by their crack troops, the janissaries, the Ottoman Turks were able to break through the outer walls in several places but they could not enter the city proper. Standing in their way were the citizens of Belgrade and their motley Crusader allies. For several hours throughout the night fighting raged on. Finally, at dawn it looked as if the janissaries might gain victory, until they were stopped by a desperate countercharge led by John of Capistrano himself – quite a feat at his advanced age. The Turks were broken and rushed back out through the breaches in the wall only to meet Hunyadi's cavalry, who, finding themselves finally able to be useful, descended onto them, sending all, including the janissaries, into flight. Mehmed, who may have been wounded in the fighting, and his personal guard only had time to spike their cannons before they, too, were swept up in the rout. The exhausted citizens and Crusaders who chased after the fleeing Ottomans pillaged what was left behind.¹² As one astute modern historian, Norman Housley, has concluded, the siege of Belgrade in 1456 was "the greatest crusading victory over the Turks in the fifteenth century . . . [it was] one of the most extraordinary episodes in military history."¹³

While it is hard to differ with Housley's conclusion, one might also say the same about the siege of Rhodes in 1480. By that date Mehmed II had rebuilt his army and gunpowder artillery arsenal; he had also recovered his prestige. Although he would not take on Belgrade again, he was prepared to advance against another, closer foe, the Knights Hospitaller who were headquartered on the island of Rhodes in the walled town that was called the same. The Knights had first come to Rhodes in 1308, having failed to hold onto their Crusading holdings in the Holy Land. Since the fall of Constantinople they had built up the city's defenses, replacing the Byzantine walls which provided little protection for a city which had long outgrown them with their own much larger circuit of strong stone walls and numerous towers.¹⁴

Their long anticipated invasion came in May 1480. While the Knights Hospitallers long suspected an attack of their island headquarters, so close to Turkey that the mainland can be seen at all times unless the sun is shining so brightly that the reflection from the Eastern Mediterranean obscures the view, but they became absolutely certain of an invasion early in 1480. Their leader, Grand Master Pierre d'Aubusson, who had held that position for less than a year, did not panic but quickly began making repairs to the city walls – like Belgrade, Rhodes was girded by strong city walls, along both the sea and landward sides – and gathering supplies, gunpowder, arms, and victuals. One eyewitness, d'Aubusson's secretary, Guillaume Caoursin, writes "that all the ripe and some of the unripe crops (for the harvest had not yet been gathered) be collected and the people to pick everything and take it into their homes so that there be nothing left around the town."¹⁵ Already the people of the city had re-

11 Babinger, pp. 140-41; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, II:178; and Andri , p. 27.

12 Babinger, pp. 141-43; Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, II:179; Andri , p. 27; and Turnbull, pp. 38-39.

13 Norman Housley, *The Later Crusades, 1274-1580: From Lyons to Alcazar* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), pp. 103-04. See also Andri , p. 27.

14 The largest building of fortifications had taken place under the leadership of Grand Masters Antonio Fluvian de Rivière (1421-37) and Jean de Lastic (1437-54).

15 Guillaume Caoursin, *Obsidionis Rhodiae urbis descriptio* (Venice, 1480), p. 4.

sponded. Although the Hospitallers clearly controlled Rhodes, it was the wish of the citizens – mostly Greek Christians and Jews – that they remain doing so. They pitched in to help with the rebuilding of the walls and the stocking of the stores. Giacomo de Curti, another eyewitness, was clearly impressed with what had been accomplished, reporting that Rhodes was filled with “grain, wine, oil, cheese, salted meat and other food stuffs in great quantity.”¹⁶

On 20 May the Turkish fleet was sighted. Curti notes that “the sea was covered with sails as far as the eye could see.”¹⁷ In a letter written by d’Aubusson on 28 May he numbers the Turkish fleet at 109 ships, claiming that they carried 70,000 soldiers as well as “a great many cannon, bombards and wooden towers with other engines of war.”¹⁸ The men were put into place and the cannons and engines of war quickly set up. Then the siege began.¹⁹

From the end of May to the end of July the fighting went on. This was no siege where the attackers established lines and sat back to wait for deprivation to take its toll. Every day Ottoman cannons fired into the walls and fortresses; and every day Ottoman soldiers rushed through the moat and at the walls; every day the Hospitallers and townspeople fought back for their very survival. Early targets included the Fort of St. Nicholas which stood on a mole stretching into the harbor, its guns and garrison protecting both the military harbor on one side and the commercial harbor on the other. Intensive Ottoman gunfire destroyed much of the fort, turning it into rubble, but from the rubble the Hospitallers fought back. Some 220 meters across the water from the fort the Turks had mounted a battery which d’Aubusson later recalled consisted of “three huge bronze bombards to batter down the town, whose size and power were incredible, and which fired balls of stone of nine palms.”²⁰ Mery Dupuis, a Hospitaller Knight who was present at the siege, describes the destruction:

about three hundred shots from the bombards battered the tower in such a way that the side facing the land where the bombards were firing seemed to be a large pile of stones, all of the tower there battered and broken, and the stones fallen one onto another. But the other side of the tower, that which faced the sea, stood whole and entire in such a way that it seemed that it had never been hit by any bombard shot, so not only the top of the tower but also the crenellations were all clear and visible from the sea. And in fact that part of the tower which could be seen from the landward side where the bombards were firing seemed indefensible and that nobody dared to be inside it.²¹

The Turks even tried to bridge the gap between their battery and the Fort, but hand-to-hand fighting foiled this as well. They were forced to choose a new target was selected.

The new target was on the eastern side of Rhodes, against a part of the city known as the

16 Giacomo de Curti, *Ad magnificum spectabilemque*, f.1r.

17 Curti, p. 1r.

18 Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, I:351 n.18.

19 For the details of the 1480 siege of Rhodes see Robert Douglas Smith and Kelly DeVries, *The Sieges of Rhodes in 1480 and 1522* (forthcoming).

20 Pierre d’Aubusson, *Letter to Emperor Frederick III* in *Scriptorum rerum germanicarum*, ed. M. Freher (Berlin, 1602), p. 306. Other eyewitnesses, Dupuis (in *The history of the Knights Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem, styled afterwards, the Knights of Rhodes, and at present, the Knights of Malta*, ed. Abbé de Vertot [Edinburgh: R. Fleming, 1757], III:93), Caoursin (p. 6), and Curti (f. 2r) also mention the placement of these bombards at St. Anthony’s church, although Curti has four placed in the battery instead of three.

21 Dupuis, p. 94.

“Jews’ Quarter” because a large Jewish community lived there. Again enormous gunpowder weapons – “eight of the great bombards” – attacked the wall fired from a mole in the harbor known as Scaffold Mole because it was the site of Rhodes’ executions. Dupuis writes:

The Turks also were not hindered by the fact that the wall to the right of the Jewish Quarter was more than twenty-eight feet in height; they hit and battered the wall so hard and so sharply and for so long that there was no one in the city who was not very frightened of the fury of these bombards.²²

Breaches began to appear. Everyone responded: “neither the Master, nor the stewards, nor the priors, nor the knights, nor the citizens, nor the merchants, nor the women, nor the brides, nor the girls avoided work. They carried stones and earth.”²³ The Hospitallers and townspeople tried to repair these but could not keep up. Stone, wood, and barrels of earth could only do so much to reinforce the wall.

In the meantime, the Ottomans prepared for an assault of the breaches in these walls. They filled the moat with stones; again the Rhodians could not keep up, although Grand Master Pierre d’Aubusson estimated that they carried more than 3,500 stones out of the moat and into the city.²⁴ Finally, on 28 July, the Turkish assault began. The initial onslaught of the Ottomans completely overwhelmed those guarding the walls of the Jewish Quarter. Without too much difficulty they quickly mounted these walls, defeated the defending troops there and planted their standards and banners.²⁵ D’Aubusson describes the effort to regain control of the walls:

Suddenly, our men opposing themselves to the enemy, on the right and left of the walls, fought them in the highest places, causing great confusion and preventing them from advancing any further . . . we climbed up to the enemy, opposed them and protected and defended the place. There were 2,000 very well armed Turks on top of the walls, crowded together with us and fighting hand to hand struggled by force of arms to drive us away. But by the persistence and constant valor of our fighters we held on. Following those Turks who were already on the walls, was a huge number of Turks from their camp who filled the breach, the wall and the moat, so that it was impossible to see the ground. Deserters stated that 4,000 Turks had made the assault. Our men drove about 300 of the enemy who were on the walls into the Jewish quarter, where they were killed to a man . . . The battle was fought with great ferocity for two hours. Finally the Turks, pressed, fatigued and terrified, and wounded, turned their backs, and took to flight with such great haste that they became an impediment to one another, and added to their destruction. In the fight there fell about 3,500 Turks, whose corpses were found inside the city and upon the walls, in the moat, in the enemy’s positions and in the sea, and which afterwards were burnt to prevent disease. The spoils of their corpses were taken by our men, who, following the fleeing Turks all the way to their camp on the plain, killed them vigorously and afterwards returned unharmed.²⁶

The Grand Master was twice wounded in the struggle. He had led the attack on the Turks

22 Dupuis, p. 95. See also Caoursin, p. 9, and d’Aubusson, p. 307.

23 Caoursin, p. 9.

24 d’Aubusson, p. 308. See also Dupuis, p. 96.

25 d’Aubusson, p. 308.

26 Dupuis, p. 101.

and had fought marvelously, as had his Hospitaller brethren. Less well publicized is the participation in this fight and elsewhere during the siege of the citizens of Rhodes. The townspeople had supported those defending their town not only in the carrying and hauling of supplies, but by rebuilding the fortifications and even fighting beside the Hospitallers. The victory was as much theirs as it was the more professional soldiers.

Belgrade and Rhodes had held out against Mehmed the Conqueror, but they could not hold out against Suleyman I. In the first year of his reign, 1521, he conquered Belgrade and in the second, 1522, Rhodes. Suleyman I, added so much territory to his Empire that he earned the cognomen “the Magnificent” from his enemies (his own subjects called him “the Lawgiver”): besides Belgrade and Rhodes, much of Hungary (at the battle of Mohács) and Dubrovnik in 1526; Obrovac and Udbina in 1527; Jajce and Banja Luca in 1528; Güns (Koszeg) in 1532; Baghdad and Iraq in 1534; Klis in 1537; the Red Sea coast, Yemen, Karpathos, the northern Sporades, Castelnuovo and Jedisan (in Moldavia) also in 1538; Monemvasia and Naupalia in 1540; Pécs, Székesfehérvár and Gran (Esztergom) in 1543; Visegrád in 1544; Samos in 1550; Temesvár in 1552; Chios in 1556; Naxos in 1566. But Suleyman’s armies were not invincible. They could not capture Vienna in 1529, Corfu in 1537, Reggio in 1543, Erlau (Eger) in 1552, Malta in 1565, or Szigeth (Szigetvar) in 1566 (at which Suleyman died).²⁷

He also did not capture the Venetian colonies in the Eastern Mediterranean, notably Cyprus and Crete. But this was for other than military reasons. The Venetians promised everything they could to keep the Ottomans from attacking Cyprus and Crete, including granting monopoly trading rights and ignoring the piracy of Christian ships – even papal ones – and the enslaving of Christian people. Suleyman honored this deal during his reign, but this merely put off the inevitable. When Venice could not sustain this rather one-sided deal, Cyprus was taken (1570-71) and later so too was Crete (1645-69).²⁸

By the last quarter of the sixteenth century Venetian military power had begun to decline, and although it was their leadership and ships that had played a lead, perhaps *the lead*, role in the defeat of the Ottoman navy at the Battle of Lepanto in 1571, this was far from a decisive victory. There was little disruption for Ottoman army movements, and the Ottoman navy – which had been devastated at Lepanto – was quickly rebuilt and soon resumed its almost uninhibited control of Eastern Mediterranean sea lanes.²⁹

27 Metin Kunt and Christine Woodhead, ed., *Süleyman the Magnificent and His Age: The Ottoman Empire in the Early Modern World* (London, 1995) nicely covers the military endeavors of Suleyman. See also John Francis Guilmartin, *Gunpowder and Galleys: Changing Technology and Mediterranean Warfare at Sea in the Sixteenth Century*, 2nd ed. (London, 2003).

28 Stefano Carboni, ed., *Venice and the Islamic World, 828-1797*, trans. Deke Dusinbere (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007) is not only a beautiful catalogue of the Institut du Monde d’Arab/Metropolitan Museum of Art exhibition of the same name, but it also contains numerous scholarly articles. On this subject in particular, see Jean-Claude Hocquet, “Venice and the Turks,” pp. 36-51. Setton is always valuable. See especially his last two volumes for a discussion of Venice’s dealings with the Ottomans in a vain attempt to preserve Cyprus and Crete.

29 There are a large number of books written on the Battle of Lepanto, many of them appearing recently, for example, Hugh Bicheno, *Crescent and Cross: The Battle of Lepanto, 1571* (London: Cassell, 2003) and Niccolò Capponi, *Victory of the West: The Great Christian-Muslim Clash at the Battle of Lepanto* (New York: Da Capo Press, 2006). Unfortunately both of these, and several others, overstate the importance of the battle

But Crete still remained outside of the Ottoman Turkish orbit. The Venetians had held the island of Crete since 1204, when they bought it at very low cost from a grateful Byzantine Emperor, Isaac II Angelos, whom they had helped restore, at least titularly, to the throne at Constantinople. Especially important at this time, and throughout the next four centuries, was Crete's largest town, Heraklion, known afterwards by the Venetian name, Candia. It was here that Venice was to have its chief trading colony, soon replacing the town's population, and much of the rest of the island, with their own citizens. From then through the sixteenth century almost all Venetian trade in the Eastern Mediterranean went through Candia, hence the reason for the agreements made between the Ottomans and the Venetians.³⁰

Once Cyprus fell in 1571, Crete obviously became a target.³¹ The defeat at Lepanto protected it for the moment – any attack of the island needed a navy both to transport troops there and to protect the transport ships. However, by 1573 the Ottomans had recovered and the Venetians, knowing that they could not count on much further support from the Christian principalities allied with them at Lepanto, sought for peace. Agreeing to recognize Turkish authority over Cyprus, the Venetians also paid an indemnity of 300,000 ducats, but they were allowed to keep Crete, at least for a moment.³²

The following 70 years were filled with anticipation for the Cretans. They must have known that the Venetians could not hold on for long against the Ottomans, especially as the latter's power was increasing while the former's was decreasing. But as long as the Venetians kept to the treaty the Turks let the Cretans alone, even diffusing a couple of incidents which might have provoked Ottoman military outrage – usually by paying further indemnity.³³ But time ran out in 1644.

Actually the reason the truce failed was not the fault of the Venetians at all, but of the Knights Hospitallers, the former enemy of the Ottomans at Rhodes who had now relocated to Malta – and who had withstood an incredibly aggressive attack by the Turks in 1565. On 28 September 1644 six Hospitaller galleys captured a small fleet of pilgrims on their way to Mecca from Turkey. A violation of the laws of war at any time, that there were gifts from the Turkish court and individuals associated with the family of Sultan Ibrahim I aboard these ships meant that the Ottomans had to respond. Despite an attempted intercession by the Venetians, the Ottomans blamed them for not keeping the other Christian powers in line – the Hospitallers put into a Cretan port with their booty immediately after the piracy – and their response was an assault of Crete.³⁴

The Ottoman fleet was huge. One contemporary Venetian source numbers the ships at

in the conflict between Europe and Turkey, as does Victor Davis Hanson, *Carnage and Culture: Landmark Battles in the Rise of Western Power* (New York: Doubleday, 2001), pp. 233-77.

30 On the history of Venetian Crete see Sally McKee, *Uncommon Dominion: Venetian Crete and the Myth of Ethnic Purity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2000).

31 On the fall of Cyprus see Setton, *Papacy and the Levant*, IV:923-1073.

32 Caroline Finkel, *Osman's Dream: The History of the Ottoman Empire* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), p. 161.

33 For example, in 1638 after Venetians incited Turkish wrath by blockading sixteen North African ships in the harbor of Ottoman Valona. See Kenneth M. Setton, *Venice, Austria, and the Turks in the Seventeenth Century* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1991), pp. 108-09.

34 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 110-15.

416, which included “two galleasses, a great galleon called the *Sultana*, ten ships from Alexandria, two from Tunis, ten vessels rented from the Dutch and English, and three hundred smaller craft, including the usual Levantine caïques and karamussals.” More than 50,000 soldiers were to be transported on these ships, including 7,000 janissaries.³⁵

On 26 June 1645 the Turks landed on Crete at the fortress of St. Toderò. The Venetians and the Cretans were totally unprepared for the invasion, having thought the Ottomans were going to attack Malta. The commander, Blasio Zulian, blew up the fortress, himself, and his men rather than let it fall to the enemy.³⁶ The Ottomans continued their progress across the island. On 17 August 1645 Cania fell; on 13 November 1646 Rettimo fell; by the end of 1647 the eastern half of the island had been captured; and in May 1648 the siege of Candia began. It would last for 22 years.³⁷

Candia was well fortified, surrounded by a large wall that had been maintained and upgraded, with a thickness of 40 meters in several places. In addition, seven bastions filled with artillery stretched out of from walls and a fortress stood in the harbor. There was also a substantial Venetian garrison, although, as at Belgrade and Rhodes, the citizens of Candia made up the majority of troops inside the city. Venice chose not to relieve the city – although there is some doubt whether it could – but to try and drive the Ottomans from Crete by naval action. Wars on sea between the Venetian and Ottoman navies ensued for almost the entire length of the siege. Victories and defeats were exchanged, but this meant that Venice, far weaker economically, would eventually lose.³⁸ And so too would Crete.

It is the naval battles which seem to interest most historians, but these are only a part of the story. They did not dislodge the Ottomans from outside Candia’s walls nor did they relieve the siege. This meant that at the same time as the naval war between Venice and Turkey was being fought the citizens of Candia were forced to withstand a siege of incredible length. It is true that for most of the time there were few attacks made on the city, nothing in comparison to those made on Belgrade in 1456 or Rhodes in 1480, and it was frequently resupplied when the Ottoman naval blockade was thinned, but that should not diminish the bravery or tenacity of the Candians.

This can be no more clearly seen than in May 1666 when the siege of Candia became more active. For the next 28 months Ottoman attacks on the city increased in their ferocity. Assaults were made on the city’s fortifications almost daily. Continually they were pushed back, at heavy losses to both sides. But, as with the naval battles, losses to the Turks meant less than they did to the Cretans. At one point, in March 1667 the garrison’s cannoners had been reduced to only 163, far too few to operate the fortifications’ 500 cannons.³⁹ Nor did

35 In Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, p. 126, who also includes an account that significantly lowers the number of ships to “78 galleys, three heavy, square-rigged merchant ships . . . and 117 saïques or ketches . . . besides other vessels . . .” (pp. 126-27), but the fleet seems to have divided before then.

36 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 126-27.

37 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 127-54.

38 During the 1650s naval engagements were frequent but during the 1660s, especially after 1662, they declined precipitously. Setton covers these conflicts especially well (*Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 137-205). On a number of occasions France and the Hospitallers assisted the Venetians in these naval battles.

39 This number comes from a report written by Candia’s *provveditore generale*, Antonio Barbaro, to the Venetian Doge in a vain effort to convince him to send reinforcements (Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, p.

an attempt in February-March 1667 by the French to relieve the siege, or another in Spring 1669, succeed.⁴⁰ Endeavors to pay for an end of the siege by the Venetians were also rebutted.⁴¹ Eventually exhaustion among the besieged and dissension among their leaders brought an end to the conflict. On 5 September 1669 the captain-general of Candia, Francesco Morosini, sued for peace; his only condition was that the valiant citizens who had resisted the Ottoman Turks for so long be allowed to leave with all their moveable possessions. This condition was granted.⁴²

The Candians had lost, as eventually did the Rhodians and Belgradians. This is, of course, a historical reality. Equally real are the large numbers of Ottomans who died in all their attempts to take the cities, as well as the large numbers lost in these same attempts defending them. It is to our detriment as military historians that, in remembering all of history's conflicts, we forget the common, unnamed people – soldiers, militia, non-combatants – who fought so hard and so long to save their cities and lands from conquest.

194).

40 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 193-94 and Finkel, p. 271.

41 Finkel, p. 270 and Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 220-28.

42 Setton, *Venice, Austria and the Turks*, pp. 227-28.

L'impatto della battaglia di Lepanto sull'Occidente Mediterraneo dal XVI al XXI Secolo.

TIBERIO MORO

UN EVENTO MEMORABILE

Il nome di Lepanto per generazioni di insegnanti e studenti ha significato

- il punto di separazione tra il mondo mediterraneo e quello atlantico
- l'inizio del declino dell'impero ottomano
- l'ultimo combattimento tra navi a remi e l'inizio della navigazione a vela.

ed in più per gli spagnoli

- oltre a quello di ottimo distillato, una fonte di ispirazione per Cervantes, quando fu catturato nel 1575 dai barbareschi durante il viaggio da Napoli per la Spagna e fu prigioniero nel "bagno" di Algeri. Effettivamente molti riferimenti alla battaglia si trovano nel "Quixote".

Indubbiamente dopo Lepanto, alla fine del XVI secolo e nei primi anni di quello successivo, con l'arrivo di unità mercantili inglesi e olandesi in Mediterraneo, le rotte del traffico commerciale tendono a surrogare e sostituire quelle veneziane (le rotte per le Fiandre): l'Atlantico è la nuova frontiera.

La Spagna, resa più sicura la zona di interesse con la sponda meridionale, si impegna maggiormente nei suoi territori d'oltremare, dopo lo smacco subito nel 1588 che, praticamente, la esclude dall'Atlantico settentrionale.

Anche gli inglesi, appoggiati al porto di Livorno, tolgono traffici a Venezia, costretta a dedicarsi maggiormente ai possedimenti di Terraferma. Qui, però, a contrastarla non è il "signor Turco", ma l'impero degli Asburgo.

Questa opposizione porterà alla costruzione della città fortezza di Palmanova nel 1593, la guerra di Gradisca a causa degli Uscocchi, al margine della guerra dei Trent'anni.¹

Anche per Venezia, quindi, l'inizio del XVII secolo è portatore di una crisi, ma è tutto imputabile allo sforzo e alle spese sostenute per Lepanto?

Il senatore Francesco Longo, altissimo magistrato della Repubblica, deve constatare che nuove grandi potenze si preparavano ad occupare nuovi spazi strategici ed economici. Ed annota in un suo diario manoscritto: "Si è fatta al terzo anno la pace che non si volle fare nel primo". E conclude. "Credevamo che il nostro Mediterraneo fosse il centro del mondo. Non lo è. Non lo è più. Non lo sarà mai più."²

1 Vedasi Rivista Militare "1593-1993 Palmanova fortezza d'Europa", Quaderno 1993

- G.Pavan (a cura di) "Palmanova fortezza d'Europa 1593-1993", catalogo della mostra, Marsilio, Venezia, 1993 ----- R.Caimmi, "La guerra del Friuli altrimenti nota come guerra di Gradisca o degli Uscocchi", LEG, Gorizia, 2007

- T.Moro, "Some consideration on the armament of the Republic of Venice during the Thirty Years War Period (1600-1650)", in atti convegno CIHM, Praga 1997.

2 Vedasi G.P. de Divitiis, "Mercanti inglesi nell'Italia del Seicento", Marsilio, Venezia, 1990; Maria Grazia Siliato, "La battaglia di Lepanto e la sua eredità nella storia mediterranea", conferenza al CASD, Roma, giugno 2008.

Forse fu un po' troppo pessimista, ma deve essere ampiamente giustificato in quanto Suez sarà aperto solo nel 1869 ed il petrolio era del tutto sconosciuto. Non si può fare a meno di ricordare che durante la contrapposizione Est-Ovest (il tempo della guerra fredda) il Mediterraneo è stato uno dei punti più caldi della terra, quando la Sesta Flotta e la 5° Eskadra (il SOVMEDRON) lo percorrevano in lungo e largo sfruttando le basi navali delle rispettive coalizioni.

Inoltre, oggi, ahimé, il problema del petrolio e la sua influenza sull'economia sono ben conosciuti.

All'inizio del Terzo Millennio, dopo l'attacco terroristico alle Torri di New York, l'11 settembre 2001 (per non parlare di quelli che lo hanno preceduto e seguito in ogni parte del mondo), si è parlato di "scontro di civiltà" e la parola Lepanto è tornata sulle pagine dei giornali e sugli schermi della televisione, seguita da una certa fioritura di articoli, saggi e volumi rievocativi sia di storiografia che di analisi politica, stranamente pubblicati contemporaneamente all'evento e successivamente, come dirò più avanti.

L'attacco alle Twin Towers è stato trasmesso in diretta in tutto il mondo: nello stesso momento milioni di persone erano testimoni di un evento che ha segnato la storia di un popolo.

La risposta americana con la guerra in Afghanistan è iniziata il 7 ottobre 2001, anniversario di Lepanto e nelle stesse ore della battaglia: una pura coincidenza, senza scomodare Agata Christie.

Ma se l'impatto nei confronti delle strutture politiche americane ed europee ha portato a situazioni che la diplomazia e gli ambienti militari stanno ancora vivendo, lo scontro di Lepanto – solo un episodio della guerra di Cipro (1570-1573) – toccò la sensibilità di tutti gli strati sociali dell'occidente mediterraneo e delle popolazioni rivierasche in particolare, e la decisione di fissarlo nella memoria futura fu decisamente universale.

E il ricordo si materializzò non solo per il risultato della battaglia, "la mas alta ocasiòn que vieron los siglos pasados, los presentes, ni esperan ver los venideros" per dirla con Cervantes³; non solo per il controllo e la supremazia sul mare stabilita quel giorno permettendo una "tregua navale" per quasi settanta anni.

"Quel giorno così fortunato per la cristianità perché tutte le nazioni del mondo intero si liberarono dall'errore in cui erano, di credere che i Turchi fossero invincibili, quel giorno, dico, in cui fu annientata la orgogliosa superbia ottomana"⁴.

Se può essere fatto un paragone una situazione analoga può essere quella del 1588 con lo scontro tra le unità inglesi e quelle spagnole dell'Armada, o quello tra la flotta inglese e francese a Trafalgar o la battaglia tra americani e giapponesi a Midway, per quanto nell'ambito della guerra combattuta.

La vittoria di Lepanto, inoltre, fu celebrata non solo quale evento bellico vittorioso, come gli innumerevoli che lo avevano preceduto nei secoli, ma anche quale riflesso della contrapposizione religiosa tra le due categorie – cristianesimo e islam – rappresentative dell'occidente cristiano ed oriente musulmano.

3 "Don Chisciotte", 2° parte, Prologo al lettore.

4 "Aquel dia, que fue para la cristianidad tan dichoso, porqué en el se desengañò el mundo y todas las naciones del error en que estaban, creyendo que los turcos eran invencibles por la mar, en aquel dia, digo, donde quedò el orgullo y soberbia ottomana quebrantada" Ivi, Cap. XXXIX.

Senza dimenticare che negli stessi anni era in atto in Europa il confronto tra cattolici e protestanti e che il 24 agosto 1572 – la notte di s. Bartolomeo – avvenne mentre era in atto la terza campagna di guerra di Cipro, con la partenza da Messina il 7 luglio della flotta della Lega che si trovava nelle acque tra Corfù, Zante e Cefalonia⁵. E le guerre di religione occuperanno tutto il primo cinquantennio del XVII secolo. Non da Lepanto inizia il declino della repubblica veneziana, ma dalla pace di Münster ed Osnabruck, che precede l'attacco turco a Candia.

Già si è accennato alla comunicazione/informazione/divulgazione di un avvenimento con lo strumento della televisione che permette la conoscenza in tempo reale e con la stampa in leggera differita.

Ma anche nel XVI secolo le notizie avevano una certa velocità, fatte le debite differenze con la corsa di un cavallo, come potremo constatare più avanti.

Infatti, appena la flotta della Lega parte da Messina, il 16 settembre 1571 e precedendo la battaglia, si hanno le “ultime notizie” e si prega per la vittoria. Circolano addirittura notizie riservate provenienti dall’“intelligence” navale con la situazione operativa prevedibile delle rispettive formazioni navali.

La stampina prodotta dallo “stato maggiore” di D. Giovanni o da un “ufficio stampa” di Messina aveva prodotto informazioni per gli “Avisi”, i primi rudimentali giornali dell’epoca, diffusi tra le capitali e le città importanti.⁶

Tutta l’Europa mediterranea sa che è imminente uno scontro di proporzioni gigantesche: a Lepanto, infatti, sarà presente il 90% delle unità esistenti in Mediterraneo.

Al termine della battaglia partono i messaggeri per informare le più alte autorità della Lega e comunicare il risultato dello scontro e la vittoria conseguita.

Don Giovanni invia a Roma Don Lope de Figueroa per informare il papa e quindi il re di Spagna.

Sebastiano Veniero invia a Venezia Onfrè Giustiniani con la galea “L’Angelo Gabriele” per informare il doge.

Giustiniani arriva a Venezia il mattino del 19 ottobre e la notizia viene trasmessa dagli ambasciatori alle rispettive corti.

Le comunicazioni veneziane di stato sono più veloci di quelle spagnole, ma anche il servizio postale dei Torre & Tasso non lo era da meno con linee dirette Venezia-Roma e Praga-Madrid.

Il nunzio apostolico a Venezia invia un corriere a Roma che giunge nella notte tra il 21 e 22 ottobre. Fu svegliato il papa, e la notizia comunicata agli ambasciatori di Spagna e Venezia.

Il giorno seguente cardinali e ambasciatori andarono a s. Pietro per il “Te Deum” di prammatica. Quella sera il popolo di Roma fu rallegrato da spari di artiglieria e fuochi d’artificio da Castel S. Angelo.

5 Vedasi C. Manfroni, “La Lega cristiana nel 1572, con lettere di M.A.Colonna” in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, T.16°, 1893, pag. 343-445; T.17°, 1894, pag. 23-67; C. Vivanti, “Le guerre di religione nel Cinquecento”, Laterza, 2007; A. Diefendorf, “Prologue to a massacre”, American Historical Review, 9 (1985), pag. 1067-1091.

6 I. Bulgarelli, “La battaglia di Lepanto e il giornalismo romano”, in Accademie e Biblioteche d’Italia, A. XXIX, 1961, n. 3-4 pag. 231-239

Il re di Spagna Filippo II è informato il 31 ottobre da un dispaccio del Mastro di posta di Genova e dall'ambasciatore di Venezia, come riporta il Canosa.

Il mito della vittoria di Lepanto, dunque, inizia già il 19 di ottobre, quando Giustiniani arriva a Venezia: l'equipaggio è vestito alla turca, dopo un primo attimo di smarrimento si apprende la realtà. I Turchi residenti a Venezia, mercanti e viaggiatori chiudono fondachi e botteghe e si rinserano nelle case. Il Senato proibì di prendere il lutto per gli oltre 4000 morti veneziani.

“Il panico si trasformò in un delirio di gioia”, scrive Canosa “Tutta Venezia accorse a s.Marco per il “Te Deum” ed i festeggiamenti si prolungarono per giorni. La vittoria di Lepanto aveva raggiunto risultati insperati: per settant'anni neppure una volta i Turchi osarono attaccare la Repubblica di Venezia, nonostante fossero così estesi e vulnerabili i suoi domini. Scomparsa la paura, Venezia non sentì più bisogno di alleati”.

Non appena ritornano i combattenti e si hanno le notizie da fonti dirette, già alla fine del 1571 vengono pubblicate le prime relazioni.

Vedono la luce

- Le discussioni che hanno preceduto la battaglia.
- L'ordine di operazione con la disposizione delle unità della Lega (galeazze e galere sottili) con i nomi dei comiti.
- La descrizione dell'impresa
- L'interrogatorio di alte personalità turche prigioniere
- La relazione fatta al papa dal Figueroa
- Racconti dei protagonisti
- I confronti con il passato.

La narrazione dei partecipanti diventa storia nelle mani degli storici specialisti (Contarini, Manolesso, Paruta e via via tutti gli altri) senza dimenticare chi storico non era di professione ma combattente e uomo di lettere, quel Miguel de Cervantes, imbarcato sulla “Marquesa”, che per un colpo di archibugio perse l'uso della mano sinistra “per la gloria della destra”, come scrisse un suo biografo. Spagnolo nato ad Alcalá de Henares, Cervantes fu un po' italiano per il servizio prestato con le armi del Colonna e del cardinale Acquaviva, come “camarero” e, dopo la battaglia, in qualità di “portatore di mazza” – una specie di “uscire capo” – quale “reduce e ferito” – presso il Regio Collaterale Consiglio di Napoli.⁷

Non solo mulini a vento, Dulcinea e Sancho, ma precisi riferimenti a Lepanto si trovano nelle pagine del suo romanzo, che mescola fantasia e verità.

Anzi, proprio Cervantes rivolge agli storici un ammonimento:

“Una cosa è scrivere da poeta, altra come storico. Il poeta può narrare le cose non come si svolsero, bensì come avrebbero dovuto essere; lo storico deve narrare come accaddero, senza togliere o aggiungere niente alla verità”.

Forse da buon “letrado” si era accorto che anche allora la storia poteva essere manipolata per propri interessi e non mancavano certo i motivi per sospettarlo, considerato il rapporto non certo idilliaco tra la Spagna e Venezia; tra i Colonna e i Doria, tra i consiglieri di D. Giovanni inviati dalla corte di Madrid per flemmatizzare i “bollenti spiriti” del giovane co-

7 Vedasi L.Conforti, “I napoletani a Lepanto”, Napoli, 1886

mandante della spedizione ed il partito dei “falchi” veneziani con a capo il Venier, disposto ad andare a “far giornata” anche con le sue forze da sole.

IL RITORNO DI LEPANTO NELLA STORIOGRAFIA

L'evento di Lepanto, nonostante i monumenti ed i ricordi materiali, svanisce con il XVII secolo, con l'inizio della decadenza di Venezia e con l'interesse della Spagna nell'impero oltre Atlantico.

Venezia avrà ancora alcuni sprazzi di gloria con i Capitani da mar Marcello, Mocenigo e Morosini nella sua secolare contrapposizione con l'impero ottomano (per non parlare della casa d'Austria), ma la perdita di Candia è una prova del suo arretramento nei possedimenti adriatici⁸.

Come scriveva Voltaire,

“Venezia temeva l'imperatore e i Turchi e poteva difendere a stento i suoi stati di Terraferma dalle pretese della Germania o dalle invasioni del Gran Signore. Non era più quella Venezia, già padrona del commercio del mondo, che, centocinquant'anni prima suscitava la gelosia di tanti re. Sussisteva la saggezza del suo governo, però il suo grande commercio annichilato toglieva quasi tutta la sua forza, e la città di Venezia restava imprendibile per la sua posizione, incapace di conquiste per la sua debolezza”⁹.

Il risorgimento dell'epopea levantina ritorna alla metà del XIX secolo.

Nel 1845 i monaci di Montecassino danno alle stampe il manoscritto di un loro confratello, già combattente a Lepanto e ritiratosi in convento al rientro in Italia:

“Commentari della guerra di Cipro e della Lega dei principi cristiani contro il Turco”

Dopo qualche anno lo spagnolo Don Cayetano Rosell pubblica la sua “Historia del combate naval de Lepanto y juicio de la importancia y consecuencias de aquel suceso”, Madrid 1853, che riporta documenti di fonte spagnola.

Al Rosell seguiranno due religiosi: in Italia il domenicano Guglielmotti pubblica nel 1862 “Marcantonio Colonna alla battaglia di Lepanto”, usufruendo di documenti vaticani e dell'archivio Colonna.

E' indubbiamente un'opera agiografica, cui si oppone qualche anno più tardi D. Miguel Sanchez, presbitero, con “Felipe II y la Liga de 1571 contra el Turco”, Madrid, 1868, molto critico nei confronti del domenicano.

Serrano, in “La Liga de Lepanto entre España Venecia y la Santa Sede”, Madrid 1918, tomo I, pag. 25, criticherà Guglielmotti perché “sparece por demàs apasionado contra España; a veces tergiversa los hechos y los documentos de un modo despiadados y cae en contradicciones”.

Critica anche l'opera di Sanchez “la qual peca tambien de excesivamente patriotica”.

Ancora agiografico è il volume di Benedetto Veroggio: un elogio a Giovanni Andrea Do-

8 G.Ferrari, “Le battaglie dei Dardanelli (1656-1657)” in Memorie Storiche Militari, fasc. III, 1913

9 Voltaire, “Il secolo di Luigi XIV”, Einaudi, 1951, cap. II, pag.16. L'opera fu pubblicata in prima edizione a Berlino nel dicembre 1751 e in edizione definitiva nel 1768

ria¹⁰ effettivamente rivalutato in questi ultimi tempi dagli analisti, rispetto all'ostracismo del papa (dichiarò che si comportò più da corsaro che da cristiano) e dei veneziani (la sua figura non compare nel quadro del Vicentino.)

Due anni più tardi il viceammiraglio francese Julien de la Graviere pubblica "La guerre de Chypre et la bataille de Lépante"¹¹. E' un'analisi ampia, ma con qualche svista sul percorso e la velocità delle galee.

Alla fine del XIX secolo è pubblicato lo studio di Pompeo Momenti "Sebastiano Veniero e la battaglia di Lepanto", con documenti veneziani¹², cui seguirà nel 1915, pubblicato su il nuovo Archivio Veneto, dello stesso autore "Sebastiano Veniero dopo la battaglia di Lepanto".

E' di quegli anni la biografia di D. Giovanni di Stirling-Maxwell¹³ e la ricerca di M. Rosi sui documenti vaticani sulla sorte dei prigionieri turchi presi a Lepanto¹⁴.

Nel 1904 il periodico italiano *Cosmos Illustrato* dedica un numero completo a Lepanto con una dozzina di saggi. La stessa cosa farà la *Revista General de Marina* del 1971 in occasione del IV Centenario: una revisione alla luce delle ricerche d'archivio più recenti.

Nella prima metà del XX secolo Lepanto torna ancora nella pubblicistica storica, in particolare in Italia e Spagna. In Italia si pubblica l'ampio lavoro di ricerca di Guido Antonio Quarti

- La battaglia di Lepanto nei canti popolari dell'epoca (Milano 1930)
- La guerra contro il Turco a Cipro e a Lepanto (Venezia, 1935)

I due volumi sono praticamente contemporanei alla ricerca del Salimei sui partecipanti alla battaglia¹⁵.

Nel 1937 vede la luce la biografia di Provana di Leiny, il comandante delle tre galee del Ducato di Savoia.¹⁶

Nell'immediato secondo dopoguerra, in Spagna, l'ammiraglio Carrero Blanco pubblica "La victoria del Cristo de Lepanto"¹⁷ che segue, di massima, il suo collega francese di mezzo secolo addietro, e illustra le fasi della battaglia con grafici non sempre condivisibili.

Ma specialmente in questi ultimi anni Lepanto è tornato nelle librerie, dopo che nel 1974 è stato pubblicato il lavoro di Guilmartin, una acuta analisi sulla tecnologia navale del XVI secolo, la tattica, l'artiglieria imbarcata, la navigazione e il combattimento¹⁸, con un intero capitolo dedicato a Lepanto, in cui sottolinea la scelta di D. Giovanni di non schierare le galee per contingenti omogenei bensì frammischiarle.

Si pubblica in Spagna, Inghilterra e Italia; gli autori¹⁹ sono più o meno precisi e accurati;

10 B.Veroggio, "Giovanni Andrea Doria alla battaglia di Lepanto", Genova 1886

11 Parigi, 1888

12 G.Barbera, Firenze, 1899

13 Londra, 1883

14 Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria 1898 e 1901

15 A.Salimei, "Gli italiani a Lepanto", Roma 1931

16 G.Sticca, "Andrea Provana", G.B.Paravia, Torino 1937

17 Madrid, 1948

18 J.F.Guilmartin, "Gunpowder & Galley. Changing Technology at Sea in the 16th Century", Cambridge University Press, 1974. Revised Edition, Conway Maritime Press 2003. E' un vero peccato che non esista una edizione italiana – nonostante le proposte avanzate ad un editore con collane dedicate all'argomento- che, per contro, ha pubblicato libri che hanno trattato soggetti simili ma meno significativi.

19 Si trascrive un elenco di volumi che trattano argomenti specifici su Lepanto o complementari.

ai volumi si aggiungono numerosi saggi che trattano lo scenario della guerra di Cipro e la battaglia pubblicati su riviste di storia o di genere vario.²⁰

Effettivamente la bibliografia su Lepanto è piuttosto estesa, interessando ricerche su partecipanti di località circoscritte (calabresi, bresciani, S. Severino della marca, Velletri, eccetera) e non è mia intenzione fare un catalogo di volumi.

D'altra parte non si possono disconoscere le opere pubblicate da storici e ricercatori circa le biografie dei principali personaggi di Lepanto: Don Giovanni d'Austria²¹, Sebastiano Veniero²², Gian Andrea Doria²³, Marcantonio Colonna²⁴

Alle opere di carattere storiografico si devono aggiungere i romanzi storici, dove l'evento è rivissuto attraverso il filtro tipico dello stile dell'autore, ma costituisce per il lettore di oggi un fattore di conoscenza che non può essere trascurato. Chi non ricorda lo scenario di Milano e della Lombardia del '600 nell'opera del Manzoni? Di Cervantes si è già detto; altri ve ne sono, anche se non dello stesso livello²⁵.

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- B.M.Margarucci Italiani, "S. Severino della Marca e Lepanto", Roma, 1973
 - J.Beeching, "La battaglia di Lepanto", Milano, Rusconi, 1989
 - R.Vargas-Hidalgo, "La batalla de Lepanto", Santiago (Cile), 1998
 - Cateani – Diedo, "La battaglia di Lepanto", Palermo, Sellerio 1995
 - D.e E.Hernan, "Lepanto, el dia despues" Acta, Madrid 1999
 - R.Canosa, "Lepanto. Storia della Santa Lega contro i Turchi", Roma Sapere 2000
 - U.E. Del Col, "Lepanto, la battaglia delle libellule", Demagost Milano 2001
 - G.Ricci, "Osessione Turca", Bologna, Il Mulino 2002
 - P.Partner, "Il Dio degli eserciti", Einaudi, Torino 2002
 - I.Cacciavillani, "Lepanto", Venezia, Corbo e Fiori, 2003
 - A. Konstam, "Lepanto 1571" Osprey 2003
 - M.Bicheno, "Crescent and Cross", Cassell 2003
 - P.Partner, "Corsari e Crociati", Einaudi Torino, 2003
 - R.Muñoz-Bolanos – D.A.Queto, "la batalla de Lepanto 1571, Madrid 2003
 - R.Gargiulo, "la battaglia di Lepanto", Pordenone 2004
 - A.R. Rodriguez Gonzales, "Lepanto, la batalla que salvò a Europa", Grafite Ediciones, NMadrid, 2004
 - A.Petacco, "La croce e la mezzaluna", Mondadori, Milano 2005
 - N.Capponi, "Victory of the West", MacMillan, Londra 2006, trad. it. "Lepanto 1571", il Saggiatore, Milano, 2008
 - A. Petacco, "L'ultima crociata", Mondadori, Milano, 2007
 - T.C. Hopkins, "Confrontation at Lepanto", New York, 2006
- 20 A.G.Cimarelli, "Lepanto dall'alba al tramonto" in *Storia Illustrata*, A.XII, n.125, aprile 1968
 P.Pierson, "Lepanto" in *The Quarterly Journal of Military History*, Winter 1997, vol.9, n.2
 - E.Pasquonucci, "La battaglia di Lepanto. Tattiche e aneddoti di una strepitosa vittoria navale", in *Laguna Mare*, A.II, n.5, ottobre 2002
 - E. Ferrante (a cura di), *Supplemento alla Rivista Marittima*, gennaio 2005
- 21 F.Ponce, "Juan de Austria", Aldebaran. Madrid, 1999
 B.Benassar, "Don Juan de Austria, un héroe para un imperio", Madrid, 2000
 L.De Wohl, "L'ultimo crociato", BUR, 2001
- 22 P. Molmenti, "Sebastiano Veniero e la battaglia di Lepanto", Firenze, 1899
- 23 Oltre al Verroggio, V.Borghesi (a cura di), "Vita del principe Giovanni Andrea Doria scritta da lui medesimo incompleta". Genova 1997
- 24 M.Bozzano, "Marcantonio Colonna", Salerno, Roma 2003
- 25 G.Granzotto, "La battaglia di Lepanto", Milano 1975
 - M.G.Siliato, "L'Assedio", Mondadori, 1995; tratta dell'attacco turco a Cipro e l'assedio di Famagosta in particolare.

Tra quelle indicate ci sono opere valide, di buona divulgazione storica, arricchite di note archiviste e riferimenti bibliografici; altre piuttosto modeste che soffrono di errori anche grossolani, come far morire il Colonna a Lepanto, o riportare lo schieramento delle galee nella formazione del 1572 per quella del 1571 e via elencando. Non si può fare a meno di citare, però, l'opera di uno storico francese di estrazione cattolica, Jean Dumont, che sottolinea quella che fu chiamata "l'empia alleanza" tra la Francia e l'impero ottomano²⁶.

Nel 1986 a Venezia è stata organizzata la grande mostra "Venezia e la difesa del Levante" in cui veniva illustrato ogni aspetto della difesa dello "Stato da Mar". Il catalogo della mostra presentava, oltre alla descrizione delle cose esposte, numerosi saggi di autori italiani e stranieri, (Preto, Concina, Tenenti, Mantran, ecc.) dedicati ad ogni aspetto dei provvedimenti presi da Venezia (costruzioni navali, fortificazioni, artiglierie, cavalleria, truppe, eccetera) per sostenere la integrità dello stato nei confronti dell'espansionismo turco, di cui la guerra di Cipro, Lepanto compresa, è un esempio significativo.

La nutrita bibliografia cronologica di quel volume è un buon riferimento per allargare l'orizzonte di conoscenza dell'intero comparto.

Su Lepanto, uno degli eventi più significativi del XVI secolo, molti sono stati gli interventi degli storici e degli specialisti di ogni settore del grande mosaico: sono stati indagati tutti gli aspetti che costituiscono l'intero ciclo della guerra di Cipro e della opposizione all'impero ottomano; vi sono analizzate le vicende diplomatiche con ricerche negli archivi di Venezia, di Madrid, del Vaticano, di Firenze, la corrispondenza dei personaggi interessati all'evento.

Su tutti, la raccolta della "Collezione dei documenti inediti per la storia di Spagna" (CODIN) pubblicati nel XIX secolo; le lettere di D.Giovanni a G.A. Doria²⁷; la "Correspondencia diplomática entre España y la Santa Sede durante el pontificado de S.Pio V" di Luciano Serrano²⁸; le Lettere di Onorato Caetani capitano della fanteria pontificia²⁹; fino ad arrivare al monumentale lavoro di Rafael Vargas-Hidalgo con la "Correspondencia inédita de Felipe II con Andrea Doria y Juan Andrea Doria"³⁰, un lavoro che è stato preceduto da una accurata ricerca sulla storia della battaglia edita in Cile nel 1998³¹.

La formazione per il combattimento e la tattica per affrontare la formazione turca – disposte da D. Giovanni a Messina e il 16 di settembre 1571 alla fossa di S. Giovanni, consigliate

- L. Vidal, "Victoria o muerte en Lepanto", SM Ediciones, Madrid 2002

- C. Bullosa, "La otra mano de Lepanto", Madrid, Siruela, 2005

- Nanami Shiono, "The Battle of Lepanto", dedicato ad Agostino Barbarigo, l'unico capo morto a Lepanto, New York 2007; ed. orig. Tokio 1987

- N.De Totto, "Il comito della Leona", Trevi, Roma 1984

- PP Vergerio e G.Zanelli, "Lepanto" Pagine Editore, Roma

26 Vedasi C. Manfroni, "L'empia alleanza", in Rivista Marittima, 1896

- J.Dumont, "L'Historia ocluta" Ed Encuentro, Madrid,1999

27 Pubblicate nel 1896 a cura del principe A. Doria Pamphili

28 Edizione 1914

29 Pubblicate dal Carinci nel 1870 e ripubblicate da Sellerio, Palermo nel 1995

30 Ediciones Polifemo, Madrid, 2002

31 V. nota 19. Ediciones CESOC

anche da D. Garcia de Toledo, in convalescenza a Poggio, nei pressi di Pisa³² – hanno auto numerosi analisti, uomini di mare o storici. A quelli già indicati quali autori di volumi possiamo aggiungere il contrammiraglio G. Gavotti³³, ma non dice niente di nuovo, appoggiandosi a quanto scrive il suo collega francese, comprese le illustrazioni di fasi della battaglia. Niente a che vedere con il volume di Olesa – Munido sulla galera in navigazione e nel combattimento³⁴.

Il comparto specialistico dell'artiglieria imbarcata, in particolare sulle galee e galeazze di Venezia, è stato indagato da Marco Morin³⁵ che conferma quanto già chiaramente riconosciuto dai contemporanei (con eccezione del Provana) e dai moderni, ossia il fondamentale apporto dei cannoni delle galeazze, disposti sulle fiancate delle unità³⁶.

Non è certo secondario l'impiego delle armi da fuoco portatili da parte della truppa imbarcata, decisamente superiore all'arco e alle frecce dei turchi, insufficienti a perforare le corazze³⁷.

La situazione politico-strategica del Mediterraneo dopo Lepanto è stata analizzata da politici e storici che hanno indicato anche la tendenza dell'impero ottomano a trasferire le sue spinte espansionistiche a terra anziché sul mare e la conseguente politica navale di Venezia³⁸.

G. Parker ed I.A.A. Thompson scrivono che

“Lepanto itself did nothing to increase the security of the West”³⁹.

Non si può certo concordare, e J.F. Guilmartin risponde in tal senso⁴⁰.

E' vero che non ci fu lo sfruttamento del successo ed Istanbul non fu attaccata, come qualcuno proponeva, considerata la disfatta della flotta turca e la città indifesa.

Le giustificazioni possono essere accettate, anche se – come riporta il segretario del bailo

32 Vedasi la lettera del 13 settembre, in cui la frase “(...) quel ruido del romper los espadones y el trueno del artilleria habia de ser todo uno o muy poco meno” ha avuto distorte interpretazioni da parte di frettolosi scrittori. CODOIN, III

33 G. Gavotti, “La tattica nelle grandi battaglie navali da Temistocle a Togo”, Roma 1906. Il capitolo XXI è dedicato a Lepanto.

34 Madrid, 1971

35 In “Venezia e i Turchi”, Electa, Milano, 1985, pag. 211-231

36 Per i turchi è stata una sorpresa tecnica. Nella campagna del 1572 saranno presenti anche due galeazze toscane.

37 C. Pasero, “La partecipazione bresciana alla guerra di Cipro e alla battaglia di Lepanto (1570.1573)”, supplemento ai *Commentari dell'Ateneo di Brescia*, 1953

J. Albi de la Cuesta, “De Pavia a Rocroi. Los tercios de infanteria española en los siglos XVI y XVII”, Balkan Editores, Madrid 1999. In particolare il capitolo VIII, “Los tercios embarcados”

G. Chiavarello, “La battaglia di Lepanto” parte prima.: Apporto decisivo della tecnica del fuoco napoletano”, Istituto Culturale Editoriale di Storia Patria, Napoli 1976.

I soldati imbarcati sulle galee piemontesi avevano due fucili e cariche preconfezionate; il fucile “sparato” veniva consegnato al rematore per la ricarica.

38 F. Sassi, “La politica navale veneziana dopo Lepanto”, in *Archivio Veneto*, 1948-49; A. Tanborra, “Gli stati italiani, l'Europa e il problema turco dopo Lepanto”, Firenze 1961; id., “Dopo Lepanto. Lo spostamento della lotta antiturco sul fronte terrestre”, Firenze, 1974

39 *Mariner's Mirror*, vol. 64, n 1 Feb. 1978, pag. 19

40 J.F. Guilmartin, “The Tactics of the Battle of Lepanto Clarified: the Impact of Social, Economic and Political Factors on Sixteenth Century Galley Warfare”, Naval Institute Press, Annapolis, 1979

Barbaro – nella città ci fu il panico, nonostante i tentativi di nascondere la sconfitta all'arrivo dei superstiti ("26 galee et 9 palandarie") "a 28 dezebriò"⁴¹.

In quei giorni rientrarono a Istanbul anche le galee con i vincitori di Cipro ed i prigionieri, e con la pelle impagliata del governatore Marcantonio Bragadin.

Fu conservata in arsenale e trafugata da un veneziano; qualche tempo dopo tornò a Venezia: è nella chiesa di s. Giovanni e Paolo, cimitero degli uomini illustri di Venezia. A lui è ispirato un testo teatrale di Valerio Fuligni, "Bragadino", dedicato al duca di Urbino Francesco I della Rovere, presente a Lepanto; e uno di Vincenzo Giusti "Irene", dedicato alla moglie del governatore, del 1579⁴².

LA COSTRUZIONE DEL RICORDO

Se ad Istanbul si hanno scene di disperazione, decisamente diversa è la risposta del popolo e delle classi dirigenti nei paesi e nelle città della Lega.

La flotta rientra a Messina, che rende onoranze e feste a D. Giovanni, già accolto con celebrazioni all'atto del suo arrivo con la costruzione di un pontile a mare e un arco di trionfo.

Il senato messinese decretò di innalzare una statua al Comandante della Lega e di chiamare "via d'Austria" una strada che si stava costruendo in contrada Amalfitani.

A Messina il Nunzio consegnò a D. Giovanni, quali doni del papa "una Berretta ducale et uno stocco" in una cerimonia cui seguì una cavalcata in città⁴³.

La statua in bronzo, opera di Adrea Calamech, scrittore e architetto di Carrara, riporta sul basamento le mappe dei luoghi della battaglia e alcuni distici dettati dal Maurotico, storico e matematico messinese⁴⁴.

Palermo non fu da meno. Invitò D. Giovanni che arrivò il 10 di gennaio 1572. Durante la sosta a Marsala, però, fece colmare il porto dell'antica Lilibeo per paura che fosse preso dai turchi di Barberia, distanti appena 60 miglia. Per sdebitarsi lasciò uno stendardo al monastero di S. Gerolamo⁴⁵.

Passò poi a Napoli: il riposo del guerriero, con donne e feste.

L'avvenimento di Lepanto fu celebrato in tutto il Mediterraneo cristiano, con poemi, canti, musiche⁴⁶. Tuttavia, a causa dell'alfabetizzazione piuttosto modesta, il popolo preferì le manifestazioni di piazza alla produzione letteraria, le cose cose da vedere piuttosto che quelle da sentire..

41 Relazioni degli ambasciatori veneti al senato. Costantinopoli, 1571 – 1573. Diario di prigionia, pag.161-176

42 Studium, 2006, n.4, pag. 313-314

43 G. Arenaprimo, "La Sicilia nella battaglia di Lepanto", Pisa, 1886, e "Il ritorno e la dimora a Messina di D. Giovanni d'Austria e della flotta cristiana dopo la battaglia di Lepanto", in Archivio Storico Siciliano, 1903, pag 73-117 e 86, n.1, dov'è citato Fernandez Duro, "Tradiciones infundadas", Madrid 1888, pag. 574. Lo stocco dovrebbe essere al Museo Navale di Madrid.

44 S. Crinò, "Le mappe geografiche della battaglia di Lepanto che trovansi a Messina nei prospetti del basamento marmoreo della statua di D.Giovanni d'Austria", in Archivio Storico Messinese, 1905.

45 S.Salomone Marino, "Relazione delle feste della città di Palermo a D. Giovanni d'Austria dopo la vittoria di Lepanto" in Nuove Effemeridi Siciliane, III, 1875.

46 G.A.Quarti, "La battaglia di Lepanto nei canti popolari dell'epoca", Milano 1930
- P. Molmenti, "La battaglia di Lepanto nell'arte, nella poesia, nella storia.", in Rivista Marittima, Fasc. II, 1° Trimestre, Febbraio 1898

Addirittura alle canarie, ad Antaño, ancora oggi una battaglia teatrale ricorda Lepanto.

Ma più spettacolare è il “ballo delle galere di Reus”, in Catalogna. I figuranti indossano un costume di legno e cartone, a forma di galea, con alberi e vele che resta sospeso all'altezza della cintura.

Le “navi con le gambe” erano imbandierate e le due squadre contraddistinte con bandiere bianco/rosse e con la mezzaluna si scontravano sparando a salve con pistoloni/cannoni attraverso i fori degli scafi. Durante il ballo con le spade venivano tagliate le sartie degli avversari.

La più recente indagine sui festeggiamenti lepantini è quella di Iain Fenlon, dedicata a Venezia: “The Cerimonial City. History, Memory and Mith in Renaissance Venice”⁴⁷.

Le autorità laiche e religiose spesero somme enormi per dare testimonianza dell'avvenimento con la costruzione di chiese, monumenti, quadri, esposizione di trofei, stendardi, armi ed altri oggetti catturati sulle galee turche.

I combattenti di Lepanto di una certa levatura sociale alla loro morte ebbero lapidi tombali in cui veniva sottolineata la loro partecipazione alla battaglia, a cominciare dal papa Pio V, presente “in spiritu”, con il suo mausoleo in S. Maria Maggiore (Roma).

UNA RAPIDA RASSEGNA È DOVEROSA, E NON SOLO PER SCOPI...TURISTICI SPAGNA.

Nella cattedrale di *Toledo* è conservato lo stendardo che Pio V dono alla flotta della Lega e che fu consegnato dal Card. Granvelle, vicere di Napoli a D. Giovanni nella chiesa di S. Chiara il 14 di agosto 1571.

A *Madrid*, museo del Prado, è il quadro del Tintoretto “Allegoria della Battaglia di Lepanto” eseguito tra il 1572 e il 1575, con il figlio di Filippo II, nato il 2 dicembre, “offerto” per ringraziamento.

Nell'Armeria Reale sono conservate armi e corazze e gli abiti di Alì Pascià⁴⁸.

Il museo navale conserva modellini di navi del XVI secolo e lo stocco papale consegnato a D. Giovanni, la cui tomba è all'Escoriale dove si trovano le sei grandi tele del pittore genovese Luca Cambiaso.

A *Barcellona* si conserva in una cappella della cattedrale il Cristo crocifisso donato da D. Giovanni ed esposto sulla “Real” prima della battaglia.

E' molto annerito, quale conseguenza del fumo della polvere da sparo, e viene portato in processione per le calli della città durante la “via crucis” nella domenica di passione.

Ma il tributo principale a Lepanto che lo studioso o il turista può vedere nella capitale della Catalogna è la riproduzione in scala 1:1 della Real, la galera bastarda di D.Giovanni, conservata nell'antico arsenale.

L'ammiraglia era, ed è, una fuori serie, lunga 60 metri, larga 8, con 47 banchi e 7 vogatori per banco. L'equipaggio era di 50 marinai, ma imbarcava 400 archibugieri e 100 persone al seguito di D.Giovanni; con i vogatori un complesso di 850 uomini per un dislocamento di

47 Yale University Press, 2007 In particolare il Capitolo VI, “Victory at Lepanto”.

48 Vedasi il Catalogo Historico – Descriptivo de la Real Armeria de Madrid”, Madrid, 1898

circa 250 tonnellate. Costruita ed armata a Barcellona nel 1569, venne mandata a Siviglia per essere decorata. Quanti turisti che visitano il vecchio arsenale recepiscono l'importanza di quell'imbarcazione, dopo 437 anni ?

A *Palma di Majorca* si conservano tappezzerie fiamminghe che rappresentano episodi della battaglia di Lepanto.

A *Siviglia* è presente uno stendardo turco.

A *Burgos* sono presenti armi e insegne turche.

ITALIA

La partecipazione italiana alla campagna del 1571 fu decisamente maggioritaria, sia con uomini provenienti dai possedimenti spagnoli (Napoli, Milano, Sicilia, Sardegna) che da entità statali autonome (Venezia, Toscana, Ferrara, Parma, Urbino, Savoia, Genova, e, ovviamente, lo Stato della Chiesa con le sue dipendenze).

In Italia, pertanto, si può trovare la “memoria” di Lepanto offerta al popolo nelle città di provenienza dei personaggi più rappresentativi, oltre a quelle disposte dalle autorità per ricordare l'evento.

Ma a fronte di quelli per la gente italiana, in Italia è presente un monumento che ricorda il più esperto dei comandanti turchi: Ulugh Ali, nato a Le Castella, in Calabria, vissuto come Luca Galeni fino al momento della sua cattura e alla decisione di “farsi turco”.

Al ritorno ad Istanbul, dopo Lepanto ebbe il titolo di “Kilich” (la spada) e alla sua morte una tomba significativa, degna del suo rango.

Il vescovo di Dax, il francese Mons. De Noailles, ambasciatore e mediatore presso la Porta, dirà “Ulugh, in segreto, è ancora cristiano”.

Ma sarà sempre leale al suo “datore di lavoro”, ricostruendo la flotta turca dopo il disastro di Lepanto.

Invano il duca di Medina-Celi scriverà a Filippo II da Laredo il 26 novembre 1571 una lettera con la quale si felicitava per la vittoria “y encarece la conveniencia de traer a su real servicio Uluch Ali”⁴⁹.

VENEZIA

La componente navale della Repubblica, con le oltre cento galee e le sei galeazze ed i migliaia di uomini imbarcati, ha prodotto una notevole quantità di memorie.

L'ingresso di terra dell'Arsenale fu ampliato con l'inserimento di una specie di “arco di trionfo”; a ricordo della battaglia fu posta nell'architrave la scritta “VICTORIAE NAVALIS MONIMENTUM MDLXXI” e la statua di s. Giustina fu posta al vertice.

Nell'Arsenale furono conservate le galee catturate ed assegnate a Venezia e le altre spoglie turche (bandiere, fanali, armi, ecc.). Molti pezzi sono stati trasferiti nell'Armeria di Palazzo Ducale, dove si trova anche un busto del Venier.

Il Senato commissionò al Tintoretto una grande tela, distrutta nell'incendio del 1577 e sostituita nel 1590 da quella del Vicentino nella sala dello scrutinio.

Sotto il profilo umano le reliquie più significative sono le spoglie dei principali attori di Lepanto, oltre a quella del Bragadin. Il Venier, dapprima sepolto a Murano, fu traslato nella

49 CODOIN, XXXV, pag. 457-8

chiesa di S. Giovanni e Paolo, con un monumento in corazza, nel 1908⁵⁰.

Una cappella della Chiesa è dedicata al Rosario, istituito dal papa Pio V in occasione della vittoria, ma fu distrutta da un incendio nel 1867, e restaurata. Tuttavia andarono perdute le tele dedicate a Lepanto di Domenico Tintoretto, Palma il giovane, del Peranda e del Bassano.

Nel *Palazzo Ducale* (Sala del Collegio) è conservata una tela del Veronese, con Venier e Barbarigo che rendono grazie al Signore. Nelle altre sale esistono altre tele con rappresentazioni allegoriche.

Nel *Museo Correr* (Saletta Lepanto) vi sono due dipinti con scene di battaglia, un busto di Duodo, comandante delle galeazze e un ritratto del venier, opera del Vicentino.

Duodo è sepolto nella chiesa di S. Maria del Giglio, con un quadro del Tintoretto nella cappella a lui dedicata.

Altre chiese che conservano memorie di Lepanto sono:

- S. Fantin: quadro di Palma il giovane. Il Doge ringrazia la vergine
- SS. Apostoli: tela del Maffei con la battaglia
- S. Giovanni in Bragora: ritratto di Pio V
- S. Giuseppe di Castello: bassorilievo della battaglia

L'elenco dei ricordi levantini a Venezia è piuttosto lungo; riporto in appendice il risultato di una ricerca del prof. Giampaolo Borsetto.

Tutto il Veneto, però, può vantare memorie dell'evento

- Padova (quadro del Varotari)
- Forno di Zoldo e Vado di Cadore (bandiere)
- Montagnana (affresco della battaglia)
- Vicenza, in piazza dei Signori e chiesa di S. Corona
e ancora a Castelviscardo (Orvieto) e Rivalta (Piacenza)

ROMA

Marcantonio Colonna portò a Roma due bandiere tolte ai turchi, una delle quali fu consegnata al Pontefice che la destinò alla basilica di S. Maria Maggiore dove è rimasta conservata per circa quattro secoli, ed i visitatori potevano osservarla nella sagrestia della Cappella del sacramento, racchiusa in una cornice.

Quella bandiera, che recava i segni della battaglia, sfilacciata e scolorita, in data 2 febbraio 1965, "in segno di amicizia, di pace e fraternità" è stata restituita alla Repubblica Turca da papa Paolo VI e consegnata ad Ankara, dall'internunzio apostolico in Turchia, Mons. Nardone, al ministro degli esteri turco Esad Isik, in data 5 maggio 1965.

Se questa memoria "mobile" di Lepanto è partita, altre più "fisse" sono rimaste a Roma.

In primis il grande monumento tombale di Pio V in S. Maria Maggiore ed un ritratto del papa in affresco che si trova nel chiostro del convento dei domenicani sopra Minerva.

Il soffitto della chiesa dell'Aracoeli fu decorato con l'oro trovato sulla "sultana" di Muezzinzade Ali.

Il pontefice volle che M.A. Colonna facesse un ingresso trionfale in città e ciò accadde il 4 dicembre.

Nel palazzo Colonna a Roma il soffitto della grande sala fu affrescato con l'allegoria

50 La corazza indossata dal Venier a Lepanto è conservata al Museo dell'esercito di Vienna.

della battaglia e nel palazzo di Paliano è riportato il grande affresco che riproduce il corteo del trionfo⁵¹.

In Campidoglio furono poste le statue di Alessandro Farnese e M.A. Colonna⁵².

La tomba di Onorato Caetani è stata trasferita dalla chiesa di Sermoneta alla chiesa di S. Prudenziانا, in via Urbana, dove una grande lapide ricorda il capitano delle milizie pontificie, insignito della decorazione dell'ordine del Toson d'oro.

Nella chiesa di S. Marcello al corso si trova la lapide tombale dei Frangipane, "milites ad Echinadas".

Nella chiesa di S. Gerolamo della carità si trova il busto del card. Odescalchi, presente a Messina e benedicente le galee in partenza, inviato da Pio V.

NAPOLI

Il viceregno di Napoli aveva dato navi, uomini e armi per l'impresa di Lepanto. Per l'occasione della consegna dello stendardo a D. Giovanni era stata coniata una medaglia.

A Napoli D. Giovanni si ferma, dopo il ritorno da Messina. La "Real", piuttosto malconcia viene donata alla chiesa di S. Pietro a Majella e successivamente venduta. Con il denaro ricavato "si provvide a ricoprire la chiesa con navate nuove e ad allargare alcune fabbriche del monastero"⁵³. Nella chiesa furono conservati anche trofei, elmi, armi, palle da cannone ed un quadro che rappresentava la battaglia. Queste cose "mobili" furono in parte asportate dai francesi nelle vicende politiche del 1799.

Appena tre mesi dopo l'arrivo, ai primi del 1572, per richiesta di D. Giovanni si iniziò la costruzione della chiesa di S. Maria della Vittoria Italiana inglobata negli edifici della piazza, nel rione di Chiaia.

Conserva un affresco in lunetta (Pio V è in ginocchio e D. Giovanni nella stessa posizione e sullo sfondo il mare di Lepanto). La chiesa fu restaurata nel 1628 dalla figlia di D. Giovanni.

Un'altra chiesa, più piccola, situata all'Anticaglia, ricorda Lepanto. Nel 1573, in aprile, nel quartiere degli Spagnoli il napoletano D. Michele di Lauro fondò una chiesa intitolata a S. Maria del Rosario, con un "breve" di papa Gregorio XIII.

Un crocifisso – di S. Severino – in legno di bosso è conservato a Napoli nella sesta cappella laterale sinistra nella chiesa dei SS Severino e Sossio, nei pressi dell'Università. Risulta riportato a Napoli da Vincenzo Carafa, presente alla battaglia e sepolto nella stessa chiesa.

GAETA

Nel duomo della città si conserva lo stendardo consegnato dal papa a M.A. Colonna al momento della partenza della campagna del 1570.

51 G.B. Borino, A. Galiati, G. Navone, "Il trionfo di Marc' Antonio Colonna", Roma, 1938.

D. Carro, "L'ultimo trionfo navale di Roma in onore di Marco Antonio Colonna", in Atti del Convegno di Napoli, 1997. Ufficio Storico della M.M., Roma, 1999

52 E. Rossi, "Le statue di Alessandro Farnese e Marc' Antonio Colonna in Campidoglio", in Archivio della Società Romana di Storia Patria, vol 51, 1928, pag. 15-32

53 G. Porcaro, "Ricordi storici a Napoli dopo la battaglia di Lepanto" in *Asprenas*, A. XIII, n.23, 1965, pag 176-185

La bandiera risulta tagliata e trasformata in quadro⁵⁴.

PISA

Nella chiesa dei Cavalieri di S. Stefano sono esposte bandiere, trofei, fanali e accessori.

FIRENZE

All'archivio mediceo è conservata una copiosa documentazione, utilizzata da N. Capponi per il suo volume.

Nella chiesa di S. Marco c'è la tomba di Tommaso Medici, sopracomito di una galea stefaniana.

GENOVA

La partecipazione di Genova nella flotta della Lega è piuttosto modesta (3 galee al comando di E. Spinola) in quanto la maggior parte delle unità è offerta da armatori privati (Grimaldi, Di Mare, Lomellini, ecc.), oltre a quelle del Doria, in "asiento" alla corona di Spagna.

La principale memoria di Lepanto si trova nel palazzo del principe Doria e consiste in una serie di sei arazzi. Su disegni di Lazzaro Calvi del 1581-82 e cartoni di Luca Cambiaso (lo stesso presente all'Escoriale) furono realizzati a Brussels e approntati nel 1591⁵⁵.

TORINO

La chiesa di S. Domenico conserva lo stendardo della Capitana di Savoia.

Nel palazzo reale è posta la statua di Andrea Provana di Leiny, opera di Silvestro Simonetta.

Anche in nazioni lontane dall'area mediterranea si sente la necessità di ricordare Lepanto.

Nella lontana *Inghilterra* – lontana non solo dal punto di vista geografico – a Greenwich, si trova una rappresentazione della battaglia di autore ignoto.

Un suo uomo di Lettere, certamente noto, G.K. Chesterton, ha messo in versi il poema di Lepanto⁵⁶.

In *Germania*, nella galleria nazionale della Baviera, a Monaco, si trova un ex-voto probabilmente di qualche soldato imbarcato sulle galee spagnole.

In *Polonia* la vittoria di Kothine del 1621 fu attribuita allo spirito di Lepanto e ricordata da un quadro del veneziano Dolabella a Cracovia.

In *Giappone* si trovano quadri rappresentanti la battaglia e la vittoria certamente ispirati dai missionari.

54 P. Fedele, "Il vessillo di Lepanto", in Archivio storico per le province napoletane, a. XXXIV, 1909, fasc. III

55 Vedasi L. Stagno. "Il palazzo del principe", Sagep, Genova, 2005. In particolare "Le tappezzerie della battaglia di Lepanto", pag. 93-100

56 G.K. Chesterton, "Lepanto", Ignatius, 2004. Con note esplicative di Brandon Rogers (The background), Melvin (Buzz) Kristel (The Battle) e William Cirifici (The Aftermath)

In *Croazia*, ma allora era terra veneziana, vi sono i ricordi delle galee dalmate ed una lapide che ricorda Lepanto era stata apposta nell'arcata della porta di terra di Zara.

CONCLUSIONE

Nel terminare la sua orazione funebre per i veneziani morti a Lepanto ⁵⁷ il Paruta scrive che “è oggi mai tempo ch'io termini di laudar con la lingua coloro, le cui laudi nella memoria degli uomini non avranno mai alcun termine se non insieme col mondo”.

Infatti, non c'era soltanto un Turco da combattere e, possibilmente sconfiggere, ma c'era un'Europa da salvare. Si può affermare senza esitazione che la sconfitta della flotta della Lega avrebbe comportato, finalmente, il possesso della “Mela rossa” da parte del Sultano. Il prologo di Otranto del 1480 era stato un avvertimento.

Di questo parere doveva essere anche il papa Giovanni Paolo II che, da buon polacco, conosceva il passato della sua terra. Nel discorso del 7 novembre 2003 avvertì gli ascoltatori:

Una società che dimentica il proprio passato è esposta al rischio di non riuscire a far fronte al proprio presente e, peggio ancora, di diventare vittima del proprio futuro.

A questo punto sarebbe necessario passare dalla storia del passato – ossia la minaccia e la paura del turco nel XVI secolo – alla attualità politica di questi tempi – ossia la minaccia di un particolare terrorismo nei confronti dell'Occidente, delle sue strutture rappresentative, anche nei paesi a maggioranza islamica, se non addirittura alle singole persone. Gli esempi ed i riferimenti non mancano: in Spagna, in Inghilterra, in Turchia, in Asia.

Ma il mio compito finisce qui.

57 Stampata a Venezia, appresso Bolognin Zaltiero, 1572

Warfare and civilians. Projections of warfare and piracy in maritime communities: 16th century Portugal

AMÉLIA MARIA POLÓNIA DA SILVA

GLOBAL CONTEXT OF PORTUGUESE OVERSEAS EXPANSION: CHALLENGES AND RESOURCES

To achieve the main aim of this paper, that is the discussion of the projections of warfare and piracy in maritime communities in 16th century Portugal, we have to stress some key ideas related to the organisation of military structures during the Early Modern Age, in relation to war on land and naval war, and formal and informal military activities.

It is a fact that the process of overseas expansion, running parallel to the construction of a colonial empire, introduced significant challenges and changes in the military domain.

The maintenance of a policy of *mare clausum* implied effective control of the seas, which required sea patrols and permanent naval resources (ships and seamen), as well as the improvement of tactical and technical resources.

The appropriation of new territories and geo-economic networks in Africa, the East, Far East and Brazil would be impossible without military campaigns on varying scales, and of differing natures. Terrestrial war on land and naval war, in India and North Africa, in addition to sea patrols, mostly in the Indian Ocean, became the inescapable tools of control.

It is essential to understand that, within this global contexts, the Portuguese crown did not have a formal army or a naval fleet that could be organized in reasonable time and led into battle, in order to achieve conquering or defensive strategies. The first attempt to form a regular army, after the break up of the medieval structure based on the so-called “*besteiros do conto*” (municipal militias), is tied to the constitution of the “*Companhias de Ordenanças*”¹. These first attempts date back to the reign of Manuel I (1495-1521), and were then reinforced in the reign of John III (1521-1557). However, resistance from the nobility, together with the financial strain of supporting a regular army, prevented its institutionalisation until 1570, during the reign of Sebastian (1568-1578), when the first regiment of these military units is recorded. Nonetheless, the *Ordenanças* were still citizens and not a professionalised military body. This means that we cannot establish a clear distinction between the military and civilians. The former, professionalised, were in fact mercenaries, mostly from abroad.

With respect to the naval forces, the situation was even more difficult for the Portuguese crown. In fact there was no royal fleet or even any naval fleet able to respond to the needs of a central government. Moreover, there was no real distinction between merchant and naval

1 Amaral, Manuel Everard do, pref. – *As Ordenanças e as Milícias portuguesas de 1570 a 1834* in Borrego, Nuno Gonçalo pereira – *As Ordenanças e as Milícias em Portugal. Subsídios para o seu estudo*. Volume I, Lisboa, Guarda-Mor/ Comissão Portuguesa de História Militar, 2006, pp. 57-60 and Rodrigues, Vítor Luís Gaspar, “As companhias de ordenanças em Marrocos nos reinados de D. Manuel e D. João III”, in D. João III e o Império. Proceedings of the Congresso Internacional comemorativo do seu nascimento, Lisboa, Cham, Cepcep, 2004, pp. 185-196.

fleets. Various facts and figures illustrate this². This duality is also confirmed by the Ceuta campaign, in 1415: the naval fleet that helped transport the troops that took the fortress was made up of merchant ships, forced to join the enterprise. The same pattern can be seen in several other Portuguese campaigns in North Africa, in particular Kzar-al-Kibir, in 1578.

This reliance on individual contributions from seamen, fleets or military resources, is a structural characteristic we need to understand in order to discuss the main topic of this paper.

In fact, the Portuguese crown did not have a real naval fleet, official army or state shipyards able to respond to the increasing shipbuilding needs. Ribeira das Naus, the main state shipyard, was founded in Lisbon by Manuel I at the beginning of the 16th century, in order to provide carracks for the Cape Route, which private agents could not build in the time required. But even in the late 16th century it was unable to respond to the trade and defence needs of the crown. Private shipyards, mostly in NW Portugal, were involved in all kinds of shipbuilding at the request of the crown, principally concerned with the Cape Route. The Portuguese naval fleet itself was largely owned by private investors³.

Monographs on Portuguese seaports have shown that not only shipbuilding, but overall naval logistics of the Portuguese overseas expansion was secured by individuals who responded to the logistical needs of the crown, while they were favourable to them. Even technical knowledge was handed down through endogamic and familial transmission, with children going on board ship with their parents, and through apprenticeship contracts like those used in the traditional crafts⁴.

In fact, the first attempt to establish a marine body was made in 1676, and stipulates the constitution of a corps of 300 seafarers in regular service, earning a fixed wage and having clearly specified rights and obligations⁵.

It is therefore agreed, based on the facts, that there was no royal navy, nor was there a body of seafarers trained exclusively for military purposes, if we exclude the bombardiers (the only military members with specific military skills and formal training, with the first regulation establishing it dating from 1626)⁶. The entire crew was also the military garrison. That is why the Portuguese crown determined in a 1571 rule that the size of the crew

2 See, for instance, the 1380 Lei que instituiu a Companhia das Naus. in *Os descobrimentos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, dir. J.M. da Silva Marques, Lisboa, INIC, 1988, tomo I, p. 171-173 or the 1317 contract between the king Dinis and Manuel Pessanha, a Genoese, nominated almiral of the Portuguese navy in *Os descobrimentos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, dir. J.M. da Silva Marques, Lisboa, INIC, 1988, tomo I, p. 29.

3 Cf. Polónia, Amélia - *Expansão e Descobrimientos numa perspectiva local. O porto de Vila do Conde no século XVI*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 2007, vol. 1 and 2; Barros, Amândio - *Porto. A construção de um espaço marítimo no século XVI*, Porto, 2004, vol. 1.

4 Polónia, Amélia - *Self organising networks in the construction of the Portuguese overseas empire*. IMEHA2008 - 5th International Congress of Maritime History (International Maritime Economic Association) (Greenwich, 23-27 Junho 2008).

5 *Alvará e Regimento de criação do troço de trezentos marinheiros pagos* in "Os regimentos sobre a matrícula dos oficiais da navegação, da ribeira e bombardeiros de 1591 e 1626", publ. COSTA, Leonor Freire in. "Revista de História Económica", 25, Jan-April 1989, p. 122-125.
Traslado do Regimento sobre os officiaes da Nauegação..., publ. "loc. cit.", p. 103

6 *Traslado do Regimento sobre os officiaes da Nauegação...*, in "loc.cit.", p. 119-120.

would be based on the tonnage of the ship⁷. At the same time, it made it compulsory to include artillery on board, paid for by the ship-owners, and the constitution of informal armadas, put together while awaiting authorisation for departure, led by one ship, which would be the leader⁸. All those mechanisms, introduced in a context of war and naval crisis, again serve to prove the inability of the crown to provide official protection to merchant fleets with a royal navy.

And we should not forget that when the Dutch attacked Brazil and took Pernambuco, in 1630, the state was unable to arm a fleet and assemble an army and had to levy several charges on municipalities in order to provide for the constitution of a defence fleet. This initiative in fact triggered several rebellions⁹. In the end, as is well known, it was not a Portuguese army, provided by Portuguese state, that drove the Dutch out of Brazil, but a colonial army, constituted by three military garrisons: military forces: one formed by Portuguese settlers, the other by slaves and the third by Indians, in which even the participation of female squadrons is mentioned¹⁰. This episode shows how the Portuguese state was powerless to defend and safeguard a colonial territory central to the Portuguese overseas empire in the 17th century, and how self-organising initiatives and the contribution of individuals, mostly civilians, frequently had to make up for a non-existent army, navy or royal fleet.

PROJECTIONS OF WARFARE AND PIRACY IN MARITIME COMMUNITIES: 16TH CENTURY PORTUGAL

Based on the above discussion, two essential assumptions can be made.

First, in the context of 16th and 17th century Portuguese expansion, there is no effective distinction between the military and civilians: it was frequently as civilians that peasants and craftsmen participated in terrestrial warfare, while sailors, mostly seafarers, participated in war at sea, according to offensive or defensive needs. This kind of involvement was often compulsory, imposed by royal decree, but it could also be spontaneous as a reaction to circumstances arising from military confrontations. In either case, it allows us to understand the widespread impact of war on civilians.

Second, the increase in military threats from piracy, privateers or naval war, as well as those resulting from attacks on coastal areas, mainly in the second half of the 16th century, had a major impact on coastal maritime communities.

It is this impact on family life, society, the economy and mentalities that we will try to address, focusing on the case study of Vila do Conde, a northwestern maritime town dominated by a large seafaring community. The empirical evidence we will present is supported by the analysis of a large documental corpus that includes central archive documents, notarised deeds, town council minutes, legal proceedings and records from a local charitable foundation, the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia*, covering the period from 1500 to 1640.

7 The document stipulates two men for each 10 tons (*toneladas de arqueação*).

8 Certas providências régias respeitantes à guarda da costa do reino e do comércio ultramarino no século de Quinhentos. "Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto", vol. 30, 1967, pp. 335-360.

9 Cf. Oliveira, António de – Movimentos sociais do Portugal Moderno

10 Cf. Polónia, Amélia - *Mulheres que partem e mulheres que ficam – O protagonismo feminino na expansão ultramarina*. "O Estudo da História", n°4, Lisboa, A. P. H., 2001, pp. 79-98

This section is divided into 4 topics:

1. Participation of civilians on surveillance and defence systems;
2. Recruitment system for seamen and its impact on maritime communities;
3. Naval war and coastal attacks and their impact on seafaring communities
4. Local impact of war on the family, the demographic structure, the collective behaviour and the mentalities.

PARTICIPATION OF CIVILIANS IN WARNING AND DEFENCE SYSTEMS

Reports of the municipality paying couriers to travel to Guimarães (a military coordination hub) with requests for urgent assistance to help respond to imminent attacks on the town studied¹¹ abound, suggesting years of repeated threats or actual maritime attacks on the town. Regarding specific interventions in the field of maritime defence, we find strategies that are common to the whole kingdom: implementation of a coastal surveillance system and the construction of structures for defending the harbour entrance.

The coastal surveillance system was based on two basic mechanisms: setting up lookouts and beacons in strategic points¹² and keeping surveillance vessels at sea¹³, all of which were secured by civilians. A beacon was a large wooden pole with a cauldron at the top which can be lit to signal the presence of enemies. Signalling took the form of a light signal at night and a smoke signal during the day¹⁴. These steps were clearly encouraged and the mechanisms through which they worked were constantly perfected, during the 1590s: a clear response to the increase in pillaging and piracy. They also included a warning system, involving civilians that went along the coast, carrying information about the identification of suspicious ships or fleets¹⁵.

Other defence activities, as the surveillance of the coast or the assembling of crews for the armadas of defence required the specific recruitment of seamen. To this end, central census of seamen, as established in the rules of 1591 and 1626¹⁶, along with local census, were undertaken, carried out by royal officials¹⁷.

11 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 845, fl. 26.

12 The lookout posts were placed in Porto, in Foz, on the site of N^o Sr^a da Luz; on the Matosinhos beach, in Corpo Santo (Leça da Palmeira); in Lavra, Angeiras, Labruge, Vila Chã, Mindelo, Azurara and Vila do Conde; there were two others on the south bank of the Douro, in the municipality of Gaia. Cf. SILVA, Francisco Ribeiro da - *O corso inglês e as populações do litoral lusitano (1580-1640)* . “Actas do Colóquio “Santos Graça” de Etnografia Marítima”, Póvoa do Varzim, 1985, Vol. III, pp. 315-316

13 The same set-up is described for Porto by Francisco Ribeiro in - *Pirataria e corso sobre o Porto. Aspectos seiscientistas*. “Revista de História”, Porto, 1979, Vol. II, pp. , 310-311.

14 cf. Bluteau, Rafael - *Vocabulário português e latino...*, Coimbra, Colegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1713, vol. 4, p. 9.

15 Cf. A.H.M.P. - Lv. 32, fl. 211-212. For Vila do Conde, vd., on this, royal letters of 6 March and 6 April 1591 and of 8 April 1604 (A.M.V.C. - A/148/ 149/ 167), in addition to the many council records related to these matters. Attention is drawn to those of 20. April. 1571; 14. July. 1575; 23. June. 1578; 14. June. 1594; 10. April. 1595; 11. June. 1596; 29. April. 1617 and 8. July. 1620 (A.M.V.C. - Lv. 21, fl. 25, fl. 264-265v., 502v.; Lv. 23, fl. 512v.; Lv. 24, fl. 20-22, fl. 96; Lv. 26, fl. 229, fl. 372).

16 Publ. in “Os regimentos sobre a matrícula dos oficiais da navegação, da Ribeira e bombardeiros de 1591 e 1626”, publ. Leonor Freire Cost. . “Revista de História Económica”, 25, Jan-April 1989, pp. 99-125

17 Vd., among those known, those of A.M.V. Castelo and Arquivo da Sé de Viana do Castelo, Pasta 9, n^o 145,

RECRUITMENT SYSTEM OF SEAMEN AND ITS IMPACT ON MARITIME COMMUNITIES

In addition, the crown had mechanisms to force compliance with its requirements, through the compulsory recruitment of men or ships¹⁸. Avoidance mechanisms were often implemented, however, which prevented the achievement of the proposed targets, mostly in times of crisis. For instance: in 1557 a royal decision made it compulsory to have artillery on board; in 1571, new regulations make it clear that shipmasters and captains used to leave Lisbon with artillery on board, as required, but would leave it in Cascais, a few miles away, to lighten the load and avoid the inconvenience of having cannons on the ship and the resulting reduction in cargo capacity¹⁹.

The increase of royal orders forcing seamen into the navy applied throughout the Portuguese coast, and the drastic exacerbation of the penalties imposed on those who evaded recruitment or attempted to desert, including the imprisonment of their families, also speak volumes about the frequency of desertions²⁰.

Records of “*apenamentos*”, that is, the press-ganging of seamen, can be found in many municipal documents for Vila do Conde, at least from 1538 onwards. But they became more common in the 1580s and the first decades of the 17th century. This is clear from the catalogue of those we were able to identify, which refer not only to Vila do Conde, but to the whole surrounding area along the coast²¹. To this we must add references to the recruitment not just of individuals, but of ships that should be included in the defence or supply fleets²².

The catalogue of these reports, its chronological development and the increasingly repressive and threatening tone illustrate how the policies of forced recruitment of men and ships harmed and oppressed the civilian population.

NAVAL WAR AND COASTAL ATTACKS AND THEIR IMPACT ON SEAFARING COMMUNITIES

Shipwrecks, pillaging and piracy are, together, part of a collective memory and illustrate episodes of one of the most evocative chapters in the history of Portuguese overseas expeditions. The dramatic nature of certain experiences is undeniable, both on a personal level, involving death, physical injuries and captivity, and on an economic level, involving the loss

already studied by Moreira, Manuel António Fernandes - *Os mareantes de Viana e a construção da atlantidade*, Viana do Castelo, Câmara Municipal, 1995 and those published by SILVA, Francisco Ribeiro da - *O curso inglês e as populações do litoral lusitano* (1580-1640). “Actas do Colóquio “Santos Graça” de Etnografia Marítima”, Póvoa de Varzim, 1985, Vol. III, pp. 333-334 e MAURO, Frédéric - Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico (1570-1670), Lisboa, Ed. Estampa, 1989, vol. I, p. 107.

18 These are termed, in the documents, “*apenamentos*”.

19 *Certas providências régias respeitantes à guarda da costa do reino e do comércio ultramarino no século de Quinhentos*. “Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal do Porto”, vol. 30, 1967, pp. 335-360.

20 Cf. Polónia, Amélia - *Expansão e Descobrimentos numa perspetiva local. O porto de Vila do Conde no século XVI*, Lisboa, IN-CM, 2007, vol. 1, pp. ----

21 A.M.V.C. - A/31; A/ 70; A/95; A/106; A/176; Lv. 23, fl. 113v.-114; Lv. 25, fl. 302v.-303; Lv. 122, fl. 198-199, fl. 229-230, fl. 438v.-439; Lv. 123, fl. 57v.-58, fl. 200-200v.; Lv. 124, fl. 152.

22 See the letters of 19.07 and 03.08.1571, about the incorporation of vessels from Vila do Conde into fleets, respectively to defend against an armada from La Rochelle, and another, called in the letter “Luterana” [Lutheran] (A.M.V.C. - A-89 and 91) and the records of A.D.P. - Fundo Notarial. V. Conde, 1^o cart^o, 1^a sr., lv. 8, fl. 107v.-108v.; 108v.-110; 110-111.

of ships and merchandise²³. Privateer attacks on the Portuguese coast and Portuguese ships by the Moors of Northern Africa, are a constant feature of Portuguese maritime history since the time of the Christian *Reconquista*. Moreover, there is evidence suggesting that similar practices were promoted by Christian agents and ships, in particular the Infants D. Henrique and D. Pedro, who had their own privateer armadas²⁴.

For the present analysis, it is important to distinguish between privateering and piracy. Piracy, practised by stateless agents involving hordes of private bandits, implies a strong degree of unpredictability. The commercial vitality of certain routes and the promise of a valuable cargo, seemed to be the only factors that determine the number of attacks and the danger embodied by pirates. Privateering is, on the contrary, influenced by specific political-military contexts, which define the victims and incidence of attacks. Although privateering and piracy are apparently driven by the same motivation, plundering, and even if they are similar in substance, they are differently organised and, therefore, have different margins of success and psychological and material impacts. Thus, privateers, organised by political, armed by states with great military and naval power, disciplined by a legally structure and hierarchy, have legal, institutional and material means of action with a potentially much greater impact on their victims.

However, this framework includes the possibility of using negotiations and legal processes to seek compensation for looting once diplomatic and political relations between the belligerent powers has been re-established.

One of the most elucidating collection of documents for analysing this issue is the one containing the requests for compensation presented at the court of Bayonne, following the negotiation of the Treaty of Lyon in 1536, which put an end to the maritime conflicts between Portugal and France. The analysis of this documentary corpus, which refers to attacks carried out between 1518 and 1538, leads to the cataloguing of vessels captured or looted by French privateers, including 47 from Vila do Conde – the village under study²⁵. The map shows the distribution of these occurrences by port of origin of the ships and indicates the global impact of these activities.

Although the lack of consistent documentation to study the loss and damage resulting from attacks by French, English and Dutch privateers in the second half of the century, we can prove that those occurrences are greater in number and in damages. This gives us some idea of the impact of this type of informal warfare on the naval contingents and on ship-owners and crews, all civilian population.

Internal projections of this phenomenon in Vila do Conde proves that the majority of victims affected are seafaring people. Masters, landlords, pilots and sailors represent 87% of the civilians victimised, against only 13% of merchants, who amount, nonetheless to about

23 Vd., among others, Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães – *As incidências da pirataria no sistema português do século XVI* in “Mito e mercadoria, utopia e prática de navegar”, Lisboa, Difel, 1990, pp. 459-476 and Ferreira, Ana Maria - *Problemas marítimos entre Portugal e a França na primeira metade do século XVI*, Redondo, *Patrimonia Historica*, 1995.

24 Vd. documents from 1433 and 1434 publ. respectively in *Os descobrimentos Portugueses. Documentos para a sua História*, publ. J.M. da Silva Marques, Lisboa, INIC, 1988, tomo I, p. 274 and *Documentos das Chancelarias relativos a Marrocos*, dir. Pedro de Azevedo, Lisboa, Academia das Ciencias de Lisboa, [1934], t. II, doc. CLI, p. 160-161.

25 Vd. Ferreira, Ana Maria – *op. cit.*

30% when considered the national sample²⁶.

Having identified the victims and using on the same data, let us now turn to the methods of attack and their consequences, based on the study developed by Ana Maria Ferreira. In the case of ships, attacks generally involve plundering and diverting them to French ports or sinking them which, inevitably, leads to the drowning of their crew and passengers. Ships seem to be captured when they are new and therefore can profitably be used or sold, and especially when it would be hard to transfer the cargo. This is the case with salt, iron and, as far as we know, Brazilwood. Nevertheless, the plundering and sinking ships were noted by Ana Maria Ferreira in about 20% of the attacks recorded. In terms of individual victims and corporal punishment, there seem to be many cases of beatings, an inevitable consequence of the violence involved in any act of pillaging and seizing of ships, as well as, though to a much lesser degree, sexual violence, serious injury and death²⁷. To these acts of aggression we should also add the capturing of individuals and their imprisonment for variable lengths of time. Injuries and deaths have also been recorded. We will cite the case of Francisco Gomes, master of a ship from Vila do Conde who, in 1528, was killed following an attack by Breton privateers off the coast of Galicia, between Baiona and Finisterre. His ship, which was loaded with sugar, was also taken²⁸.

In 1538 the same fate befell the crew of a ship that was taken and destroyed, as recounted in a letter from Fernão Rodrigues Pereira to the King, referring to various ships that had arrived at the port of La Rochelle with no crew onboard, since the crew had been thrown into the sea. Among them was a ship from the town we are analysing²⁹.

Lastly, let us cite the saga of João Afonso da Cortesa, master and proprietor of the ship St^e Espírito which, having been attacked off the Portuguese coast next to Cape St Vincent, as it carried sugar from Madeira to Flanders, was not only plundered but also captured. As the ship's master himself declared, in a statement recorded on 12th July 1538, though referring to an event that had happened 10 years before "...*apart from the looting when his ship was taken from him, Joam Afonso, he was also subject to many offences and injuries and received many wounds and they took him and held him captive in Crasuyque for six months in some house...*"³⁰.

Although the seriousness of the reports and the level of damage involved should not be dismissed, we did not find, for the period under analysis, objective indicators suggesting that such losses had a decisive impact on the naval role of the town and of its seafaring community up to a point able to compromised its capacity to react to the dynamics of overseas expeditions.

However, other privateers and pirates had been haunting Portuguese overseas expeditions since the 70s and 80s, involving not only, or even predominantly, the French, but also the

26 Information relating to the kingdom as a whole have been collated from Idem - *ibidem*, pp. 298-303.

27 Ferreira, Ana Maria - op. cit., pp. 291-293.

28 Let's look at a description of this event by João da Silva, a merchant from Guimarães: "And in this attack the French killed Francisco Gomez, master of the said ship, and injured two sailors and did not torture anyone else because as soon as they took control of the ship, they put everyone in a small boat in which they travelled to shore and the French took the said ship with the sugars and goods it was loaded with..." [Cit. Pimenta, Alfredo - *Livro dos Roubos que os franceses e vasalos del Rei de frança fizeram aos Moradores desta vila de Guimarães e seu termo*, Guimarães, Arquivo Municipal, 1940, p. 8.

29 IAN/TT - C.C., I Parte, mç. 60, doc. 145.

30 Idem, mç. 62, doc. 30.

English and Dutch. They seem to have left deep and indelible marks on the naval vitality of the port of Vila do Conde. Since there are no reliable indicators that allow us to measure this projection, we shall use the complaints of the municipal authority. In 1589, the town council officials declared that the town could not provide more than 12 men in the recruitment of seamen requested by the king "...and this because the town has been shattered by seafaring and many men have left the town for Lisbon..."³¹. A letter dated November 1625 from Philip III reproduces information from the religious order of Santíssimo Sacramento de Vila do Conde, according to which many of their shortages were the result "...of the harm and poverty that befell the residents of this town, due to the many ships and people that the enemies and pirates have taken from it..."³².

To corroborate these statements let us, lastly, focus on the expenses recorded in the books of the Misericórdia of the town which were used to help local inhabitants and foreigners who arrived there, plundered and wounded, following attacks from privateers between 1585 and 1602³³. The figures and trends recorded bear out the widely known incidence of this activity in the seafaring universe. Beside the English, also the powerful Dutch armadas systematically targeted the Portuguese and Spanish fleets after 1566, the year in which the Protestants rebelled against Spanish rule, and even more so after 1576, when Antwerp was plundered by Spanish soldiers³⁴.

Records from 1638 shed some light on the other side of this issue, which is generally under evaluated: the setting in motion of means of returning spoiled seafarers to the kingdom. A case in point is one of a woman who sells her possessions to pay for the debts incurred to send her husband the resources necessary to return to the kingdom, after he had been taken by the enemy³⁵.

There are other procedures less random. We are referring to the mechanisms for rescuing or freeing captives, known in Portugal since medieval times. As is well known, the practice of ransoming prisoners was common between Christian and Muslim armies during the Crusades and Christian *Reconquista* and this practice was kept up and encouraged throughout the modern period. The sums gathered to ransom captured individuals relied on public collections, as well as actual town council revenues. These sums were, in fact, one of the main forms of revenue mobilised in an institutional manner to provide support for the victims of this type of informal war.

In addition to this framework, who point out to attacks on the sea, other events emerge from this study, as a result of attacks on coastal regions that affect the whole populations of these maritime communities. Some Portuguese historians have already researched these events, though not systematically³⁶. In-depth research of this matter is required, which involves developing focused local studies. A cartographic representation of reports of attacks

31 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 23, fl. 114.

32 Cf. A.M.V.C. - A/188.

33 A.S.C.M.V.C. - Lv. Rec./Desp. - Anos 1585; 1592/93; 1599/1600; 1600/1601.

34 Vd.Guerreiro, Luís R. – *op. cit.*.

35 Idem, 4ª sr., lv. 2, fl. 17.

36 Godinho, Vitorino Magalhães – *op. cit.*, pp. 459-476 and Silva, Francisco Ribeiro from - *O corso inglês e as populações do litoral lusitano (1580-1640) ... e Pirataria e corso sobre o Porto ... (op.cit)*

on the coast during, based on data collected by Ribeiro da Silva³⁷, sheds light on the incidence of this type of attack during the period under analysis.

A general picture of the frequency of these threats on the port of Vila do Conde up until the 1620s is given by references in council documents dating back to 1534. We come across a single mention for the decades of the 1530s, 40s, 50s and 60s; six mentions for the 70s; three mentions for the 80s; four for the 90s; two in the first and second decades of the 17th century and five in the 1620s. If we cross-references related to the nationality of the pirates and privateers, we find that the French dominated up until the 1580s; the English, mentioned only once in the 1560s and 1570s, dominate the references for the 1580s and 1590s, disappearing after this; the Flemish are mentioned for the first time in records in 1604 and are still there in the 1620s; and the so-called “Turks” undoubtedly dominate from 1610 to the 1620s.

The case study shows, in the first place, that one consequence of these attacks is the instillation of fear related to the risk of invasion of the urban area. The fear of looting is exacerbated by a fear of capture or rape and death. A letter from the Duke of Bragança to the town, following an attack suffered in 1569, mentions that “... the ... fear [and] chaos was such that the women departed, what shouldn't happen not even if take place if the French actually disembarked”³⁸. This extract clearly demonstrates the climate of insecurity at the time and the panic felt, which also encouraged the population to move inland.

This fear would grow with reports of invasions in areas close to the town we are analysing, such as those in the Mondego estuary (Figueira da Foz) or in Buarcos, in 1602³⁹. This fear can also be understood in light of the size of the privateer armadas. The reports collected mention both single ships and groups of around ten or eleven⁴⁰ ships, which demonstrate the organised nature of these incursions, particularly those of British origin. But they also present an exaggerated count of one hundred⁴¹. Although we cannot ignore the possibility that potential victims exaggerate these numbers, to try and ensure more and speedier assistance, we cannot underestimate the impact on local populations, as documented in the reports of the seizure of Baiona and Vigo, in 1585, Coruña and Vigo again in 1589, Faro, Cadiz and Baiona in 1596, as well as the already mentioned invasion of Buarcos in 1602⁴². This fear was even greater in the case of the so-called “Turks”, who inspired particular terror due to their propensity for land invasions, with the inevitable taking of hostages, which would earn hefty sums through the prisoner ransom process⁴³.

The impact on the daily life of coastal populations was considerable, even affecting the

37 Nogueira, Miguel - *Pirataria sobre a costa portuguesa e suas repercussões no povoamento e defesa do litoral : (séc. XVI-XVII)*. Porto : Faculdade de Letras da Universidade do Porto, 2005. Cota:04-N713p

38 A.M.V.C. - A/71.

39 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 845, fl. 27v.

40 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 26, fl. 228-229. Record dated 1617 relating to a force, supposedly of Turks, that was in front of the town.

41 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 1708, fl. 28. This number relates to 1587, conveyed by one of coastal lookouts, is, we believe, greatly exaggerated. Note that the force that took Vigo em 1585, and sacked it for 3 weeks, only had around 30 ships (CF. Silva, Francisco Ribeiro in - *O corso inglês...*, p. 313).

42 For more on this, vd, among others, Silva - Francisco Ribeiro- *O Corso inglês ...*, pp. 313 - 314; 318; 324-325.

43 For more on this, vd. idem- *ibidem*, p. 312.

normal running of institutions. The oldest documentary reference to presumed attacks by privateers on Vila do Conde was collected in documents related to the Santa Clara Monastery and dates back to the period before 1519. It is a general letter confirming all the rights and powers bestowed by King Manuel “... *since the deeds and privileges from that monastery to the present one are not found because they were hidden at the time the house was taken...*”⁴⁴. In fact, both people and institutions seem to shape their lives around these imminent dangers. As an example, take the particular care of those responsible for the mother church, which had a special box for storing the most valuable objects of worship, removing these from the church at times of invasion and subsequent looting⁴⁵.

These references are random and do not suggest any structural implications for the life of the community. There are others, however, that can be analysed if we turn our focus to issues such as demographic structure, family structure or collective psychology. Premature deaths, captures and captivity and the mass exodus of the male population have profound implications for the structure and daily life of these maritime communities. Experiences of this kind, related to unofficial, but endemic, war are, in the long run, carried over into the heart of the families and communities. This is a result of the fact that this “war” is not waged by troops, forces on battlefields, but by civilians in their everyday lives.

LOCAL IMPACT OF WAR ON FAMILY, DEMOGRAPHIC STRUCTURE, COLLECTIVE BEHAVIOUR AND MENTALITIES

Overseas expeditions, trade and emigration showed the same trend: an exodus of males, whether temporary or permanent, for various periods of time. The male/female ratio in Vila do Conde reveals a clear discrepancy from what might have been expected. Values extracted from baptism records⁴⁶ were close to the historical norm⁴⁷, but death records⁴⁸, on the other hand, showed an adult male rate which was far lower than expected⁴⁹. As a consequence, there was an increase in the proportion of females in the demographic structure. At death, the male values are so obviously low that the only explanation is the exodus of males. It is therefore clear that family units could not remain intact. Indeed, low fertility rates, caused by large inter-generational gaps; marriages without children; a considerable number of unmarried women; and a high rate of early widowhood were also outcomes of these circumstances.

SOURCE: AMÉLIA POLÓNIA

One of the main consequences was the emergence of single-parent families, where women were the heads of households. As a result, women were increasingly responsible for maintaining family order, particularly among families of seamen and merchants, the groups that represented the most significant proportion of the active male population in the town.

44 IAN/TT - Leitura Nova. Além Douro, lv. 5, fl. 66. Carta de Évora-20. September. 1519.

45 A.M.V.C. - Lv. 1599, fl. 13v.

46 ADP, Fundo Paroquial, V. Conde, Baptismos, lv. 1 e 2; and Óbitos, lv. 1.

47 Male rate average for the period 1535 – 160 = 101,1.

48 ADP, Fundo Paroquial, V. Conde, Óbitos, lv. 1

49 Male rate average for the period 1591-1640 = 64,1.

Furthermore, the male absences or death abroad were keenly felt by the women who stayed behind. Indeed, several women often had husbands, fathers, brothers or even male children from the same family away at the same time, at war, in commerce or overseas voyages.

The absence of males also created a growing demand for women to play a key role in social and economic life, giving women (single or married) and widows a better chance of achieving self-sufficiency⁵⁰.

Last, but not least, we have to remark that the male absences, the risks heightened by war, privateers and piracy and, above all, the uncertainty, the anxiety of watching people leave, without knowing what their fate would be. Hence the efforts to discover the fate of those individuals, as exemplified by the many powers of attorney issued by wives, to find out whether their husbands were alive or dead; hence the deaths proclaimed in places believed to be the birthplace of the deceased; and finally, hence the deaths declared by the civil and religious authorities, in the absence of any proof of death, in order to divide up the property left by inheritance or to remarry, for example⁵¹.

The same uncertainty and lack of news can be projected in the collective mentalities, in the resort to magical arts, especially divination. In the realm of religious practices we also find evidence of such phenomena, with the promotion of specific devotional rituals, in particular those associated with the worship of the Virgin Mary, with which women sought to protect the men (husbands, brothers, fathers and sons) who faced the great dangers presented by venturing across the seas and by the armed conflicts, or the inevitable result of pillaging and piracy.

To conclude: evidence of the generalised and deep impact, on maritime communities, of the experience of contexts of war, both formal and informal, abounds, confirming the extent of the impact of warfare on civilians, particularly in the context of the overseas expansion. The absence of an organised army and navy was exacerbated by the lack of any clear distinction between the civilians and militaries. The very defence and protection of people and goods, maritime routes and overseas empire itself relied on organised networks of individuals, who took part on it by their own volition, or against their will, coerced by a State that lacked the necessary protection and surveillance structures and a military system to support such challenges and logistic needs imposed by the constitution of an overseas empire, in competition with other, more powerful, European states...

50 For further developments see Polónia, Amélia - *Women's contribution to family, economy and social range in maritime societies. Portugal. 16th. Century*. "Portuguese Studies Review", Vol. 13, No. 1, 2006, "Women in the Lusophone World in the Middle Ages and the Early Modern Period", Editors: Darlene Abreu-Ferreira (Guest Editor)(University of Winnipeg) and Ivana Elbl (Trent University), pp. 269-285.

51 Cf. Polónia, Amélia - *Expansão e descobrimentos numa perspectiva local...*, Vol. 2, pp. 451-480.

Life at the Border – the Military Frontier and its Population

CLAUDIA REICHL-HAM

In the 16th century large parts of Habsburg territory bordering on the Ottoman Empire were almost totally depopulated by Ottoman armies and their reconnaissance troops, the so-called *akinci*, villages and castles devastated. In many areas the social and infrastructure, which had previously developed, broke down completely; in others it still existed but underwent major changes over the decades. In large parts of Croatia for example former cultivated land turned into thick forest again.¹

The knowledge that a depopulated territory is difficult to defend and the interest in a functioning defence led to the construction of fortified strongholds on both sides of the border area, to the establishment of a military administration and the re-settling of an agrarian population in the course of various decades.

Already before the collapse of Hungary's medieval frontier defence system², the Hungarian kings as well as the Croatian estates, which were not able to take effective defence measures on their own, had turned to the Habsburgs for military support in order to jointly avert the Ottoman danger, which threatened the Austrian provinces as well. It was only in 1522 that Archduke Ferdinand of Austria summoned the estates for a special Reichstag meeting to get their support and that he concluded an agreement with King Louis II of Hungary on 22 December, according to which the fortified places at the South-western border of Hungary were to be occupied and defended by Austrian troops, especially the Lika and Krava regions.³ This treaty was in his very own interest "as Croatia's capability of defending itself also constituted a protection for Inner Austria and the setting foot on an adjacent Hungarian territory was welcome with regard to his possible hereditary title to the Hungarian crown".⁴ To prevent the Ottomans from setting foot on Habsburg territory, Ferdinand and the Inner-Austrian estates had about 2,000 German infantrymen deployed in Croatian towns and castles thus creating a border-defence belt in that region. At strategically important places

1 Hannes Grandits, *Krajina: Historische Dimensionen des Konflikts*, s. p., <http://www-gewi.kfunigraz.ac.at/csbsc/ostwest/7-2-95-Grandits.htm>. For a detailed information see Karl Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft an der kroatisch-slawonischen Militärgrenze (1535 – 1881) (= *Zur Kunde Südosteuropas*, vol. II/22, Vienna – Cologne – Weimar 1997), 29 – 53.

2 After the destruction of the medieval empires in the Balkans the advance of the Ottomans signified a serious threat for Hungary. Already in the 15th century the Hungarian kings were forced to introduce a defence zone for the endangered Frontier territories, as they were not able to defend areas difficult to reach due to their geographic conditions, e. g. in Southern Croatia and Slavonia. Jakob Amstadt, *Die k. k. Militärgrenze 1522–1881*, PhD thesis, 2 vols., Würzburg 1969, vol. 1, 1.

3 Peter Krajasich, *Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien* (= *Dissertationen der Universität Wien*, vol. 98, Vienna 1974), 6 [in the following quoted as Krajasich, *Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien*]; Ilse Schindler, *Aspekte zur Organisation der Militärgrenzverwaltung und deren Auswirkung auf Handel und Verkehr unter Joseph II. (1780-1790) mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Kantonsystems*, Dipl. Arb., Vienna 1992, 14f.

4 Martha Bayer, *Die Entwicklung der österreichischen Militärgrenze mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Karlstädter Generalates*, PhD thesis, Vienna 1935, 18.

so-called main strongholds were established.⁵ Thus, the foundation of the Austrian Military frontier, the so-called “*confin*”, was laid. The steadily growing pressure by the Ottomans resulted in a systematic enlargement of the frontier defence system, which was concentrated at the key fortresses of Croatia and Slavonia. Despite all armistice treaties between Austria and the Ottoman Empire, from 1529 to 1532 petty wars were carried out in the border regions, which forced Ferdinand to establish a permanent defence organization by having fortified villages, blockhouses and watch-towers built in the South-East, which were guarded by military colonists and mercenaries – recruited by Austria and sent into the border region under imperial command.⁶ But all this required high financial and personal resources. (Table 1) The human potential was recruited from among the Balkan population. The increasing deterioration of the living conditions in the Ottoman Empire as well as in the Danubian principalities Moldavia and Walachia resulted in the flight of the people who had lived there. Some fled to inaccessible areas within the empire to avoid interventions by state and local authorities; others crossed the borders into the neighbouring countries – Habsburg Hungary and Venice-Dalmatia. These refugees – who mostly came in small groups, but in case of major unrests or during the rollback also arrived in large numbers reaching up to tens of thousands – got known under the names “Walachians”, “Uskoks”, “Servians”, “Morlaks”, “Bunjevci”, “Pribeges”, “Martolos” or “Rascians”. Over the years, large numbers of Walachian families settled in the vicinity of the strongholds. The male refugees were recruited for active military duty from the very beginning. In return for their obligation to do military service, they were granted their own jurisdiction, internal administration and exemption from taxes.⁷

Although the Austrian military commanders assigned depopulated places at the frontier or abandoned property to them according to strategic points of view, problems soon arose with the Croatian-Slavonian landlords, who persistently tried to cling to their inherited land and to bring the Walachians under their control. Moreover, complaints were often put forward alleging that the Walachians acted on their own initiative, engaged in guerrilla warfare against the Ottomans on their own account, and raided Ottoman territory only to go looting, even in peacetime.

Around 600 Bosnian (Uskok) families, in total about 3,000 persons, were confronted with similar problems as they were given land in an abandoned area in the Sichelburg district (Uskok Mountains)⁸ as hereditary loan in return for unpaid military service. The Croatian magnates of this area welcomed them with massive protests and tried to expel them by force.

5 Geza Pálffy, The Origins and Development of the Border Defence System against the Ottoman Empire in Hungary (up to the Early Eighteenth Century), in Géza Dávid – Pál Fodor, eds., Ottomans, Hungarians and Habsburgs in Central Europe. The Military Confines in the Era of Ottoman Conquest (= Suraiya Faroqhi – Halil Inalcik, eds., The Ottoman Empire and its Heritage, Politics, Society, and Economy, vol. 20, Leiden – Boston – Cologne 2000), 15.

6 Peter Krajasich, Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der sozialen und wirtschaftlichen Verhältnisse in den Jahren 1754 bis 1807 (= Schriften des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums, vol. 6, Vienna 1973), 95 [in the following quoted as Krajasich, Militärgrenze 1973].

7 Amstadt, Die k. k. Militärgrenze, vol. 1, 19, 255 – 258. <http://www.kuk-wehrmacht.de/regiment/grenzer.html>.

8 Bayer, Die Entwicklung der österreichischen Militärgrenze, 30. For the fate of the Bosnian (Uskok) families see the chapter 2 of Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat: “Das Modell: Die Uskokten des Sichelburger Distrikts”, 67 – 98.

To put an end to the various disputes, King Ferdinand issued the first settler privilege – for the Uskoks living around Sichelburg – in 1535, in which the rights and duties of the frontier men were strictly regulated.⁹ It was followed by another privilege in 1538 for the Slavonian territory. In the 1540s two military settlement areas developed which were clearly separated from each other – the Croatian and the Slavonian Frontiers whose inhabitants became the so-called frontier men.¹⁰ Hans Ungnad, provincial governor of Styria, became the first supreme commander-in-the-field of the Habsburg troops in the Slavonian and Croatian Frontiers.

After Ottoman raids in 1575 the Inner-Austrian estates (Styria, Carinthia and Carniola) requested among other things that Archduke Charles of Inner Austria was to take over the border defence. In September 1577 Emperor Rudolph II finally entrusted his uncle Charles with the administration of the Croatian and Slavonian borders, and on 25 February 1578 he appointed him to the office of a Frontier administrator, which was confirmed by the establishment of the Inner-Austrian War Council in Graz. As a consequence, the Council took over the main administrative tasks of the Military Frontier.¹¹ And in 1580 two Frontier districts, each administered by a colonel, were established: the Croatian Frontier with its stronghold, the newly built fortress of Carlstadt, and the Slavonian Frontier with Varazdin. On the lowest administration level the main strongholds under the command of a captain developed into so-called “*Hauptmannschaften*” (captaincies).¹²

The controversy about the Military Frontier and the status of its population continued, however, and despite many reforms the Military Frontier administration proved inadequate. In order to improve the critical situation, the Austrian authorities gradually repelled the influence of the traditional civil-administration authorities, which considered the existence of a zone with a military administration on their territory as an intrusion into their rights. Therefore, a definite regulation by the emperor in his function as king of Hungary-Croatia-Slavonia became more and more urgent. Because of the many rebellions in Hungary and Transylvania the emperor was, however, not able to dispense with the Military Frontier system and above all with the Frontier troops, which had been mobilized to turn down the rebellions; and, moreover, because of the Thirty Years War he urgently needed the Frontier men to reinforce the imperial regiments.

9 The main point of this privilege was self-administration: The settlers were entitled to choose a *knez*, a chief, who carried out this function for one year and was responsible for low jurisdiction. They also chose a military leader, who served as *voivod* (captain) and was only subject to the Austrian military authorities. Furthermore, the settlers were given land as hereditary feuds and they were granted exemption from all duties and taxes for 20 years. Afterwards, they only had to pay a certain amount of rent to the sovereign. Therewith they were completely independent from every landlord and were only subject to the Austrian military commanders. Schindler, *Militärgrenzverwaltung*, 16.

10 Alphons Wrede, *Geschichte der K. u. K. Wehrmacht*, Vienna 1903, vol. V, 198f.

11 Schindler, *Militärgrenzverwaltung*, 17. The War Council in Graz is to be seen as an institution mainly dominated by the estates, as they had to pay for the maintenance of the equipment of the Frontier troops. In its directives of 11 March 1578 it laid down the following tasks: fortification of the territory, supervision and replenishment of the Frontier artillery as well as the ammunition and supply depots, and food and ammunition supply for the frontier men. *Ibid.*, 18, and Winfried Schulze, *Landesdefension und Staatsbildung. Studien zum Kriegswesen des innerösterreichischen Territorialstaates (1564 – 1619)* (= Veröffentlichungen der Kommission für Neuere Geschichte Österreichs, vol. 60, Vienna – Cologne – Graz 1973), 101, 103.

12 For more detailed information on the captaincies see Kaser, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, 55 – 59.

For this reason on 5 October 1630 Emperor Ferdinand II issued the *Statuta Valachorum*, a unification and summary of all previous privileges and already existing legal principles, which was to become the legal basis for the development of a free Frontier-men society and exactly redefined their rights and duties – they were guaranteed land, which was free from duties, taxes, and manorial jurisdiction in return for unpaid military service against the Ottomans and the participation in the building of fortresses. In the case of an enemy attack all male Walachians above 18 were obliged to show up at a certain place as soon as possible. In this way up to 6,000 or 7,000 Walachians could be mobilized (In 1620, at the beginning of the Thirty Years War, 5,000 Walachians were recruited, in 1632 3,000). If the frontier men had to serve abroad, they had to serve fourteen days without pay in the Ottoman territory, and eight days in other countries. Powder and lead were delivered by the generalcy. The remainder of the equipment had to be raised by the Walachians themselves.

These statutes were to be applied for the Varasdin Frontier at first, because it was the strategically most endangered part of the Slavonian Frontier, but soon they also became effective in the other parts of the Military Frontier. Thus the existence of the Military Frontier as well as the independence and self-administration of its population were guaranteed, and the future development was guided into a certain direction, namely the total militarization of the Frontier territory, which finally took place about a century later. The privileging of the new settlers in fact resulted in an expropriation of the landlords. And what is more, the Frontier territory was taken out of the hands of the Croatian administration and nobility and put under the direct control of the Austrian military authorities.¹³

The civil administration on the lower level was carried out by the Frontier men themselves. In large parts of the Frontier territory the smallest administrative unit was the *zadruga*, the patriarchal domestic community. Family members of several generations lived in a common household under a *gospodar* (patriarch), mostly the oldest among them. All other male adults assisted him as a family council. The female members of the family were subject to the *gospodarica* (housewife), who was responsible for the housekeeping. All members of the family were obliged to strict obedience to the *gospodar* and the *gospodarica*. The property, especially the real estate, was common good of the whole family. The Frontier men built their Frontier houses with the help of all family members on the soil they had received from the state. (Table 2) Mostly the number of people living therein was from seven up to about 14 persons, but in some houses around 70 persons were counted. In order that the prolonged absence or death of a man did not mean the ruin of his farmstead and his family, the military authorities were interested in keeping the Frontier households as big as possible and in further strengthening the already existing system of the *zadrugas* by legal measures. They did not shrink from approaching this aim by interfering with the lives of the Frontier families, as e. g. the prohibition of dividing households.¹⁴ (Table 3/walachisches Dorf)

The size of the allotted soil varied according to the rank of the individual soldier as well

13 Amstadt, Die k. k. Militärgrenze, vol. 1, 93; Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

14 Grandits, Krajina, s. p. For more information on the *zadruga* see also Karl Kaser, Die Entwicklung der Zadruga in der kroatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze, in Institut für Geschichte der Universität Graz, Abt. Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Zur Kunde Südost-Europas, vol II/4 (1985), 14 – 25, and id., Freier Bauer und Soldat, passim.

as the soil's fertility. The farmsteads of the Frontier families were almost entirely aimed at self-support. The type of agricultural production was anything but intensive compared with other territories of the monarchy, and in many Frontier areas people lived in abject poverty.

The basis of self-administration in civil affairs was the village, formed mostly by several *zadrugas*, with their *knez* as village chief and judge. In 1749 e. g. the Varazdin generalcy counted 344 villages, and in 1764 an average village consisted of 29 houses – some had much less houses, namely only five. Being the land of genuine farmers and soldiers, the *confin* did not have any urban settlements up to the middle of the 18th century, when trade was promoted by the so-called military communities, which became the most important centres of trade and administration in the Frontier territory.¹⁵ (Table 4)

After the defeat of the Ottomans in the second siege of Vienna in 1683 the re-conquest of the territories in Hungary and South-eastern Europe, which had been occupied by the Ottomans, began; the imperial troops advanced as far as Macedonia, Bulgaria and Walachia. The Ottomans appeared surprised by the dimensions of the mobilization in the Occident, as they had not expected that Pope Innocence XI would indeed be able to set up a genuine war coalition in the sign of the cross, as Bernd Rill and Ferenc Majoros stated so well in their book “*Das Osmanische Reich*”. But in 1684 Emperor Leopold, King John Sobieski of Poland, and Venice united in a “Holy League” against the Ottoman Empire. In 1686 Russia, an opponent who was to inflict heavy defeats on the Ottomans in the 18th and 19th centuries, joined the League.¹⁶

In the course of this war the Frontier men developed an enormous offensive power, which contributed to the success of the imperial arms on the theatres of war of the great field battles in Hungary as well as in the territory between the Drava River and the Adriatic Sea. They did not only participate in the campaigns of the imperial armies, but also invaded Ottoman territory in minor and major raids on their own account. Thus they helped to re-conquer most of the places lost to the Ottomans since 1521 and extended the Military Frontier southwards, which resulted in an enormous increase in land and people. It was not only the spirit of adventure and the prospect of rich booty that caused the frontier men to do this, but also the lack of available land, which had become scarce due to the continuous immigration of refugees from the Ottoman Empire. The growing problem of overpopulation in some regions was finally solved by colonizing the territories which had been re-conquered from the Ottomans recently. As soon as the places were purged of the enemy, the Frontier men who had engaged in action there had their families follow and settled in that region.¹⁷

The advance of the Habsburg army into Serbia in 1689 gave the Christian population living there the chance for a large-scale uprising, which might have put a sudden end to Ottoman rule in South-eastern Europe. Imperial negotiators secured the support of the Orthodox patriarch Arsen rnovi of Ipek, and together with the local clergy they managed to win over many Balkan Christians. But as a counteroffensive of the Ottomans forced the imperial troops to retreat, about 30,000 families headed north to Southern Hungary and Slavonia with their patriarch rnovi and under the protection of the imperial army to escape the impending

15 Krajasich, *Militärgrenze* 1973, 22 – 25.

16 Majoros – Rill, *Das Osmanische Reich*, 284.

17 Amstadt, *Die k. k. Militärgrenze*, vol. 1, 125f.

ing reprisals. This population potential consisting of the above-mentioned families and a great many other Serb refugees who had fled to the Christian side in the course of the war, was highly welcome to the imperial authorities, who planned to settle them in those regions of Southern Hungary which had been deserted one and a half centuries ago and were very scarcely populated. The regions were considered as “*neoacquisita*”, i. e. land belonging to the emperor, as his armies had re-conquered the territory from the Ottomans. Therefore, he had the right to dispose of it, and the settlements were put under the control of the War Council in Vienna despite the energetic protests of the Hungarian estates. Already in 1691 the emperor granted the usual privileges to the new Frontier men.

Apart from the Serb migration from the south to the north a second massive migration of settlers took place, which was directed from the West to the East. Although in those days many regions at the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier were relatively sparsely inhabited in comparison with the population density in the interior, some places suffered from a significant lack of cultivable land with regard to the partly low-yielding regions in the *karst* and in the swampy lowlands of the Sava and Drava Rivers, a fact which was speeded up by the mostly extensive use of land by many of the Frontier men, namely for cattle raising, and a massive overpopulation. Although the migration to the Lika and Krbava regions had opened a new settlement area for the Adriatic border region by the middle of the 17th century, the mostly barren *karst* region could only shelter a limited number of new inhabitants, and it often enough happened that the Frontier officers had to settle disputes between the new settlers and the inhabitants, who had stayed in the region after the expulsion of the Ottomans, about the fertile soil.

Another reason for the migration were the high payments in kind and the unjustified taxes in cash imposed by the local Frontier officers, which made life no longer bearable for many of the families and induced them to migrate to Southern Hungary, Syrmia and the lower part of Slavonia alone or in groups to find a new home with enough soil there. Due to the mass exodus many places in the Lika and Krbava regions and the whole Carlstadt generalcy became depopulated to such an extent that the body of men ready to serve consisted only of about 1,000 frontier men in 1713.¹⁸

At the beginning of the 18th century the successful Military-Frontier system was extended via the lower part of Slavonia to Syrmia and the Danube and to the Tisza and Maros Rivers. The Banal Frontier was established the civil administration of which was carried out by the banus of Croatia; in military affairs it was put under the direct control of the War Council in Vienna.

After the imperial troops had liberated Hungary it became necessary to take protection and security measures along the new frontier. As a first measure, the fortified strongholds, castles, and *palankas* of the Ottomans were destroyed so that in case of future invasions the enemy could not dispose of any support bases. This precipitate action turned out to be unfavourable with regard to a permanent Frontier organization, but as a consequence it was decided to make use of the big chance that the South-eastern border to the Ottoman Empire coincided with the course of the Sava, Danube, Tisza, and Maros Rivers and thus offered

18 Ibid., 137f.

natural protection.¹⁹

In 1717 the imperial troops inflicted another heavy defeat on the Ottomans at Belgrade. The Banat, Northern Serbia with Belgrade, Little Walachia, and Bosnia had to be handed over to the Habsburgs in the Peace of Passarovitz (1718). As a consequence, the border line along the Tisza and Maros Rivers was given up and transferred to the lower Save and Danube Rivers.

After the Turkish War from 1737 to 1739, which had an unfavourable outcome for the emperor and ended with the humiliating peace of Belgrade and the restitution of the city of Belgrade, Northern Serbia, and Little Walachia – the Banat of Temesvár remained in Austrian possession –, a last wave of orthodox refugees – Serbs and Albanians – came to the Habsburg lands and settled there, especially in the Banat region and in the regions north of the Danube and Sava Rivers. The latter had been sparsely populated so far, as they were mostly covered with swampland, prairies and shallow inland lakes. With the help of Dutch engineers these territories were drained and cultivated by the Frontier men.²⁰

The colonization of the Banat, however, was a large-scale, systematic and extremely well planned operation by the Austrian administration, better known as the “*Banater Einrichtungswerk*”, which in a wider sense could be translated as settlement operation in the Banat. The intention was to create a hardworking and industrious population who would pay a lot of taxes; thus in a first wave tradesmen, miners, engineers, teachers, and doctors were invited to settle there, in a second peasants. Villages, cities, and streets were designed on the drawing board and reflected in their symmetry the contemporary absolutist building culture. Apart from the Slav refugees colonists came from all over Europe, but mostly from Germany²¹. The settlers found the Banat as an almost deserted swampland traversed by forests. Plagues, fever and hunger accompanied the newly arrived settlers in the first few years. But within two or three generations the land could be successfully re-cultivated – an enormous tour de force, which claimed a heavy death toll and was accompanied by many setbacks. The traditional saying “Death for the first, misery for the second, bread for the third” is a suitable definition for the achievements of the Banat Swabians. The drainage of the swampland by means of canalizing the many arms of the Bega River was an important step towards a successful settlement. The arable soil of the former swampland proved to be extremely fertile and lay the foundation for the wealth of the Banat Swabians in the 19th century. The region was considered to be the breadbasket of Austria-Hungary. The fortress of Temesvár became a prospering city and the cultural centre of the Banat Swabians.²² Around 1800 the Banat had around 450,000 inhabitants: 181,000 Romanians, 78,000 Serbs, 43,000 Germans, 8,600

19 Ibid., 139.

20 Hugo Kerchnawe, *Die alte k. k. Militärgrenze. Ein Schutzwall Europas* (= Walter Pollak, ed., Reihe Süd-Ost, vol. 21, Vienna – Lipsia 1939), 15.

21 These colonists and other German-speaking ethnic groups (from Franconia, Bavaria, Austria, Alsace-Lorraine, Luxemburg and the Palatinate) are united under the general terms “Banat Swabians” or “Danube Swabians”. Apart from the Banat they also settled in the Batschka in the West, in the Swabian Turkey (today Southern Hungary), in Slavonia as well as in Sathmar (today North-western Romania, district of Satu-Mare). Wikipedia, *Die Banater Schwaben, Donauschwaben, Schwäbische Türkei*; <http://www.siebenbuerger.de/sbz/landundleute/siebenbuerger2.html> (Anneli Ute Gabanyi, *Geschichte der Deutschen in Rumänien*).

22 Wikipedia: *Die Banater Schwaben, Donauschwaben, Schwäbische Türkei*.

Bulgarians, 5,200 gypsies as well as 3,000 Italians and French and 350 Jews.²³

As the paid troops – officers and military staff – were quite expensive, their number was kept low. Therefore, it was the unpaid Frontier men from the villages of the “*Hauptmannschaften*”, who were of utmost importance within the military organization of the Frontier. The tasks and heavy burdens of military service without payment were described by the frontier men of the “*Hauptmannschaft Kostajnica*” in a letter to the War Council in Vienna from 1728 as follows: “... that we sacrifice for Your Imperial and Catholic Majesty as our most gracious landlord and highest commander in the field our bodies and blood in utmost permanent loyalty at our own costs, without bread or pay; furthermore, we have brought quite a few cities and small market towns under Your Imperial Majesty’s protection with our horses, weapons, equipment without any pay [and] without requesting any glory and handed them over; if one gets caught or hurt, he has to pay ransom and has to cure himself. We maintain the fortress bridges and the guardhouses always at our own costs. If there is an enemy threat we are always the first and the nearest and we have to stand and endure most before all others (...) Concerning the recruitment and the *Exercitium Militare* (military drill) and the maintenance of our good horses we are most graciously obedient; concerning the use of the same gun, however, it is almost impossible, as up to now we always used to carry good and safe guns to safeguard our lives, namely the foot soldier his pair of pistols at the belt together with his rifle and the sabre at his side, and the horseman his pair of pistols and his carbine with the sabre at his side (...) we most obediently repeat that we oblige ourselves to respectfully perform all imperial guards’ duties in ‘*schartacken*’ (one-storey fortified guardhouses made of timber) and other places out of our loyalty and obligation to the Most Serene House of Austria.”²⁴

The fight for religious privileges put an immense pressure on the orthodox warriors, and religious intolerance even led to an exodus of several hundred families to the Ottoman Empire. Due to these obvious grievances the situation at the Frontier deteriorated every year a so that the Austrian authorities in Vienna were forced to counteract the decay with the help of reforms. The final reason for it was the uprising in the Lika and Krbava regions in 1728, with which the population living there tried to defend itself against the religious suppressions and the exploitation by the inner-Austrian officers.

Under Charles VI and Maria Theresa the Frontier land was further reorganized. In 1737 Field Marshal Joseph Duke of Sachsen-Hildburghausen had already drafted a new statute for the Frontier men, which was to subject their lives to firm rules and was to convert the irregular Frontier militia into regular troops of the line. The generalcies were divided into regimental districts, which formed a company under the command of an officer. Each regiment was a tactical and administrative unit. At first the infantry regiments were set up together with one hussar regiment. The male population capable of bearing arms was divided into three groups: One fifth was assigned for war, three fifths constantly served at the Frontier and the last fifth cultivated the soil. The Frontier men were now paid for their services from the imperial Mili-

23 Bertrand Michael Buchmann, Österreich und das Osmanische Reich. Eine bilaterale Geschichte, Vienna 1999, 173f.

24 Slavko Gavrilovic, Grada vojvodanskih arhiva o Banskjoj krajini prve polovine XVIII st, in Starine JAZU 54 (1969), 146 – 156, quoted by Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

tary Fund: one third in cash, the rest in allocations. In times of peace taxes had to be paid for one third, in war they remained exempt from taxes anyway. However, they still had to pay for their equipment, uniform and weapons.

Due to the recommendations of Sachsen-Hildburghausen the influence of the War Council in Graz – it was finally abolished in 1743 – as well as of the Inner-Austrian estates was eliminated, and the War Council in Vienna was henceforth responsible for the matters of the whole Military Frontier. While the villages with the *zadrugas* still remained the administrative basis of the Military Frontier system in most of the Military-Frontier territory, the function of *knez* was abolished in the course of these centralization measures, and the complete legal, economic, and administrative powers passed over to the commanders of the individual regimental districts; this was the end of the self-administration of the Walachians.²⁵

These reform measures along the Military Frontier were, however, interrupted by the second Turkish War of Charles VI, and as the reform work was hardly taken up again, the monarchy was shattered by the War of the Austrian Succession and the Silesian Wars with campaigns against the Prussians, Bavarians, French and their allies. In the long run Maria Theresa's enemies could not put up much against the warriors of the Frontier regiments fighting in Silesia, Saxony, Bavaria, the Rhine, the Netherlands and Italy – the “Croatian” combatants²⁶ created the image of a people who like no other had dedicated themselves to the lives of fighters in the service of the monarch.

Since the middle of the 18th century the Ottoman Empire had no longer posed a real danger to the Habsburg monarchy, and the Military Frontier territory had enormously increased due to the land gains in the course of the Turkish wars. This resulted in a flagrant disproportion between the existing defence power and a possible threat. Furthermore, the territory did not produce any income, on the contrary: The administration and military organization caused quite high expenses. After an attempt to partly reduce the Frontier territory had failed due to the resistance of the Frontier men, who did not want to give up their privileges, the Viennese court decided to finally bring the reforms requested by Sachsen-Hildburghausen to completion by unifying the Military-Frontier organization, integrating the irregular troops into the standing army of the empire and bringing about a total militarization of the Frontier. The only aim of the reforms was, as the military historian and officer Wrede stated, “to promote the further military uniform development of the Frontier countries and to create a completely secluded soldier land”.²⁷

And this aim was achieved. The reforms in the decades around the middle of the 18th century led to an enormous structural change which affected all social and economic institutions at the Military Frontier. The hitherto sedentary Frontier man became a professional soldier, who – serving in a big army – was engaged throughout Europe. The militarily reinforced Frontier area became a territory which continued to accomplish security functions vis à vis

25 Amstadt, Die k. k. Militärgrenze, vol. 1, 163; <http://www.kuk-wehrmacht.de/regiment/grenzer.html>; Schindler, Militärgrenzverwaltung, 27.

26 The people living in the Military Frontier area – Croats, Serbs, Albanians and some smaller ethnic groups, Catholics and Orthodox – were summed up under the term “Croats” in those days. See the respective chapter in Christopher Duffy, Sieben Jahre Krieg 1756 – 1763. Die Armee Maria Theresias, transl. by Claudia Reichl-Ham, Vienna 2003, 327 – 345.

27 Wrede, Geschichte der K. u. K. Wehrmacht, vol. V, 227ff.

the Ottoman Empire, but primarily served as a cheap supply basis for some ready-to-march, uniformed and well-equipped regiments.²⁸

In 1754 the “*Militär-Gränitz-Rechten*” (Military-Frontier laws), which comprised the organization of the law courts as well as the code of civil procedure, the land law of the Frontier feuds, the law of inheritance, the code of criminal procedure and the court fees, were introduced. These laws had been created out of the need to unify the military organization of the whole Frontier territory and to tidy up the legal administration, and they were an exact and clear definition of the rights of the people at the Frontier. By means of them the Frontier territory was also completely separated from the hinterland in administrative matters.²⁹ At first, they only applied to the Croatian and Varazdin parts of the Military Frontier. When they proved successful, they were also applied to the Banal Frontier and later to the rest of the Military Frontier.³⁰

The usefulness of this reorganization manifested itself above all in the Seven Years War, when the Frontier men raised more than 80.000 men and proved to be very brave warriors for the Austrian army.

In 1762 the Transylvanian Military Frontier was established. With a length of 1850 km the Austrian Military Frontier now had an area of 50,000 km². Due to the strict organization of the Military Frontier it was possible to form a “*cordon sanitaire*” from the Adriatic Sea along the Croatian and Slavonian Frontiers to Transylvania, which was also to prevent the much feared plague to be brought in from the Orient.

Due to major administrative problems at the beginning of the 1760s the War Council intervened with Maria Theresa to reorganize the Frontier militia and to supplement the *cordon* in the Eastern part of the monarchy. In 1765 a general Frontier inspectorate with a Frontier inspector, who was only responsible to the War Council and was entitled to issue orders binding for the regimental districts, was set up, and their task was to bring the unification of the administration in the whole Frontier territory to completion. With this supervision Maria Theresa and the members of the War Council hoped to promote the further economic and military consolidation of the Frontier territory to be able to equally distribute the duties and create a territory completely self-sufficient from the hinterland, which could maintain itself and provide a huge number of well-trained soldiers at little costs.³¹

On 15 August 1769 the Frontier regiments were integrated into the imperial army with the numbers from 60 to 76. This led to a rise in bureaucracy, which made new reforms necessary.

In the course of his reforms Emperor Joseph II also wanted to change the existing law code of the Military Frontier. After an inspection of the Frontier colonel Baron of Geneyne was entrusted with the draft of a new constitution for the whole Frontier. On 1 May 1787 the so-called “Kantonssystem” (district system) was first introduced in the Croatian Military

28 Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

29 Rupert von Schumacher, Des Reiches Hofzaun. Geschichte der deutschen Militärgrenze im Südosten, Darmstadt² 1942, 168; Amstadt, Die k. k. Militärgrenze, vol. 1, 164.

30 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, HKR 1754, März, Fasc. 374, Militär-Grenz-Rechten von Ihrer Kaiserlichen Königlichen Majestät. Für das Karlstädter und Varasdiner Generalat, Vienna 1754, 1; Krajacich, Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien, 44.

31 Schindler, Militärgrenzverwaltung, 30f.

Frontier. It brought about a reorganization of the administration with the separation of military and administrative affairs, and an equal taxation.³² Repeated efforts of the administration authorities to improve the economic situation brought unsatisfactory results, because mostly orders were issued which neglected the individual local and geographic situations at the Frontier and the prerequisites of their economic basis. The inhabitants of the Frontier often lacked the understanding for innovations and refused to try out modern technical aids for agriculture or better methods of cultivation and cattle breeding. And they were indifferent or distrustful with respect to the authorities and their proposals for improvement. Even some officers tried to resist the district system as they feared that the fighting spirit and the discipline of the Frontier men could suffer from it.³³

Another war against the Ottomans from 1788 to 1791 and the death of Joseph II in 1790 brought an end to this system; it was finally abolished by Emperor Francis I on 1 November 1800.³⁴ The administration was again entrusted to the commanders of each regiment.

During the Napoleonic Wars the Military-Frontier system reached its heyday due to the reforms of archduke Charles, who declared the land property of the Frontier men to “genuine military feuds” in the so-called “*Grenz-Grundgesetze*” (basic laws of the Frontier) of 1807 and granted the Frontier men a perpetual hereditary property and usufructuary right “with reservation of the supreme property of his Majesty”.

The results of these reforms manifested themselves in the War of 1809, when more than 100.000 men were to serve in the imperial army so that for the defence of their own territory even young and old men had to be called upon to complete the “*Landesdefensionsdivisionen*” raised at home. However, they could hardly put up any resistance against the campaign of the French marshal Marmont, which started in Dalmatia.³⁵

The defeat at Wagram and the following peace treaty of Schönbrunn in 1809 had far-reaching consequences for the Military Frontier territory: The part of Croatia lying west of the Save River towards the Adriatic Sea had to be ceded to Napoleon together with the Carlstadt and Banal Frontiers. Together with parts of Carniola, Carinthia, Istria, and Dalmatia they formed the so-called “Illyrian provinces”, and Marmont became their governor general. Marmont, who in contrary to Napoleon and most of the generals viewed the institution of the Military Frontier quite positively, adhered to the organization. The Viennese Court, who always thought that in the long run Napoleon would not be able to hold this territory due to its exposed position, was right. In the summer of 1813 the French armies which had remained in the country could quickly be forced out. The retreat was speeded up by the fact that the Frontier men of the area rebelled, unanimously joined the ranks of their comrades from the Varazdin and Slavonian regiments and actively participated in the persecution of the retreating enemy.

During the following three decades the territory of the Military Frontier experienced an apparent economic heyday. The losses in the population during the Napoleonic wars were already compensated around 1815, and the population growth continued so that in 1821 the

32 Krajasich, *Die Militärgrenze in Kroatien*, 45.

33 Schindler, *Militärgrenzverwaltung*, 78 – 80.

34 Österreichisches Staatsarchiv/Kriegsarchiv, Vienna, HKR 1800 B 1796, 31 Dec 1800.

35 Amstadt, *Die k. k. Militärgrenze*, vol. 1, 195 – 212; quote: 205.

War Council was forced to issue an order according to which refugees or immigrants from Bosnia were no longer accepted. In numerous imperial regulations and decrees the life of the Frontier population was again subjected to strong rules. (Table 5/Table 6).

In the time of the “national awakening” during the first half of the 19th century the Habsburgs could rely on the loyalty of the frontier men; special mention has to be given to their loyalty to the Emperors Ferdinand and Francis Joseph during the Revolution of 1848 in Vienna and Hungary. During the revolutionary events the banus of Croatia, Baron Joseph of Jelai, who had been assigned the command over the Carlstadt, Varazdin and Banal Frontiers, joined sides with the Habsburgs against the insurgent Hungarians. Together with Prince Alfred of Windischgraetz he inflicted a defeat upon the Hungarian troops, which had marched towards Vienna to help the Viennese insurgents, at Schwechat on 30 October 1848 and pushed them back into Hungary.³⁶

As a consequence, it was laid down in the Austrian Constitution of 1849 that “the institution of the ‘Military Frontier’ will be maintained for the protection of the integrity of the empire in its military organization and will be subject to the executive power as an integrative part of the imperial army”.³⁷

The new “*Grenz-Grundgesetze*” (basic laws of the Frontier) of 1850 at first sight seemed to contain enormous advantages for the Frontier men, but in fact they already laid the foundation for the gradual dissolution of the Military Frontier. The conveyance of the soils together with the real estate into unrestricted property and the introduction of compulsory military service as well as the request of the Frontier population to participate in the constitutional institutions of the monarchy speeded up this dissolution process.

With the abolition of the feudal system in Croatia in 1848 the Military-Frontier system was increasingly put on the stake, as with the dispensation from the feudal duties imposed by the landlords the peasant population in Croatia had obtained the same rights that the frontier men had enjoyed for centuries due to their privileged status. Apart from tax advantages not much was left from the former privileges, but the innumerable military duties weighed heavily on the Frontier men and their families. And what was more, a “militarized peasant system” became increasingly anachronistic in the modern Habsburg Empire of the second half of the 19th century.³⁸

After the dissolution of the Transylvanian Military Frontier the Croatian and the Slavonian Frontiers still remained intact. From 1868 onwards, however the remaining special conditions for the Frontier men were abolished there as well.

In June 1871 the last phase of the history of the Military Frontier, which had existed for more than 300 years by then, started. In a manifesto to the two Varazdin regiments, to the cities of Zengg and Belovár and to the fortresses of Ivani and Sissek Emperor Francis Joseph

36 For the behaviour of the Croats in the Revolution of 1848 see above all Wolfgang Häusler, Der kroatisch-ungarische Konflikt von 1848 und die Krise der Habsburgermonarchie, in Die Revolution von 1848/49 im österreichisch-ungarischen Grenzraum (= Wissenschaftliche Arbeiten aus dem Burgenland, vol. 94, Eisenstadt 1996), 5 – 19; id., Banus Jellacic vor Wien. Der Ungarische Konflikt und das Ende der Wiener Revolution von 1848, in 1848, „das tolle Jahr“. Chronologie einer Revolution, exhibition catalogue of the Historisches Museum der Stadt Wien, Vienna 1998, 124 – 131.

37 Amstadt, Die k. k. Militärgrenze, vol. 1, 231.

38 Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

announced the incorporation of these territories into the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. In the following year the Banat Frontier was dissolved and incorporated into the Kingdom of Hungary. The dissolution of the Croatian-Slavonian Frontier regiments took place in 1873 with the introduction of the Hungarian Military Service Act.

With an imperial manifesto for the Croatian-Slavonian Frontier of 20 June 1881, which announced the unification of this territory with Croatia and Slavonia, the history of the Austrian Military Frontier finally ended after 350 years.³⁹ The population of the Croatian-Slavonian Military Frontier, around 700,000 men and women in those days, thus became a part of Croatia the number of inhabitants of which thus rose from 1.2 to 1.9 million.⁴⁰

The integration process of the Frontier-men society into the civilian society of Croatia was not easy for the former Frontier men and their families and involved enormous problems. A Croatian newspaper described the changes in the 1880s as follows:

“In former times the Frontier man received wood, salt, free pastures, free acorn mast for military service and food in years of famine. Although he also worked for the maintenance of the bridges and streets, he only paid a minimum tax of 3 ½ kreuzer for the teacher and medical care. Today everything is different. He pays taxes, the rate for the burning of *raki*, church fees, produce percents, stamp duties and what else you call it. Today he pays local taxes of 40 to 50 kreuzer, sometimes even 60 to the tax forint, 10 percent as school tax, 20 [percent] for the hospital; he pays for the structural timber and firewood, for the pasture and the acorn mast and [he] pays the same prices for much less salt.”⁴¹

Furthermore, the authorities imposed high taxes on the public carrying of weapons, which had an extremely high impact on the pride of the Frontier men and amounted to general disarmament. This measure was thought to have been directed against the identity of the men of the former Military Frontier, who very often presented themselves as privileged heroes of the emperor.⁴²

In the past the personal affection of the emperor as feudal lord for the Frontier men as his subordinates had always resulted in a certain measure of loyalty. But when the emperor unilaterally ended the close personal bond without including the Frontier men in the reorganization, this relative and appropriate loyalty to the Habsburg dynasty had an end. With the dissolution of the Military Frontier and the fact that most of the interests of the Frontier population had been sacrificed in favour of the “*Ausgleich*” (agreement) between Austria and Hungary in 1867, their relation became strained that much that many Frontier men subsequently sympathized with the Southern Slav national endeavours. The discontent of the Frontier families with these changes very soon led to uprisings directed against the Hungarian authorities and their policies which they made responsible for the deterioration of their living conditions after the unification with Civilian Croatia. (Until 1881 the Military Frontier territory belonged to the Austrian part of the empire. With its dissolution it came under Hungarian responsibility like Civilian Croatia.) Massive uprisings in 1883 and in the 1890s led to

39 Franz Kaindl, *Die k. k. Militärgrenze – zur Einführung in ihre Geschichte* (= Schriften des Heeresgeschichtlichen Museums, vol. 6, Vienna 1973), 25f.

40 Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

41 „Pozor“, No. 22, 28.1.1883, quoted from Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

42 Grandits, Krajina, s. p.

armed conflicts between governmental forces and insurgents, also causing casualties.⁴³

TABLE 1

Total expenses of Styria, Carinthia and Carniola for border-defence purposes

1457 – 1594 (Source: Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat, 105)

Country	florins	period
Styria	10,698.683	1457 – 1594
Carniola	4,000.000	1536 – 1594
Carinthia	2,500.000	1536 – 1594

TABLE 2

Zadrugas in the villages of the Carlstadt Frontier in 1830 (Source: Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat, 583)

Average family size	Likaner villages	Ottochaner villages	Oguliner villages	Szluiner villages	Total
up to 7.5	5	1	3	13	22
below 11	75	18	58	125	276
above 11	29	66	52	192	339
above 14.5	7	25	6	18	56

⁴³ All this happened during a deep economic crisis in many rural areas of Croatia and the Krajina, which had already lasted for several years. This crisis also resulted in a high emigration movement. In the decade between 1900 and 1910 more than six percent of the Orthodox and about six percent of the Catholic population left the country. Most of them emigrated to America. One of the main reasons for the miserable situation in many parts of the Krajina was the decay of the patriarchal domestic communities, the *zadrugas*, which set in with the dissolution of the Military Frontier. This gradually resulted in a complete change of the social and familiar structures in the villages and as a consequence in a fragmentation of the land property. See Claudia Reichl-Ham, *Die Türkenherrschaft 1389 – 1878*, chapter in *Militäroperationen und Partisanenkampf in Südosteuropa* (= *Truppendienst Handbuch*, Vienna 2009), 118.

TABLE 3

The average farmland size of a family in the regimental districts of the Slavonian Generalcy in 1751 (Source: Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat, 330)

Regiment	Farmland in total (yokes)	Families	Farmland per family
Gradiscaner	43,193	4,563	9,5
Broder	38,745	4,876	7,9
Peterwardeiner	72,578	4,590	15,8

1 yoke = 0,5755 ha / 5754,64 m²

TABLE 4

Villages, families and inhabitants of the Carlstadt Generalcy in 1746 (Source: Kaser, Freier Bauer und Soldat, 210)

	Villages	Families	Inhabitants
Frontier-men villages	96	6,869	54,867
Vassal villages	7	501	3,129
Total	103	7,370	57,996

TABLE 5

Population Growth in the Military Frontier (Source: Schumacher, Des Reiches Hofzaun, 204f.)

1799: 823,950 inhabitants
 1815: 940,598 inhabitants
 1869: 1,200,371 inhabitants

TABLE 6

Ethnic groups in 1815 (share in total population) (Source: Schumacher, *Des Reiches Hofzaun*, 204f.)

728,173 Slavs (Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Czechs, Slovaks, and Bulgarians)

121,062 Romanians (Walachians)

79,363 Hungarians and Szekler

9,000 Germans

1,500 Albanians and

1,500 people belonging to other nationalities and ethnic groups

Das Verteidigungssystem gegen die Osmanen und die Militarisierung der Gesellschaft des Königreichs Ungarn 1550–1650.

ISTVÁN CZIGÁNY

In der Verlangsamung der osmanischen Expansion spielte dasjenige Verteidigungssystem eine Schlüsselrolle, das in den von König Ferdinand I. beherrschten Gebieten Ungarns mit der finanziellen und militärischen Unterstützung der Habsburger-Erbländer und der Fürstentümer des Deutsch-Römischen Reiches errichtet wurde. Bis zu den Siebziger Jahren des 16. Jahrhunderts wurde vom Adriatischen Meer bis zum Fürstentum Siebenbürgen ein Verteidigungssystem erbaut, das etwa 1000 Kilometer lang, 50–100 Kilometer breit, auch in seiner Tiefe gegliedert war und dem Niveau der damaligen Zeit entsprach. Da dieses Burgsystem in Ungarn in die Hauptrichtung des Vorstoßes der Osmanen fiel, war es ein besonders wichtiger Teil derjenigen Schutzzone, die Europa durchquerend von Nordafrika über die Festungssysteme am westlichen Ufer Spaniens und am südlichen Ufer Italiens, sowie über die Festungen am dalmatischen und griechischen Ufer und auf den Inseln von Venedig bis hin zu den Burgen von Podolien reichte.

In meinem Vortrag möchte ich kurz über die Wirkungen sprechen, die dieses Verteidigungssystem gegen die Osmanen auf die Gesellschaft im königlichen Ungarn ausübte.

Zwar haben die Habsburger Ungarn über seine ständischen Institutionen regiert (Palatin, ungarischer Rat, Kammer), aber sie bauten schrittweise auch die zentralen Institutionen seiner finanziellen und militärischen Leitung, die Hofkammer und den Hofkriegsrat, aus. Als Folge entstand auf dem Gebiet der Politik, der Finanzen und des Militärwesens ein zweifaches Verwaltungssystem.

Dieses zweifache Leitungssystem charakterisierte auch die Leitung des Verteidigungssystems gegen die Osmanen. Die dem Hofkriegsrat untergeordneten Grenzobristen hatten das Kommando über die königlichen Festungen und Wachen. Auf ungefähr demselben Gebiet wie die Grenzobristen waren die Kreisobristen tätig, die für Militärangelegenheiten im Zusammenhang mit den unter adeliger Leitung stehenden Komitaten, beziehungsweise für die Truppen des ständischen Heeres verantwortlich waren. Diese letzteren Posten durften nur von den ungarischen Hochadeligen besetzt werden.¹

Das Verteidigungssystem gegen die Osmanen bestand in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts aus der Verkettung von etwa 100–120, im 17. Jahrhundert aus 90 kleineren oder größeren Burgen, dem dichten Netz von Planken und Wachttürmen. An den strategischen Punkten des Grenzgebietes, in erster Linie entlang der türkischen Aufmarschrouten, wurden zeitgemäße Festungen errichtet. Der Großteil dieser wurde zu Festungsstädten oder befestigten Städten (Érsekújvár /Neuhäusel/, Győr /Raab/, Kassa /Kaschau/, Szatmár /Sathmar/ und

1 Pálffy Géza: A török elleni védelmi rendszer szervezetének története a kezdetektől a 18. század elejéig. [Die Geschichte der Organisation des Schutzsystems gegen die Türken von den Anfängen bis zum Beginn des 18. Jahrhunderts] = *Történelmi Szemle*, 1996. 2–3. 192–203.

Várad /Wardein/), zu Militär- und Verwaltungszentren der Grenzgebiete. Mehrere strategisch wichtige Festungen privater Gutsherren (Ecsed, Eger /Erlau/, Gyula, Kanizsa /Kanischa/, Kassa, Kisvárd, Szigetvár /Sigeth/ und Tata /Totis/) wurden vom König gegen eine finanzielle Kompensation von den Eigentümern übernommen, oder der König trug finanziell zur Verstärkung dieser bei.²

Das königliche Soldatenvolk der kroatischen, ungarischen und slawonischen Grenzburgen erreichte in den 1570/80er Jahren die Stärke von 20-22 000 Mann. Mehr als Zweidrittel des Standes waren ungarische und kroatische, die anderen deutsche und tschechische Söldner, die zum Garnisonsdienst hierher beordert wurden.

Der jährliche Soldbetrag des königlichen Soldatenvolkes der Burgen bewegte sich am Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts um 1,4 Millionen Rheinische Florins, aber mit der Bezahlung der militärischen Administration und mit den für Waffen, Munition und die Donauflotte aufgewandten Beträgen erreichten die Kosten 2 Millionen Rheinische Florins.³

Der königliche Teil des Landes, dessen Fläche immer mehr abnahm, trug in der zweiten Hälfte des 16. Jahrhunderts infolge des modernisierten Steuersystems und der Einnahmen der Burggüter aus den Einnahmen von insgesamt 700 000 Rheinischen Florins in bedeutendem Maße zu den Militärausgaben bei.⁴ Die Aufrechterhaltung der Schutzzone war jedoch nur mit Hilfe der finanziellen Unterstützung der tschechischen, mährischen und österreichischen Länder und der deutschen Fürstentümer möglich.

Die Kette der königlichen Grenzburgen wurde durch Burgen und Burgschlösser ergänzt, die sich im Besitz von etwa 60-70 kirchlichen und weltlichen Gutsherren befanden und unabdingbare Elemente des Verteidigungssystems waren. Das königliche Heer der Grenzgebiete wurde durch das mehrere Tausend Mann starke Privatheer von hohen Adeligen zum Beispiel der Familien Batthyány, Báthory, Dobó, oder Nádasdy, Zrínyi und später der Familie Rákóczi ergänzt, die über Grundstücke verfügten, die ganze Landesteile ausmachten.⁵

In den Friedenszeiten zwischen den größeren Feldzügen führten die örtlichen türkischen Kräfte beinahe täglich kleinere oder größere Aktionen in den Grenzgebieten durch. Die ständige Militärbereitschaft, die steigenden Bedürfnisse der Soldatenstellung und die heimischen Bürgerkriege trugen zusammen mit der sich verschlechternden öffentlichen Sicherheit in entscheidendem Maße zur Militarisierung der Gesellschaft des Landes bei.

Dieser Prozess war am ehesten in den östlichen Teilen des Landes zu spüren, wo eine Masse aus zumeist Waffenträgern, die vor der türkischen Eroberung flohen, und den örtlichen Einwohnern entstand. Diese aus dem Rindertreiben und gelegentlichem Waffendienst,

2 *Domokos György*: Ottavio Baldigara. Egy itáliai várfundáló mester Magyarországon [Ottavio Baldigara. Ein italienischer Festungsbaumeister in Ungarn.] Budapest, 2000. 20-29.

3 *Géza Pálffy* : Die Türkenabwehr, Grenzsoldatentum und die militärisierung der Gesellschaft in der frühen Neuzeit In: *Historisches Jahrbuch* 123. Jahrgang 2003 126-130.

4 A királyi Magyarország bevételei és kiadásai a 16. században. [The income and expenditure of royal Hungary in the 16th century] = *Levéltári közlemények* 2003/ 1-2. 59-103.

5 *Varga J. János*: Szervitorok katonai szolgálata XVI-XVII. századi Dunántúli nagybirtokon. . [Kriegsdienst der Servitores auf den Grossgrundherrschaften in Transdanubien im 16-17. Jh.] Budapest, 1981. Im Weiteren: *Varga J. János*, 1981. ; *Ruzsás Lajos*: Dunántúli védelmi vonal és a paraszt polgári fejl és a XVI-XVII. században. [Die Transdanubische Schutzlinie und die bauerlich-bürgerliche Entwicklung im 16-17. Jahrhundert.] In: *Értekezések* (1967-1968) [Abhandlungen (1967-1968)] Budapest, 1968.

im ungünstigeren Fall aus Raub lebenden freien Söldner wurden Haiducken genannt. Ihre Zahl können wir Ende des 16. Jahrhunderts bereits auf etwa 30 000 Mann schätzen.

Auch im Kreis der Bauernbevölkerung verbreitete sich allgemein das Tragen einer Waffe, und sie haben ihr eigenes Selbstverteidigungssystem, das Bauernkomitat, herausgebildet. Ihre Gutsherren setzten sie gegen eine Steuerfreiheit mit Vorliebe zum Schutz ihres eigenen Landgutes ein.⁶

Der anderthalb Jahrzehnte dauernde Krieg gegen die Osmanen an der Wende des 16./17. Jahrhunderts beschleunigte die Militarisierung der Gesellschaft. In den östlichen Regionen des Landes, in der Gegend jenseits der Theiß und in Oberungarn, erhöhte sich die Schicht der als Haiducken bezeichneten freien Söldner auf etwa 60 000 Mann. Einer der größten Gutsbesitzer des Landesteils, der nach dem Fürstentitel von Siebenbürgen strebende István Bocskai, leitete im Herbst 1604 seinen Aufstand gegen den König im Schutz der ständischen Rechte und der protestantischen Religionsfreiheit mit der Unterstützung der Haiducken ein.⁷

Als Dank für ihren Dienst siedelte Bocskai mehr als 10 000 Haiducken in der Gegend jenseits der Theiß an und gab ihnen Landgut und kollektiven Adelsstand. Trotzdem bedeuteten die freien Söldner nach dem Ende des Krieges noch Jahrzehnte lang ein ernsthaftes gesellschaftliches und politisches Problem. Die Lösung war, sie anzusiedeln oder in den Dienst zu stellen. Die Fürsten von Siebenbürgen, sowie die hohen Adligen des Landes siedelten etwa 20-25 000 Haiducken aus dem Osten auf ihrem Landbesitz an oder stellten sie in den Dienst. Im östlichen Teil des Landes schufen die Familien Báthory und Rákóczi, in Transdanubien die Familien Batthyányi und Zrínyi eine Reihe von Haiducken- und Soldatensiedlungen.⁸

Daneben privilegierten die Gutsherren zum Schutz ihrer Landgüter einen Teil ihrer Leibeigenen für ihren Militärdienst, sodass im Land eine ziemlich große Schicht an Soldatenbauern entstand. Ein Teil von ihnen war bestrebt, seine Privilegien zu erhalten, ein Leben als freier Bauer zu führen, aber es gab auch zahlreiche Personen, die die Zukunft im beruflichen oder halbberuflichen Soldatenleben sahen.⁹

Die Komitate, die die Grundlage der Regierung des Landes bildeten, spielten neben der Soldatenstellung auch in der Versorgung des Soldatenvolkes mit Lebensmitteln und Ausrüstung, in der Beförderung und der Instandhaltung der Burgen eine bedeutende Rolle. Zwar

6 *Szakály Ferenc*: *Parasztvármegyék a XVII. és XVIII. században*. [Bauernkomitaten im 17-18. Jahrhundert] Budapest, 1969. 9-48.

7 Siehe dazu: *Nagy László*: *A Bocskai-szabadságharc katonai története*. [Die Militärgeschichte des Bocskai-freiheitskampfes] Budapest, 1961.; *Nagy László*: *Bocskai István a hadak élén*. [István Bocskai als Heerführer] Budapest, 1981.

8 Zu der Haiduckenfrage im 17. Jahrhundert siehe: *Rácz István*: *A hajdúk a 17. században*. Magyar Történeti tanulmányok II, [Die Haiducken im 17. Jahrhundert. Ungarische Geschichtsstudien] Acta Universitatis Debreceniensis de Ludovico Kossuth Nominatae Series Historica VIII. Debrecen, 1969.; *Szendrey István*: *Hajdúsabadságlevelék* [Freiheitsbriefe der Heiducken]. Debrecen, 1971, *Nyakas Miklós*: *A bihari kishajdú városok története*. [Die Geschichte der Kleinhaiduckenstädte in Bihar] Debrecen, 2005.; Österreichisches Staatsarchiv ÖStA Hofkammerarchiv (HKA), Hoffinanz Ungarn (HFU), Rote Nummer (RN) 408 1700 Konvolut Oktober fol. 283-284.

9 *Zimányi Vera-N. Kiss István*: *Monumenta Zrinyiana - Pars oeconomica Tomus II. - Insula Muraköz (1635-1720)* Budapest, 1991.; *N. Kiss István*: *Gesellschaft und Heer in Ungarn im Zeitalter der Türkenkriege*. Der Soldatenbauertum In: *Die wirtschaftlichen Auswirkungen der Türkenkriege* Ed. Othmar Pickl Graz, 1971. 375-280.; *Varga J. János*, 1981. 16-17, 35-49.

wurden die Grenz- und die Kreisobristenposten im Laufe des 17. Jahrhunderts im Allgemeinen von ein- und derselben Person besetzt und die Kapitäne der Burgen hatten oft auch ein Komitatsamt inne, waren die Reibereien zwischen den zivilen Regierungsorganen und der Militäradministration alltäglich. Ähnliche Zusammenstöße gab es zwischen dem königlichen und dem Komitatssoldatenvolk, ja es kam sogar vor, dass das dem in die Burgen bestellten Soldatenvolk der Zugang zur königlichen Festung verwehrt wurde.

Die Militarisierung war am deutlichsten in der äußeren Erscheinung der Dörfer und Städte wahrzunehmen. In den Grenzgebieten wurde fast jede größere Siedlung, Kirche, fast jedes adelige Herrenhaus verstärkt, um kleinere oder größere Streifzüge abzuwehren, die auf beiden Seiten das Ausrauben der Bevölkerung bedeutete. In der Gesellschaft entwickelten sich diejenigen Überlebensstechniken gegenüber der Staatsgewalt und dem Soldatenvolk, deren Überbleibsel auch heute noch in Osteuropa anzutreffen sind.

Da die Habsburger infolge der internen ständisch-religiösen Probleme und dann infolge des Dreißigjährigen Krieges keine entsprechenden militärischen und finanziellen Mittel für den Schutz gegen die Osmanen aufwenden konnten, waren sie gezwungen, sich stärker als bis dahin auf die bewaffnete und finanzielle Kraft der ungarischen Stände zu stützen. Zwar sank die Stärke des königlichen Soldatenvolkes um etwa 25-30%, aber das Soldatenvolk der hohen Adeligen, sowie die von den Komitaten und den freien königlichen Städten gestellten Militärkontingente konnten diesen Verlust ausgleichen.¹⁰

Der Großteil der angesiedelten Haiducken wurde Teil des Verteidigungssystems gegen die Osmanen. Die Haiduckenstädte im Komitat Szabolcs dienten unter dem Kommando des Kreisobristen von Oberungarn dem König, und diejenigen, die sich im Komitat Bihar angesiedelt hatten, unter der Leitung des Kreisobristen von Várad den Fürsten von Siebenbürgen.¹¹

Unseren Berechnungen zufolge beläuft sich im königlichen Ungarn mit 3 Millionen Einwohnern um die Mitte des 17. Jahrhunderts die Zahl der Soldaten von verschiedenen Ständen und mit verschiedenem Rang, bzw. Rechtsstand, die berufsmäßig oder gelegentlich dienten, auf etwa 100 000 Mann. Ihre am besten ausgebildete Gruppe stellten die Berufssoldaten des königlichen Burg- und Feldsoldatenvolkes dar, die auch schon auf den Schlachtfeldern des Dreißigjährigen Krieges Dienst geleistet hatten. Das Hauptkorps der militarisierten Schichten bestand aus den Haiducken und freien Söldnern, die vom König, den hohen Adeligen und den Komitaten gleichermaßen in den Dienst genommen wurden. Diejenigen, die im Rahmen des Soldatenbauerntums und der Selbstverteidigungsorganisationen des Bauerntums Dienst leisteten, versahen eher Aufsichtsaufgaben und dienten höchstens in den von den Komitaten zeitweilig aufgestellten Verbänden.¹²

10 *Wie Pergstett: Vnd Ober Hungerischen Graniczen mit endt Juny dieses 1629 Jahres beßezt sein...* ÖStA Kriegsarchiv (KA) Wiener HOKriegsrat (HKR) Akten 1629. Juni Nr. 40. fol. 1–6.; *Specification über die Ver-zichte Canisische Gränitz Bezahlung 1643* [november]. ÖStA HKA HFU RN 168. 1643 Konvolut Okt-Dez. fol. 81–86.

11 *István Czigány*: „Die Neuorganisation des Verteidigungssystems gegen die Türken nach dem Wiener Frieden. In: Einigkeit und Frieden sollen auf Seiten jeder Partei sein“ Die Friedensschlüsse von Wien (23. 06. 1606.) und Zsitvatorok (15. 11. 1606.) Hrsg.: *Barta János-Manfred Jatzlauk-Klára Papp* Debrecen, 2007. 286-291.

12 *N. Kiss István*: Die ökonomische und soziale Basis der Verteidigung gegen die Türken in Ungarn, 16-17. Jahrhundert. In: *Beiträge zur Geschichte der frühzeitlichen Garnisons- und Festungsstadt*. Ed H. W. Her-

Das Soldatenvolk in Ungarn passte sich voll und ganz den Aufgaben des Grenzschutzes, sowie der Kampfweise und der Waffengattungsstruktur des Gegners an. Es stellte die traditionellen ungarischen Truppengattungen, die leichte Kavallerie und die leichte Infanterie, in den Vordergrund. Die gelegentlich als Soldaten Aktiven eigneten sich die Kampfverfahren im Zusammenhang mit dem Grenzschutz und dem Burgschutz, oder die Elemente dieser leichter an, als die regulären Kampfarten, die einer langen Ausbildung bedurften.

In den Grenzgebieten, der Schutzzone gegen die Osmanen, war auch im 17. Jahrhundert ein Heer mit einer ähnlich großen Stärke von 25-30 000 Mann stationiert, wie die Stärke des Gegners. Fast die Hälfte dieser machte das Heer des Königs, bzw. die hierher kommandierten kleineren kaiserlichen Söldnereinheiten aus. Danach kamen sie aus den Verbänden des stehenden Heeres und aus der Reihe der Heere der hohen Adligen und des Komitatssoldatenvolkes.

Die Privilegien und Steuervergünstigungen, die als Entgeltung für die Dienstleistungen als Soldaten gegeben wurden, spielten eine wichtige Rolle in der Finanzierung eines der bedeutendsten und stärksten Grenzschutzheere Europas. Dieses Verfahren verursachte zwar knappe Steuereinnahmen, sicherte aber eine bedeutende gesellschaftliche Mobilität. Die Berufssoldatenschichten wurden zu einem ernsthaften politischen Faktor, auf dessen Unterstützung die zentrale (königliche) und die ständische Macht gleichermaßen zählten.

Nach der Vertreibung der Osmanen führte die Demilitarisierung der Gesellschaft im Königreich Ungarn an der Wende des 17./18. Jahrhunderts zu schwerwiegenden politischen Problemen und bewaffneten Konflikten, aber dies ist bereits eine andere Geschichte.

mann. Saarbrücken, 1983 186-188.; *Czigány István*: Reform vagy kudarc? [Reform oder Fiasko ?] Kísérletek a magyarországi katonaság beillesztésére a Habsburg Birodalom haderejébe 1600-1700. Budapest, 2004. 188.

Il "Discolato", l'arruolamento coatto in Toscana fra Settecento e Ottocento.

BRUNO MUGNAI

Il ricorso all'arruolamento militare ai fini del controllo dell'ordine pubblico e come misura di repressione rivolta ai soggetti più turbolenti della popolazione, ebbe un forte sviluppo nella Toscana dell'Ancien Regime, ma spesso con risultati del tutto contrari a quelli sperati. Anche durante il periodo napoleonico si ricorse al servizio militare obbligatorio per i condannati a piccoli reati, misura che venne adottata nel vicino stato di Lucca e Piombino. Nello stesso contesto la presenza dei militari sul territorio si trasformò in misura di controllo e repressione dei fenomeni criminali, nonché di punizione per le comunità che proteggevano i fuorilegge.

L'arruolamento militare dei soggetti più turbolenti della popolazione, specie dopo una condanna per reati di media gravità, esisteva in Toscana già dal XVII secolo e in definitiva era simile a quanto si praticava negli altri stati europei: ovvero la possibilità di ottenere una riduzione della pena - o di scontarla integralmente - prestando servizio militare per un determinato periodo. Si assecondava così l'espedito di commutare le pene facendo prevalere la finalità sociale, per cui si confidava nella correzione del soggetto attuata mediante la disciplina militare, considerata come l'antidoto più efficace alle inclinazioni malvagie dell'animo umano. Fra gli esempi più importanti basta ricordare la Repubblica di Venezia, che ricorse all'arruolamento di noti briganti, ai quali concedeva la grazia se accettavano di partire per una campagna di guerra: un fenomeno molto comune negli anni delle guerre contro i Turchi. Altri esempi di arruolamento a fini giudiziari sono riscontrabili in ogni esercito e in ogni epoca, tuttavia nella Toscana dell'*Ancien Regime* questa pratica ebbe una fortissima diffusione e si impose come una delle principali misure di repressione e di controllo dell'ordine pubblico.

Fino alla metà del XVIII secolo il ricorso all'arruolamento di pregiudicati e oziosi – i *Discoli* appunto – era avvenuto in Toscana principalmente su base volontaria, si lasciava cioè la possibilità al condannato di scegliere fra la prigione – o i remi di una galera – e il servizio militare. A questo tipo di reclutamento si era sporadicamente ricorso già sotto i Medici e non sempre per far fronte a momenti critici per l'ordine pubblico o per insufficienza degli organici militari, bensì per perseguire il duplice fine dell'incremento della forza armata e del risanamento della collettività, rassegnandosi però consapevolmente all'abbassamento del profilo professionale dei soldati.

Nel 1758 – nel pieno della guerra dei Sette Anni - il granduca Francesco Stefano di Lorena, consorte dell'imperatrice Maria Teresa d'Asburgo e capo supremo dell'esercito di Casa d'Austria, decise di prelevare un contingente di fanteria dal suo dominio italiano per inviarlo in Slesia contro i prussiani. La mobilitazione si rivelò particolarmente impegnativa per il granducato e impose una svolta nei metodi di arruolamento fino ad allora praticati. Il prin-

cipale serbatoio di approvvigionamento di soldati era ancora l'arruolamento volontario, ma a partire da quell'anno il governo granducale decise di adottare le prime misure di coscrizione. Già verso la metà degli anni Cinquanta, allo scopo di completare i reggimenti di fanteria, il granduca aveva portato l'età massima per arruolarsi a 45 anni, ma di fronte all'insufficiente afflusso di reclute si fu costretti a ricorrere all'arruolamento diretto di uomini, ovvero dei *Descritti* nei ruoli della milizia, estratti a sorte dalle liste compilate nelle cancellerie dello stato, oppure richiese direttamente al corpo della milizia i soggetti ritenuti più idonei, fino al raggiungimento del numero di soldati necessari. Questo tipo di reclutamento però non portò i frutti sperati, poiché i candidati estratti riuscivano in molti casi ad assicurarsi la protezione di qualche potente notabile locale, il quale dichiarava l'assoluta necessità di mantenere il *Descritto* alla sua occupazione *per il bene dell'economia*. In questo contesto l'antimilitarismo della nobiltà toscana nasceva anche dalla forte avversione nei confronti del nuovo ceto dirigente imposto dal granduca, formato in massima parte di funzionari giunti dalla Lorena e pure quando la reggenza del granducato venne affidata a un italiano, nella persona del marchese Antonio Botta Adorno, i rapporti interni non mutarono di molto; anzi, il fatto che questi provenisse dai ranghi dell'esercito imperiale, radicalizzò ulteriormente il contrasto fra il potere e la società locale.

Il bisogno di uomini per completare i reggimenti che avevano inviato ciascuno un battaglione per la guerra contro la Prussia, spinse il governo, come misura di estrema necessità, ad aprire i ranghi anche agli oziosi e ai vagabondi, ai pregiudicati e ai *malfamati fomentatori*; pure i condannati all'esilio potevano essere arruolati.

L'ARRUOLAMENTO DEI DISCOLI E LA MOBILITAZIONE IN TOSCANA PER LA GUERRA DEI SETTE ANNI: PROPAGANDA E LEGGENDA.

Il ricorso a questo tipo di coscrizione da parte del governo toscano, coincidente con la reggenza di Botta Adorno, ha generato molte inesattezze e ha fatto nascere delle leggende, diffuse soprattutto della storiografia otto - novecentesca, che ha strumentalizzato il fenomeno delle coscrizioni coatte in funzione anti-austriaca¹. A fini di propaganda si calcolò molto l'accento sul fatto che, per completare ogni anno il tributo di vite umane richiesto dall'imperatore, la Toscana si sarebbe spopolata, per effetto dei tanti giovani che preferirono fuggire in altri stati per evitare la coscrizione. Se una tale affermazione poteva avere un senso nel clima di odio verso l'Austria durante il Risorgimento e la Grande Guerra, anche in epoche recenti si è continuato a concedere a questa storia un credito senza riserve². Rischiando a volte di contraddirsi gli storici che si sono occupati della Toscana del Settecento hanno cercato di dimostrare l'iniquità dei metodi di Botta Adorno, ma dall'altro si sono affannati a sgombrare ogni dubbio riguardo l'abnegazione e l'efficienza militare dei toscani³, ammesso che le

1 Si chiama in causa l'opera di R.Giorgetti, *Le Armi Toscane e le Occupazioni Straniere in Toscana*, Roma, 1916.

2 Si segnalano a proposito: A. Contini, *Il Sistema delle Bande Territoriali fra ordine pubblico e riforme militari nella prima età lorenese*, in: *Corpi Armati e Ordine Pubblico in Italia, XVI-XIX secolo e V. Ilari*, G. Boeri, C. Paoletti, *Bella Italia Militar; Eserciti e Marine nell'Italia pre-napoleonica (1742 - 1792)*; Roma, 2000.

3 Cfr. R.Giorgetti, op.cit. vol. I, Parte Seconda, pag. 58 e sg.

virtù di un popolo si possano giudicare da come fa la guerra. Solo recentemente l'attenzione degli storici si è concentrata sul lento e macchinoso procedere della messa a punto del contingente e sulle successive difficoltà incontrate per ripianare i vuoti⁴. L'analisi dei numerosi documenti conservati nell'Archivio di Stato di Firenze riguardanti il fenomeno degli arruolamenti coatti durante quegli anni, ci permette di ricostruire uno scenario più attendibile⁵ e di valutare la questione in un altro modo. L'arruolamento coatto provocò certamente molti malumori e con ogni probabilità spinse una parte di coloro che si sentivano minacciati a espatriare. Il fenomeno indusse i proprietari terrieri ad avanzare qualche riserva nei confronti di queste coscrizioni, che in definitiva sottraevano braccia ai campi, fino a quando una parte di essi assunse una posizione nettamente contraria e cercò di avversarli con altri mezzi. La polemica si innescò nei primi anni Sessanta, quando i tre reggimenti di fanteria intensificarono gli arruolamenti per riempire i vuoti sorti a seguito del continuo invio di rinforzi in Slesia. Fra il 1759 e il 1762 i tre reggimenti spedirono come *completamenti* in Germania 1.287 uomini, da sommarsi ai 3.204 del primo contingente partito nel 1758. Rispetto alla forza totale della fanteria, la formazione del contingente per la guerra coinvolse complessivamente poco meno dell'80% dell'intera forza a piedi del granducato, obbligando le compagnie rimaste nelle guarnigioni a ricorrere a ogni tipo di arruolamento. Dal punto di vista numerico i 4.491 toscani coinvolti nella guerra rappresentavano l'1,2 per mille della popolazione maschile del granducato; una proporzione che non permette di dare credito al fenomeno di drammatico spopolamento registrato in quegli anni, specie se consideriamo che in altri stati italiani la proporzione di giovani finiti sotto le armi raggiunse percentuali del 23 per mille⁶; un'inezia se proviamo a guardare fuori dai confini nazionali e allora basta prendere ad esempio il sistema di reclutamento svedese - la famigerata *Rota* - che ai primi del secolo aveva chiamato alle armi fino a un uomo ogni otto famiglie. Anche se il lungo periodo di pace poteva aver reso refrattaria alle armi la popolazione maschile del granducato, questi numeri apparirebbero in contraddizione anche con i risultati delle campagne di arruolamento di venti anni prima, quando il granducato si trovava esposto a un'invasione franco-spagnola ed era stato costretto a mobilitare tutte le proprie forze. Ma anche analizzando altri aspetti della vicenda è possibile accorgersi che certe affermazioni sull'impatto dell'arruolamento forzato non sono del tutto credibili. Ricorrere al *Discolato* per riempire i vuoti del reggimento in Germania poteva rappresentare una soluzione immediata, ma non risolveva il problema di come far arrivare le reclute a destinazione evitando che fuggissero alla prima occasione, e anche se per tutti i rinforzi partiti dalla Toscana era prevista una scorta di *volontari* veterani, resta difficile credere come questi contingenti - messi insieme con la forza - non si siano dissolti in breve tempo. Durante i trasferimenti si verificarono delle diserzioni, ma queste non avvennero in misura tale da far credere che le reclute fossero trascinate in campagna in catene. Naturalmente questo non significava che tutti anelassero di servire il proprio sovrano in

4 La combinazione di questi due fattori ha generato il mito negativo della "crudele e iniqua politica degli arruolamenti" da parte del governo austro-loreense e la conseguente malevola affermazione che i toscani nel XVIII secolo non erano adatti a fare la guerra (NdA).

5 Si rimanda in particolare ai fondi *Segreteria di Guerra*: f. 518-521 e *Commissariato Generale di Guerra*, f.1545.

6 Vedere il caso del Piemonte nella prima metà del XVIII secolo, in particolare la provincia di Vercelli. Cfr. S. Loriga, *Soldati, l'istituzione Militare nel Piemonte del Settecento*, Padova, 1992.

una guerra combattuta tanto lontano dal proprio paese. In ogni caso la coscrizione obbligatoria e quella coatta servirono esclusivamente a riportare a una forza organica sufficiente i contingenti rimasti nel granducato, necessari alle ordinarie operazioni richieste nelle guarnigioni. Il reperimento di soldati per la guerra si concentrò soprattutto sui *Volontari*, ovvero quelli che avevano liberamente capitolato il loro servizio nella fanteria. A questo riguardo appaiono come rivelatori gli appunti del governatore Botta Adorno, riguardanti il *Ristretto delle Milizie Descritte*⁷ del 1758; un prospetto preparato dalle cancellerie dei distretti toscani e contenente il numero delle reclute richieste dai reggimenti e quante di queste avevano effettivamente risposto, ovvero solo 303 su una lista di 700 *Descritti* classificati come *capaci*. Queste liste facevano seguito a quanto pianificato alla fine dell'anno precedente, quando il comando generale aveva inviato ai colonnelli di fanteria l'ordine di completare i reggimenti e in maniera esplicita indicò anche con quali metodi: “se resteranno poche truppe in Toscana, cioè a dire Livorno, Portoferraio, qualche altro posto alle frontiere, e le più necessarie a Firenze, si potranno aumentare le compagnie che restano con nuovi arruolamenti o estraendole dalla Milizia”⁸; ma il contingente da inviare alla guerra doveva essere composto esclusivamente da *Volontari*, ovvero non da coscritti. Anche in seguito, in ognuna delle *Istruzioni* inviate ai comandanti dei reggimenti, Botta Adorno insistette sempre che fra i soldati si scegliessero i *più volontari*, ovvero quelli *che si sono ingaggiati da sé* e meglio se *capitolati per dieci anni*⁹. Sulla base di queste evidenze la *vulgata ottocentesca* che parla dell'arruolamento coatto di giovani, rastrellati persino impiegando i dragoni, appare sempre meno attendibile. Ogni anno i rinforzi lasciarono il granducato per dirigersi in Boemia o in Slesia e ogni volta Botta Adorno inviò nuove istruzioni per i comandanti, ma dopo un paio d'anni la disponibilità di volontari era diminuita rapidamente¹⁰. Nel 1761 la difficoltà di trovare soldati volontari giunse al culmine, come ci informa chiaramente uno degli ufficiali comandanti dei reparti rimasti in Toscana: “...dopo aver fatta la scelta in queste compagnie, trovo che scegliendo solamente i Capitolati, i Cambi e i Volontari, non è possibile avere il contingente richiesto (...) Stimo dunque necessario che per completare il numero sarei del sentimento di comprendere quei discoli più capaci, i quali da 8 o 10 mesi in qua si ritrovano al servizio, altrimenti converrebbe che si prendessero di quei descritti assegnati due anni fa in circa ai reggimenti, i quali non hanno mai voluto prendere capitolazione colla speranza di essere un giorno rimandati alle loro case”¹¹, ma nemmeno stavolta risulterebbe che qualche *Discolo* o coscritto sia stato inviato in Germania¹². E' evidente che ciò stava entrando in crisi non era il

7 Biblioteca Ambrosiana di Milano, f. *Botta Adorno*, X, 246, inf.1-27; *Ristretto delle Milizie Descritte e che secondo il rapporto dovevasi consegnare alli Reggimenti d'Infanteria, come appunto del numero di esse effettivamente consegnate*, febbraio-giugno 1758.

8 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f.519, b.308; Ordini del Generale Barone Henart, 23 novembre 1757.

9 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f. 519, b.369; *Istruzioni di Botta Adorno al comandante delle reclute per la Germania nell'anno 1760, con tutto il carteggio relativo al loro trasporto*. 1760.

10 Idem: “...nella scelta fatta, ho procurato di pigliare i più volontari, ma che nonostante questo avevo riconosciuto che la maggior parte erano poco contenti, e perciò potevano temersi delle diserzioni”

11 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f.521, b.428; lettera del capitano Simonelli a Botta Adorno, 1 gennaio 1761.

12 Idem, lettera del 7 gennaio 1761: ““Si è degnata Vra Ecc.za di parteciparmi con venerat.mo suo foglio de' 3 andante, che d'ordine di Sua Maestà Cesarea, dovrà verso la metà del prossimo mese di Febbraio spiccarsi da codesto Gran Ducato un Trasporto di 500 Volontari accompagnati da 80 Veterani per passare in Germania

rapporto fra sudditi e *Militare*, ma fra le istituzioni del granducato e l'esercito; la scarsità di reclute era da imputare alla sostanziale mancanza di una efficiente organizzazione per il reclutamento, necessità avvertita dallo stesso Botta Adorno, costretto a occuparsi in prima persona dei molteplici aspetti di quella spedizione. Tutte incombenze impegnative, ma che alla fine risultarono ancora più complesse a causa dell'inesperienza delle istituzioni del granducato alle necessità della guerra. Il ricorso al *Discolato*, quindi, avvenne solo per il completamento degli organici e per mantenere in numero sufficiente le guarnigioni e di questo fenomeno rimangono numerose tracce, rappresentate dalle suppliche e istanze inviate al governo dai familiari dei *Discoli* o dei *Descritti* per ottenere il loro rilascio. Molte di queste lettere furono scritte a proprio a partire dal 1760, ma in nessun caso si allude alla partenza per la Germania di queste reclute. Tutti i casi denunciati si somigliavano fra loro, per un'infrazione più o meno manifesta o per la delazione di qualche birro, si finiva agli arresti; ai familiari giungeva quindi la notizia che il figlio o il fratello si trovavano a fare il soldato da qualche parte in Toscana¹³. Il governo non rimaneva insensibile alle richieste di revisione e richiedeva al Commissariato di Guerra un'apposita indagine¹⁴. Il Commissariato richiedeva allora informazioni dettagliate sui *Discoli* incriminati, attingendole dalle fonti tradizionali: i parroci e gli altri notabili del luogo. Anche i colonnelli erano tenuti a verificare se i *Discoli* ai loro ordini si trovassero trattenuti ingiustamente. Le testimonianze sono innumerevoli e permettono di intravedere un quadro straordinariamente vivo sulla vita e – soprattutto – sulle disgrazie dei giovani delle classi popolari del XVIII secolo: “Giuseppe Mirandoli del fu Paolo di San Donnino a Brozzi domanda coll'annessa memoria che Giovanni Battista Mirandoli, suo figlio, sia esentato dal servizio militare, per cui fu arrestato in Pelago il 22 del caduto mese di gennaio (1761) e consegnato alla Fortezza da Basso”. All'epoca dei fatti Giovanni Battista aveva 18 anni e prima di finire sotto le armi esercitava la professione di *filatore della lana*, con la quale contribuiva al sostegno della famiglia, consistente, oltre al padre, nella madre e due altre figlie nubili. Il padre del condannato allegava alcuni attestati relativi ai *buoni costumi* del figlio e dichiarava di aver fatto parte per 14 anni nella milizia delle *Bande* granducali; quindi elencava anche i luoghi nei quali aveva prestato servizio come soldato, sia sotto il granduca Francesco Stefano che il suo predecessore: “...nel presidio della Fortezza da Basso

per completare il Reggimento Toscano che milita nella Grande Armata”

- 13 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f.520: “Matteo Nunziati di Carmignano, garzone, arrestato e consegnato alla Fortezza come recluta, chiede di poter tornare a casa per accudire i genitori, poveri e miserabili”; oppure: “Istanza del soldato Niccolò Mariotti descritto d'Infanteria (...) di Gello, distretto di Pistoia, domanda il congedo dal Reggimento in cui si trova già da tre anni, allegando che gli è morto un fratello, e che non può la di lui famiglia superstita tirare avanti il podere, che la stessa ha dalla mensa Vescovile di Pistoia (...) La vedova Maria Lucrezia Calamai, del fu Filippo Giannini di Pistoia, domanda che gli sia restituito il figlio Giovanni, il quale nel mese di dicembre fu catturato dai Famigli di Pistoia e reclutato nella Truppa (...) al tempo che esercitava la sua arte di Canapino, fu catturato e condotto in carcere e di poi legato e trasmesso a Firenze o in altro luogo per mandarlo a fare il soldato”
- 14 Idem: “Il Mariotti è descritto nella compagnia Mangion del 1° Reggimento, a Firenze, e il Governatore di Pistoia mi scrive che quest'uomo merita considerazione, poiché ha riscontrato che la di lui famiglia consiste nella madre ottuagenaria, in una cognata vedova, in due sorelle nubili, due nipoti minori di età e in un solo fratello che non basta a sorreggere il podere”, mentre riguardo al figlio della Giannini “...scrive il medesimo Governatore che il ricorso della madre non abbia alcun fondamento, e che il giovane stia volentieri al Reggimento in Livorno, ove si trova”.

di Firenze, come di Portoferraio, di Grosseto e Carpegna, e d'essere stato colle Galere ad Antibo al ricevimento di Sua Maesta Cattolica, allora infante, Don Carlos, ed a Tunis di Barberia, nel trasporto degli schiavi rilasciati dalla I.M.V. a quelle Ottomane Reggenze"¹⁵. C'era poi chi offriva di trovare dei sostituti per ottenere il congedo dei propri congiunti, come Pascuina Pampiani: "vedova del fu Sebastiano Mannocci, chiede il congedo per il figlio Tommaso ascritto all'attual servizio della C.M.V. nel reggimento Dragoni di questa Città di Pisa e per l'altro figlio Domenico, maggiore e capo famiglia, andato soldato (per *Discolato*) nel 3° Reggimento di fanteria a Livorno"; alla vedova restava solo un altro figlio, "il quale non solo è in età pupillare, quanto ancora melenso e perciò incapace di lavorare e accudire a quei pochi effetti livellari (...) e costretta a vivere mendicando"¹⁶.

IL DISCOLATO COME DETERRENTE: PROFITTI E SVANTAGGI.

A parte le periodiche ma non frequenti richieste di liste di *Discoli* spiccate da parte delle autorità fra la fine degli anni Cinquanta e l'inizio del decennio successivo, se un giovane finiva sotto le armi con la forza, ciò avveniva per lo più dietro la segnalazione di un *birro* locale. Pur non essendo conosciuti né facilmente ricostruibili i dati completi sul reclutamento coatto, soprattutto in quanto la proporzione non fu mai costante, si direbbe che il ricorso al *Discolato* non conobbe mai soste a partire dal 1765. Persino *il migliore dei principi*, Pietro Leopoldo, ne fu un convinto sostenitore e del resto l'offerta non si esauriva mai. Da un quadro generale dei processi negli anni Sessanta, si apprende che, a parte le cause risolte con sanzioni pecuniarie, furono portati in giudizio poco meno di 1.400 persone l'anno; di questi una parte con pene di poco conto e il restante, valutabile in un terzo del totale, subì la pena dell'esilio, del carcere o dei lavori forzati. Perciò da parte dello stato il modello del *Discolato* si reggeva sulla matematica previsione che, per lo spettro della condanna o per l'intimidazione di un *famiglio*, ci fosse sempre qualcuno che avrebbe accettato l'arruolamento in fanteria e in questo modi si risparmiavano pure le spese di arruolamento. Nel decennio successivo cessò di esistere l'opzione facoltativa, così l'arruolamento coatto dei *Discoli* diventò una vera e propria condanna penale senza possibilità di appello. Se infine consideriamo che la forza totale della fanteria toscana scese dai 6.000 uomini del 1765 ad appena 2.151 del 1790, la dimensione percentuale del *Discolato* assumere una rilevanza niente affatto trascurabile. Per il governo i vantaggi pratici offerti apparivano evidenti; rispetto al reclutamento coatto quello volontario richiedeva molto più tempo, con la conseguente assenza delle squadre dai corpi per molte settimane. E poi i trasferimenti erano sempre fonte di problemi a non finire. A parte il rischio di ripensamenti e il conseguente abbandono della squadra di arruolamento, le reclute trascorrevano anche molti giorni assieme ai reclutatori e come a questi gli si doveva procurare alloggio e vitto. Non era raro che una squadra di pochi soldati ritornasse alla guarnigione con un numero di reclute di molte decine di uomini, con il conseguente riflesso economico che

15 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f.521, b.430; gennaio 1761.

16 ASFi, *Segreteria di Guerra*, f.521, b. 434; marzo 1761. Una delle ultime lettere conservate è della primavera del 1761: "Supplica degli umilissimi servi di Vostra Eccellenza, genuflessi ai clementissimi piedi della medesima" i coniugi Eleonora e Niccolò Gattai di Pisa "...ambedue vecchi quasi decrepiti, storpiati e gocciolanti" in favore del figlio Giuseppe "andato soldato a Livorno" dopo l'arresto avvenuto quattro mesi prima; f. 521, b. 439; 15 maggio 1761.

ciò comportava, tutti problemi invece assenti ricorrendo all'arruolamento coatto per via giudiziaria. Tuttavia questo guadagno celava un lato della medaglia che per lo stato si rivelava assai poco vantaggioso: le compagnie si riempivano di elementi di dubbia reputazione, spesso dei veri e propri criminali, difficili da disciplinare, oppure di persone finite sotto le armi per errore, per un gioco di malevolenze e delazioni di qualche crudele *esecutore* di polizia. Ciò portava a una recrudescenza del fenomeno delle diserzioni o a continue richieste di revisione e in ogni modo a rendere meno solida la compagine militare. Ad accrescere in negativo il fenomeno concorrevano gli stessi sudditi, per i quali l'esercito aveva assunto i caratteri di un vero e proprio luogo di punizione¹⁷. E' possibile credere soltanto che il condannato poteva forse provare maggiore soggezione nei confronti di un ufficiale: "da cui dipendeva la propria libertà, e questa è probabilmente una delle spiegazioni - per quanto non la principale - per cui il sistema del *Discolato* sia durato così a lungo"¹⁸. Perciò per l'istituzione militare i guadagni erano alla fine solo apparenti, poiché questa misura alimentava la diffidenza della popolazione nei confronti dell'esercito, considerato alla stregua di un carcere. E mentre c'erano comunità, o meglio il loro ceto dirigente, che potevano guardare con soddisfazione a questo economico mezzo per spurgare periodicamente la società, ce n'erano altre - soprattutto nelle maggiori città, sedi di guarnigione - che non accoglievano favorevolmente questo tipo di soldati. Erano questi gli anni in cui si radicalizzava la convinzione del granduca sulla necessità di ridurre la forza armata, cambiare l'assetto stesso dell'esercito e la sua collocazione nella società, anche perché la Toscana secondo le parole di Pietro Leopoldo: "...non avendo una quantità superflua di braccia inutili, non v'è da reclutarle per tenere in piedi un esercito numeroso"¹⁹. Da questo contesto scaturì l'affermazione ottocentesca²⁰ che *nella mite Toscana erano più numerosi i poliziotti dei soldati* e sebbene ciò non corrispondesse pienamente alla realtà, la condizione di emarginazione nel quale si trovava l'esercito non poteva che provocare il decadimento dell'efficienza. Con un'eloquente nota diretta al granduca, il ministro Gianni riferiva alla metà degli anni Ottanta sullo stato in cui versava il *Militare*: "le truppe danno al popolo impressione di tetro spavento" e soprattutto erano divenute "oziose per mancanza di nemici", infine approfittando della loro funzione avevano "...incominciato a conoscere che la sicurezza dipende da loro" e che "il Principe le comanda con autorità, ma senza forza da costringerle ad obbedire"²¹.

Il diffuso rilassamento morale, il rapido attecchire di svariate forme di indisciplina, alimentavano i dubbi sulla funzionalità della macchina militare non solo per i compiti istitu-

17 ASFi, *Segreteria del Buongoverno*, 1784-1808; f.217, 9 dicembre 1798. "I coniugi Antonio e Anna Lucchetti di Firenze, hanno fatto istanza perché Lorenzo loro figlio, giovin scapolo, venga in qualità di Discolo sottoposto alla disciplina militare. Questo giovine non si è mai voluto adattare a verun stabile mestiere, essendosi in quella vece dissipato nel gioco, nelle pratiche cattive e quantunque sia stato replicatamente avvertito a mutar consenso, non si è disposto a mutar contegno..." Assieme a questa lettera ve ne sono altre tre di tenore simile; il 19 febbraio 1799 la Segreteria di Guerra approva la coscrizione dei quattro giovani, *come deciso da S.A.R.*

18 N. Labanca, *Le Panoplie del Granduca*, in: *Ricerche Storiche*, maggio-giugno 1995; pag. 340:

19 Pietro Leopoldo in: A. Salvestrini, *Relazioni sul governo della Toscana*, pag. 369, cit. da N. Labanca, op. cit. pag. 296.

20 Cfr. Idem, pag. 298 e sg.

21 Idem.

zionali della difesa dello stato, ma anche per la tutela dell'ordine interno. Gli aspetti negativi dell'esercito si aggravarono sempre più, nonostante i buoni propositi di alcuni ufficiali per reprimere gli effetti più deleteri, estinguere i mali di fondo e rimediare agli scompensi che avevano contribuito alla sua decadenza. Nell'ultimo decennio del secolo le truppe versavano in condizioni preoccupanti, abbandonate a se stesse e senza una direzione efficace; lo sfaldarsi della disciplina e il rilassamento dei vincoli di subordinazione avevano ridotto il *Militare* in condizioni miserissime, pur gravando in misura sempre rilevante sui bilanci dello stato. Così si approfondì la contraddizione tra un vertice di alti ufficiali, dal costo elevato, e una massa di soldati di mediocre qualità. Verso gli ultimi anni del XVIII secolo l'esercito toscano presentava taluni tratti assimilabili al concetto di corpo militare, ma nella sostanza si riduceva a un'istituzione assistenziale con poche eccezioni e appariva come un elemento inserito nell'ordinamento statale, ma svuotato di ogni valore intrinseco. Certamente non dipendeva solo dal *Discolato* se l'esercito toscano si trovava in condizioni così pietose, ma senza dubbio la presenza non marginale di uomini condannati coercitivamente a fare il soldato non poteva che generare altro malumore. Correre ai ripari era indifferibile, in quanto il mobile quadro internazionale non consentiva di trascurare l'organizzazione difensiva per non aumentare il rischio di abbandonare il paese alla mercé dello straniero, fossero i rivoluzionari francesi, gli austriaci o gli arroganti "alleati" anglo-napoletani, i quali – va ricordato – si installarono con la forza a Livorno nel novembre del 1798. Alla vigilia dell'invasione francese le condizioni complessive dell'esercito toscano non erano migliorate; quando nella primavera del 1798 si assistette al passaggio delle truppe rivoluzionarie francesi, molti toscani poterono confrontare le due compagini: l'arrivo di un esercito moderno, formato da cittadini e comandato da uomini che non dovevano la loro posizione al censo oppure alla nascita aristocratica, organizzati secondo un criterio basato sul merito, annunciava anche in Toscana – dove invece si conosceva solo la scalcinata truppa granducale messa in piedi col *Discolato* – una dimensione e un modello di organizzazione militare completamente nuovo.

EPILOGO NAPOLEONICO.

Il capitolo del *Discolato* registrò però in Toscana un epilogo inaspettato, anche se mutuato dai regolamenti francesi e ispirato ai reparti di disciplina d'oltralpe. Ciò avvenne non più sul territorio dell'ex granducato, ma all'interno del piccolo principato di Lucca e Piombino, donato da Napoleone al cognato Felice Baciocchi, o piuttosto alla sorella Elisa. Lo stato lucchese si trovava in una situazione caratteristica rispetto agli altri stati dell'Impero, soprattutto nell'istituto militare, poiché continuava per via consuetudinaria a mantenere un esercito formato da volontari, escludendo cioè la popolazione dalla coscrizione obbligatoria. Tuttavia mantenere in assetto di guerra il pur piccolo esercito del principato comportava molti problemi di ordine pratico, fra tutti l'interruzione del tradizionale canale di reclutamento dello stato lucchese, ovvero la Toscana granducale e la Corsica, le quali – definitivamente inserite nel quadro politico imperiale – non permettevano più la partenza di volontari verso un altro stato, specie quando dopo il 1809 lo sforzo di mobilitazione deciso da Napoleone si fece sempre più intenso. L'impegno sottoscritto da Parigi e Lucca obbligava soprattutto quest'ultima alla difesa dell'accesso al canale di Piombino, dove si trovava una guarnigione stabile a guardia del porto e della fortezza. Alla fine del 1809, in coincidenza con la scadenza della ferma di

molte delle reclute²², si rese necessario ridurre le compagnie del battaglione di fanteria a quattro soltanto, giungendo perfino, dietro l'insistenza del comandante, a sospendere i congedi onde poter garantire la regolarità del servizio²³. La presenza crescente di unità corsare inglesi nel mar Tirreno non facilitavano certo un processo di smilitarizzazione e così nel novembre del 1811 si procedette a un aumento dell'organico della guarnigione, attraverso la formazione di una compagnia di disciplina, denominata compagnia di *Compagnie des Pionniers*. La creazione di questa unità rappresentò di fatto la sola forma di coscrizione obbligatoria introdotta nel Principato, essendo una compagnia costituita da reclute coatte, arruolate a forza fra i *Discoli* e gli *oziosi*, fisicamente sani, condannati per piccoli reati. L'introduzione di questa misura di repressione incontrò a Lucca il favore di molti contemporanei, secondo l'autorevole parere di uno storico locale: *si purgò il paese da tante persone almeno sospette (...) e si migliorò assai la morale per timore di soffrire quella sorte*²⁴. Accedere nella nuova unità, denominata anche nei documenti in lingua italiana *Compagnia Guastatori*, era permesso anche ai soldati già condannati per reati disciplinari, in modo da ottenere una diminuzione della pena, in quanto un anno sotto le armi equivaleva a 18 mesi di prigione; inoltre c'era sempre la possibilità di ottenere un congedo anticipato qualora il servizio prestato fosse stato soddisfacente. Dopo circa due mesi di esistenza la compagnia guastatori contava un organico di 58 uomini e benché la sua composizione fosse in massima parte formata da *requisiti*, fra essi si trovavano anche tre volontari.²⁵ L'afflusso di uomini per la compagnia non si arrestò nemmeno negli ultimi mesi di esistenza del Principato. In una lettera del capitano comandante della Gendarmeria, datata 11 settembre 1813, si informava l'Ispettore Generale della Forza Armata dell'arresto di *diversi individui* a Lucca da inviare come rinforzo alla compagnia guastatori; altre 14 persone erano state arrestate a Massa e Carrara e inviati dalla Gendarmeria alla compagnia guastatori, che aumentò così l'organico con 26 nuove reclute²⁶. E' singolare constatare come, alla fine, il meccanismo dell'arruolamento coatto provocasse dopo tanti anni e in due differenti contesti sociali, come quello granducale dei Lorena e quello napoleonico dei principi Baciocchi, le medesime reazioni ambivalenti: convinzione di un miglioramento dell'ordine pubblico e attribuzione di compiti di rieducazione all'istituto militare da un lato, mentre dall'altro si accettava più o meno consapevolmente la trasformazione dei corpi militari in luoghi di pena, resi ancora più sgraditi a coloro che ci finivano dentro dai rischi connessi dal ritrovarsi nell'ingranaggio della macchina bellica napoleonica, che tanto tributo di sangue aveva chiesto alla gioventù dell'Impero.

Ma ancora più caratteristico nel principato di Lucca, fu il ricorso alla presenza dei militari presso le comunità dello stato come misura di controllo e di repressione dei fenomeni criminali, nonché di punizione per le comunità che proteggevano i fuorilegge. L'impiego dei soldati come forza di polizia interna fu autorizzato dal principe Felice Baciocchi, il quale

22 ASLu; Fondo *Segreteria di Stato e Gabinetto*; f. 56, lettera del 12 novembre 1809

23 ASLu; Fondo *Segreteria di Stato e Gabinetto*; f. 112

24 Cfr. A. MAZZAROSA: *Storia di Lucca*, pag. 273

25 ASLu; Fondo *Segreteria di Stato e Gabinetto*; f. 112, *Carte non Protocollate*, rassegna del 12 febbraio 1812.

26 ASLu; Fondo *Gendarmeria*; f. 3, Rapporto del 14-15 settembre 1813. In agosto era toccata la stessa sorte ad altri 6 lucchesi.

introduceva nel suo stato l'antico metodo delle *dragonnades*, adottate a più riprese in Corsica nei primi anni dell'occupazione francese come misura di dissuasione e di punizione per intere comunità che si erano rese colpevoli di reati collettivi. Fu questo il caso della *Comune* di Borgo a Mozzano, condannata nel luglio del 1807 ad ospitare una squadra di 25 soldati di fanteria agli ordini di un ufficiale. La popolazione di quel luogo si era infatti opposta con la forza alla cattura di un ricercato, accusato di essere il capo di una banda di briganti. I civili coinvolti, una volta individuati, erano stati cassati dai ruoli della Guardia Nazionale, ma mentre inizialmente la pena prevedeva che tutte le spese di vitto e di alloggio del distaccamento fossero a carico dei condannati, in un secondo tempo la pena pecuniaria venne estesa a tutta la comunità di Borgo a Mozzano, qualora non si fosse ravvisato da parte della popolazione la volontà a collaborare alla cattura del ricercato²⁷. Queste occupazioni potevano durare fino a trenta giorni e altri interventi analoghi a quello di Borgo a Mozzano furono applicati per tempi più o meno brevi nelle comuni di Nozzano nel 1808, e di Casoli nel 1809.

Anche stavolta fra gli effetti di queste misure repressive ci fu il progressivo distacco fra civili e soldati, individuati ormai dalle classi popolari come uno dei più biechi strumenti di coercizione in mano al potere; in definitiva un risultato completamente contrario allo spirito di ciò che si intendeva conseguire in termini di ordinamento della società, tanto nella Toscana delle riforme leopoldine come nella Lucca del nuovo codice civile.

27 ASLu; Fondo *Segreteria di Stato e Gabinetto*; f. 36, fascicolo IV, "Ordine per la formazione di un distaccamento per la comune di Borgo a Mozzano"

The British Occupation of Newport, Rhode Island, 1776-1779

CHARLES NIEMEYER

During the American War for Independence, a conflict that would last over eight years, the British Army eventually occupied for various periods of time five major colonial American coastal cities: Boston, Massachusetts, 1775-1776, New York City, 1776-1783, Newport, Rhode Island, 1776-1779, Savannah, Georgia, 1778-1782, and Charleston, South Carolina, 1780-1783. However, of these five cities, Newport would arguably suffer the most damage during its occupation and would never recover its former place as one of America's leading maritime centers of economic production.

Founded in 1639, the city of Newport was renowned for its fine deep water harbor and its close proximity to the Atlantic trade routes. In fact, Newport had grown so rapidly from its founding that it boasted a pre-war population of approximately 11,000 souls. The town was considered the 5th largest city in all of British North America, ranking immediately behind Boston in terms of tonnage and productivity of its international seaport. However, by 1779, the picture for Newport had substantially changed. In just three years the town lost nearly three-quarters of its total pre-war population and all of its port facilities and wharves lay in ruins. As a direct result of the war, the city never recovered from its effects and would largely remain in a state of economic and social decline for the next 60 years. Why was this so? What had happened to Newport that clearly did not take place in other occupied cities such as New York City and Charleston, South Carolina whose status as economic centers of maritime production quickly recovered following the cessation of hostilities in 1783?

Much of the answer to these questions lies in understanding the nature of the occupation of the town and Rhode Island's role in the American rebellion. In fact, the colony for years prior to the outbreak of war had a well deserved reputation as a center for colonial opposition to the Crown and, more ominously, for smuggling. For example, in 1765, Royal authorities, attempting to enforce the widely unpopular Stamp Act, (a tax passed by Parliament to raise revenue for the Crown), were violently attacked by the townspeople of Newport and forced to flee to Royal Navy ships in the harbor for their own personal safety. In 1772, a Royal Navy sloop, the HMS *Gaspee*, in the process of chasing what was believed to be an American coastal smuggler, accidentally ran aground not far from Providence, Rhode Island. While waiting for the tide, the *Gaspee* was attacked by local militiamen. Lieutenant Dudingston, the *Gaspee's* Captain, had been shot by one of the attackers and left for dead on the beach (he later recovered). The *Gaspee* was then ransacked and burned to the waterline. It was one of the most sensational events of the time and when in early 1773, the British Admiralty convened a court of inquiry in Newport to identify the perpetrators, not a single local citizen could be found to testify as to what happened. Thus it was clear from the outset of hostilities that the town was dominated by those who called themselves Sons of Liberty. In fact, the antagonism between Royal authority and the colony itself went so deep that many Crown officials openly and derisively referred to Rhode Island as "Rogue Island." And by December 1776, following a highly successful campaign against the Americans in New York

City, British thoughts turned once again toward doing something about the Rhode Island malcontents who had thus far largely avoided the harsh hand of war.

The 8th of December 1776 turned out to be an ominous day for the city of Newport. Just off the harbor entrance a massive British seaborne invasion force of over 80 sail and led by General Henry Clinton had arrived from New York. Many of the residents made immediate preparations to leave the island. Continental Marine Captain John Trevett, a native of Newport and temporarily assigned to command the Marines on the Continental Sloop *Providence*, noted in his diary that on the morning of the British invasion: "This day my Father and Mother and a kinswoman and a young son of my Brothers went off for East Greenwich, they had but a few hours notice, they took with them some beds, and bedding, and a few trunks with clothing, and left their home with all the remainder of the furniture behind, with their wood, provisions, and everything necessary for the Winter...but to end this affair, all that he left behind, was lost partly by the British, but mostly by our own people."¹ While Captain Trevett did not absolve the British invaders of all culpability for any damage done to the town on this first day of occupation, he does seem to imply that much of the looting of homes was done by locals. Thus one of the first orders of business by the overall commander of the invasion force, Lieutenant General Lord Hugh Percy, was the establishment of a "Corps of Safe Guards" whose job was to provide the town and surrounding countryside with a military police force and to get a handle on any spontaneous looting that might take place by the soldiery or the citizens themselves. The "Safe Guards" consisted of one Subaltern and 15 men from each British and Hessian brigade. A British Captain would be in command to include those Safe Guards formed by the Hessian regiments as well.

The overall commander of what the British referred to as the "first debarkation" at Newport was British Major General Richard Prescott. When Lord Percy returned to England in early 1777, command of the Newport garrison troops fell to Prescott. However, on this first day of the invasion, he was in charge of the Light Infantry and Grenadiers, elite organizations that consisted of specially selected soldiers from the regular line battalions, and the British 3rd Brigade that consisted of four regular infantry formations, the 10th, 37th, 38th, and 52nd regiments. A second "debarkation" was landed soon afterward. This force consisted entirely of the greatly feared Hessians. The Hessians were commanded by Brigadier General Friedrich Wilhelm von Lossberg. General Lossberg's forces consisted of: the Leib regiment, Regiment Prince Carl, and Regiment von Dittfurth and Regiment von Wutginau. These German soldiers were all erroneously referred to as Hessians by the Americans since the Principality of Hesse had been among the first to offer the services of its troops in exchange for payment by the British Crown. In fact, quite a number of German Principalities supplied the British with troops for hire before the war was over. Nonetheless, especially after their first introduction during the New York campaign in the summer of 1776, the Hessians had a well deserved battlefield reputation for military efficiency and ferocity.²

A "third debarkation" was ordered ashore immediately after the first two had seized the

1 John Trevett, diary entry of December 6, 1776, in Charles R. Smith, *Marines in the American Revolution*, (Washington, DC: History and Museums Division, U.S. Marine Corps, 1975), 327.

2 Don N. Hagist, *General Orders, Rhode Island, December 1776 – January 1778*, (Bowie, MD: Heritage Books, 2001), 2-3.

town and its surrounding countryside. This force was commanded by British Brigadier General Francis Smith. Smith was the same officer who had the misfortune of having his force nearly annihilated by colonial militia during the 19 April 1775 day long battle of Lexington and Concord. Smith's 5th brigade consisted of the 22nd, 43rd, 54th and 63rd regiments and also included three more Hessian regiments: the Landgraf Regiment, Regiment Von Huyn, and Regiment von Bunau. The Hessians were commanded by Major General Christophe von Huyn. The Light Dragoons and the women camp followers (each regiment had about 50 or 60 women in its employ as cooks or laundresses) were ordered to remain aboard ship until things got firmly established ashore.³

At the time the effective size of an 18th century infantry regiment usually totaled around 500 to 600 men. When you include other auxiliaries such as Royal Marines, Royal Artillery, light dragoons, fleet sailors, and female camp followers, the total British and Hessian footprint on the island of Aquidneck and in the town itself likely approximated nearly 6000 persons – or over one-half of Newport's entire pre-war population. The Reverend Dr. Ezra Stiles, the minister of the town's Second Congregationalist church and later President of Yale University lamented that "it seems to be our Turn now to taste the heavy Calamities of the War. May God deliver us in his own Time out of all our Destresses.... This afternoon we hear that the Enemy landed yesterday about the Middle of the West Side of the Island, about Three Thousand Men: & Marched into Newport, paraded before the Courthouse & there published the Kings Proclamation, & formally took possession of the Town & erected the Kings Government & Laws."⁴

One of the amazing things about occupying forces during the wars of the 18th century was the little thought given to the issue of logistics by commanders. And the British and Hessian occupiers of Newport proved to be no exception. Most commanders assumed that shelter and provisions could be locally obtained. It was also quite apparent that the British had miscalculated in landing a force in such a northerly climate so late in the year. British Major Frederick MacKenzie noted in his journal the conditions faced by the British and Hessians troops the first few days ashore: "As the troops could not get their tents on shore from the transports last night, they were obliged to lie without any shelter, on a bleak hill, much exposed to the severity of the weather.... Very hard frost last night, and Ice an Inch and half thick this morning. The Hessian Regiment of Du Corp, marched into Newport, where they are to be quartered. Three Battalions of British and 5 of Hessians remain encamped on the height about where the Army landed."⁵ With the invasion just a few days old, Ezra Stiles hinted at what was to come for Newport. Since so much of the population had fled, Stiles noted that "about 15 or 20 persons are imprisoned at Newport by the Regulars chiefly of the lower sort & some that had borne Arms. The Officers were taking up houses for Barracks, & among others have taken my House & Meetinghouse – which last it is said they intend to make an Assembly Room for Balls &c after taking down the Pews. As yet they have put none to the Oath of Allegiance."⁶

Marine Captain John Trevett was asked by Rhode Island Governor Stephen Hopkins to

3 Hagist, *General Orders*, 2-3.

4 Ezra Stiles, *The Literary Diary of Ezra Stiles*, Vol. II, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1901), 95.

5 Frederick Mackenzie, *Diary of Frederick MacKenzie, 1775-1781*, Vol. 1, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1930), 123.

6 Ezra Stiles, 11 December 1776, in Stiles, II, 96.

accompany another officer along with several of his men from the Continental sloop *Providence* into Newport for a prisoner exchange. However, this mission was actually a cover for him to see what was going on inside occupied enemy territory. Allowing his beard to grow and dressing up along with several of his *Providence* Marines as sailors, Trevett sabotaged the water supply of the boat he was traveling in and thus made the need to replenish their water supply as the reason for going ashore. Once in town, Trevett noted that the British frigate HMS *Diamond* undergoing repairs after having run accidentally aground and being attacked by small American flotilla. He observed that the *Diamond* was “stoping up her Bruzes we Gave her the Week before at Warrick Neck.” Looking for a funnel to fill the water cask, Trevett was soon recognized by a local woman named Mrs. Batte. Earlier in the war, Trevett believed that Mrs. Batte was a Tory. But fortunately for him, her son was apparently in the American army as she asked Trevett if he had any news about how he was doing. She did nothing to reveal to the British that Trevett was walking about the town. Trevett strolled past the home of Peleg Barker and noted Hessian sentries and a guard detachment had been quartered there. Finding several trusted pre-war friends, Trevett got them to give him the “What and Whare and What Name of Trupes ware on the Island and Whare they ware stationed.” Trevett stopped by a local tavern and noted the room was “Crowded with Some British & Heshen officers.” He soon saw several locals who were opposed to the American cause and concluded that he needed to get back to his boat before he was recognized by one of them. In fact, one such person thought he had recognized Trevett and called him by name. However, Trevett ignored the man and hurried back to the wharf. It was not long before he was able to report his intelligence to the Commanding Officer of the *Providence*, Abraham Whipple.⁷

The first few weeks in Newport were clearly difficult ones for the occupying forces. Several storms battered the Hessians quartered in tents on the heights above the town so that their canvas was soon in shreds. As a result, the Hessians were ordered back into town and told to find shelter in the numerous now empty wooden homes of Newporters who had fled before the invasion. The rule of thumb for quartering troops in Newport was that a minimum of seven empty houses were needed for each company. Officers might obtain an empty house or more likely, board with a family who had elected to remain in town. Captain John Peebles, a Scottish officer with the Grenadiers noted in his diary that soon after landing, the “Troops Canton’d in Houses and Barns as most convenient some better & some worse, less moroding [marauding] than usual only a few pigs &c suffer – orders on that head more strickly attended to on account of the Scarcity on the Island.” Peebles himself boarded with a Newport family and paid rent. He believed that most of the population had fled the city and stated that “scarcely one third of the whole remaining & most of these very ill provided for the winter....” Just a month later, when Peebles and his unit was ordered to return to New York City, he stated that he “Clear’d with my Landlady this morning & tho I over paid her she did not seem to be satisfied, greedy & cunning like the rest of the Yankees.”⁸

Due to a shortage of wood needed for fuel to keep warm, empty houses not used as temporary barracks were occasionally pulled down so that the wood could be used by the

7 Captain John Trevett diary entries, in Smith, 327-328.

8 Ira D. Gruber, ed. *John Peebles’ American War: The Diary of a Scottish Grenadier, 1776-1782*, (Mechanicsburg, PA: Stackpole Books, 1998), 72-73, 82.

occupying force without risking a wood cutting party being attacked by American militia outside the lines. It was estimated that during the winter months, the occupying forces used upwards of 300 cords of wood a week. Later rail fences were burned, orchards were cut down and even stone from the famous New England stone wall enclosures were knocked down to provide ballast for British ships. Soldiers even pulled up Newport's now vastly under used wharves to get the firewood that they needed. Wood cutting parties were sent via ship as far away as Block and Fisher's Island in the Long Island Sound – some even went as far as Staten Island, New York. Hessian Captain Friedrich von der Malsburg of the von Ditfurth Regiment noted that "the people feel the military presence is disrupting their normal lives" and it was not only over a lack of fuel for the harsh New England winters. It seemed the citizens of Newport were especially afraid of the Hessians. One citizen appealed to Frederick Mackenzie that now that the island had been seized by British forces "he hoped the General would send all the Hessians on board ships again."⁹

It was not long before conditions inside Newport began to substantially deteriorate. One Newport merchant, Aaron Lopez, belonged to the town's vibrant Jewish community. Lopez had the foresight to remove himself and much of his business first to Portsmouth, eight miles to the north and then eventually to Boston to, in his words, "escape the cruel ravages of an enraged enemy." During his forced absence from his Newport home, Lopez wrote to his friend and former neighbor Joseph Anthony that "the poor inhabitants of the town have been very much distress'd this winter for the want of fewell [fuel] and provisions." He was especially concerned that his Jewish friends who had remained behind were suffering even more due to the lack of available kosher food and wrote that they "had not tasted any meat, but once in two months" and were largely subsisting on coffee and chocolate. Lopez informed his former neighbor of what had happened to their neighborhood since the invasion and wrote that Anthony's house had been much damaged. Another neighbor, Augustus Johnson, was found dead in his home and a woman who lived nearby, Mrs. Sisson, had gone insane. But what he said he "lamented most" was that he had heard a number of "our respectable ladys" had been molested by British soldiers in town.¹⁰

Since January 1776, Provincial officials had been urging Newporters to flee the inevitable British storm that was to come 11 months later. Two hundred pounds "were voted by the general treasury to assist poor people to leave." In fact, "only 35 percent of Newport's residents in 1774 were found there in 1782" (two years after the British had permanently departed the town). While this outflow is indeed significant, it must be noted that a substantial portion of Newport's population was dedicated to the maritime industry and could easily find work elsewhere in non-occupied ports and locales. Further, many transient sailors may have very likely been missed by census takers at any given time. But there can be no doubt that the occupation of Newport wreaked major demographic and economic damage on the town for years to come.¹¹

9 Citizen of Newport quoted in Frederick Mackenzie, Vol. 1, 126.

10 Stanley F. Chyet, *Lopez of Newport: Colonial American Merchant Prince*, (Detroit, MI: Wayne State University Press, 1970), 160-161.

11 Lynne Elizabeth Withey, Ph.D. Dissertation, "Population Change, Economic Development and the Revolution," (University of California – Berkeley, 1976), 9.

The patriot minister Ezra Stiles noted that he believed that of the 309 persons he personally knew who chose to stay in town after the British invasion, he thought at least 76, or 25 percent, were loyalists. A partial list of houses was made so that officials knew who was being billeted where, etc. Of the 147 houses listed, 21 of them were not occupied. At least 17 of the occupied houses listed widows as the homeowners. If a male head of household remained in town, he was likely to either be a loyalist or a Quaker pacifist.¹² The occupation caused trade to entirely collapse. This proved to be a double-edged sword for the occupying forces who had been counting on supplying much of their needs from local sources.

One of the most difficult situations for a people whose livelihood had been cut off by the war had to do with the hundreds of refugees “who had been thrust out from their late comfortable and peaceable dwellings” and were “destitute of the means of support and subsistence.” Fortunately for many of these destitute persons, the pious Quakers took it upon themselves to provide some emergency support of the poor. One Newport woman in town during the occupation wrote to leading Quaker merchant Moses Brown in Providence, “Where can they [the poor] go to find imploiment at this season of the year, Who will fead, clothe, or receive them into their houses, and many hundreds if not thousands are not able to provide for themselves, I have reason to think many for want to imploy are already reduc’d to live many days together on bran and water boild together and a bit of bread, and some have hardly that, to eat at a time.” Brown was convinced and immediately sent what money he could raise from neighboring towns and included a personal loan from himself.¹³

Discipline of the soldiers and sailors of the occupying force was clearly a concern to both local citizens and the British high command. Just weeks into the occupation, a Private John Dowling of the British 22nd Regiment was charged and convicted of rape and sentenced to “suffer death.” Amazingly, the “injured party,” interceded on behalf of Dowling (which likely meant that his liaison had either been consensual or the Americans were shocked at the severity of the punishment) and he was pardoned by the General for his offense. Just a year from his close brush with the hangman, Dowling deserted the army permanently on 9 January 1778 and made his way with another soldier to Providence, Rhode Island.¹⁴

Patrols were ordered to sweep the town at night and instructed to “take up all suspected persons who cannot give a satisfactory account of themselves.” Even the camp followers came under the military discipline system and it was published that “no soldier’s wife is upon any account to keep a shop, without permission in writing signed by the Commandant, or Deputy Commandant of the Town, for which they must be recommended....The General is concerned that no recommendation will be given to any women without a certainty that she will not make a bad use of it, by selling spirituous Liquors.” Citizens of the town were not allowed to leave the island nor have house guests without permission from the Commandant General Richard Prescott.¹⁵

Nonetheless, discipline of the troops seemed to be a chronic problem. On 25 July 1777, it

12 Withey, 212-213.

13 Withey, 214; Mary Callender to Moses Brown, 24 January 1776, Moses Brown Papers, Rhode Island Historical Society.

14 Don Hagist, *General Orders*, 14.

15 Don Hagist, *General Orders*, 14.

was published in General Orders that citizens had complained to General Pigot that “the Gardens in Town [were] being frequently robbed in the Night.” The General stated that he was “determined to punish the first Soldier, or Inhabitant, that is found guilty of such practices.” However, his threat must not have been taken seriously as the problem continued throughout the first summer of occupation. On 20 August 1777, it was again noted that “Brigadier General Smith and Brigadier General Losing [von Lossing] have frequent complaints from the Inhabitants, of their Gardens being robbed, their Potatoes, and Turnips dug up, their trees and Fences cut down and taken away; it is positively ordered that hereafter, any Soldier detected in any of the above infamous Actions, may never be forgiven on account of former Character, or at the Intercession of the Party injured....” General Smith even required that his order be “read to all Companies with the utmost attention, that no Man may plead ignorance.”¹⁶

Occasionally, the soldier robberies and depredations were not just against the inhabitants but against other soldiers. An Ensign Best of the 22nd Regiment was robbed by soldiers of “four guineas, two Half Joes, and some Shirts and Stockings.” In a sensational General Courts Martial of 1777, a Private Thomas Edwards of the 22nd Regiment, acting in his role as a “Sauve Guard [safe guard] at the house of Mr. Samuel Dyer” was charged with “Maliciously Firing a Musket, and thereby wounding two Hessian Soldiers of the Regiment of Dittfourth; one of whom Fuzileer Iburg is since dead of his wounds.” The Commanding Officer of the Hessian regiment, Colonel Carl von Bose argued in court that the attack was “without pretext or reason.” However, when called to the stand, Edwards noted that the farm of Mr. Dyer had been robbed for two preceding nights and had some sheep taken and that on the night prior to the shooting, that he had been beaten and “dragged about a field by four Hessian soldiers and that on the third night of these Robberies...he found ten Hessians breaking thro’ the Fence, on which he Challenged them, but not receiving any answer, Fired upon them....” Edwards further stated that after the dragging incident he had received permission from the Guard commander, Captain Edward Brabazon, 22nd Regiment, to fire upon farm trespassers in the future. And the very next night he did so. The Hessians claimed that the men had been shot at from someone behind a haystack using “long slugs” or a lead ball cut into square pieces. Thus the weapon was used more like a shotgun than a musket and was designed to hit as many people over as wide an area as possible. But knowing how Edwards had been previously treated by the Hessians, this action was perhaps understandable. Edwards was found not guilty.¹⁷

For the most part, however, the majority of the crimes by the soldiery during the occupation were of the petty theft variety. The most common punishment for such crime was lashes that could be as high as 500 or running the gauntlet. This latter punishment involved requiring the soldier to run between two files of men who would then be required to beat the man with their fists or even clubs. They would then repeat this procedure depending on the severity of the crime. Lieutenant Johann Prechtel noted that a “common soldier named Schmitt was punished to run a gauntlet of 200 men twelve times for having stolen money from a store.” A few Hessians and British soldiers received the death penalty for crimes against the

16 Don Hagist, *General Orders*, 61, 64.

17 Don Hagist, *General Orders*, 88-91.

civilian population or each other.¹⁸

In particular, the Hessians, perhaps owing to language problems, seemed to have the most difficulty with the local population. One diarist noted that on 13 June 1777, “last night a man was beat by Hessians. It is now dangerous to walk the streets after dark.” Two days later, the same diarist wrote, “the inhabitants continue to receive insults from the Hessians quartered in town.”¹⁹

Not every Hessian had as a negative experience as the two soldiers shot by Private Edwards. Private Johann Conrad Dohla of the Hessian Ansbach-Bayreuth regiment arrived in Newport in July 1778. Dohla’s unit was part of some reinforcements sent from New York in anticipation of a possible foray against Newport by the newly established Franco-American alliance of 1778. Dohla noted that the town was comprised of about 2000 well situated houses and that due to Newport having been a center of pre-war piracy, “it is said an inestimable treasure of gold and silver lies buried on the island.” Dohla and the rest of the Ansbachers were ordered across the harbor to man and defend a battery on nearby Conanicut Island. Unfortunately for Dohla, he and the rest of his comrades were nearly captured when, on 29 July 1778, the long anticipated French invasion fleet under the command of Admiral Comte d’Estaing arrived off the harbor entrance. General Robert Pigot, then in command in Newport, ordered the Conanicut defenses destroyed and the Hessians transferred back to Newport as quickly as possible. Dohla was then assigned duties improving the defenses of Newport from a possible land attack.²⁰

Nonetheless, garrison duty in Newport, at least until the French showed up in the summer of 1778, must have been fairly mundane. Typically, in order to keep the town under a modicum of control and not overcrowd it with soldiers, regiments were ordered to man strong-point and defensive positions in other parts of the island. They were especially watchful of the major ferry crossings, Howland, Fogland, and Bristol, in order to thwart raids by American militia from the mainland. Thus a standard garrison procedure was worked out where the Hessian and British regiments would alternate being forward deployed in the more austere northern island locations while the others were back manning and improving the various landward and seaward defenses of Newport proper. Being forward deployed did not mean their time there was totally quiet. *The Journal of Regiment von Huyn* noted that the American militia “frequently attacked our detachments and made several attempts to land, so that several times, especially during the night, signals were given by firing guns and setting alarm poles on fire for the regiments to turn out immediately. But every time they found the enemy quite brisk and who at all times thwarted their designs and drove them back again....”²¹

However, immediately beyond the town limits things were not as calm as the British and Hessians had hoped. Soldiers from both Hessian and British regiments tried to desert to the Americans if the opportunity presented itself. During the single month of August 1778 it was

18 Lieutenant Johann Prechtel quoted in Walter K. Schroder, *The Hessian Occupation of Newport and Rhode Island, 1776-1779*, (Westminster, MD: Heritage Books, 2005), 92-93.

19 Anonymous Diarist, *The Historical Magazine*, Vol. IV, No. 1, (January, 1860), 1.

20 Johann Conrad Dohla, *A Hessian Diary of the American Revolution*, (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1990), 79-81.

21 Schroder, 79-80.

reported that 12 soldiers (both British and Hessian) deserted to the enemy. And in fact, it was a British army deserter named Coffin who tipped off American militia forces across Narragansett Bay that the British Commandant, Major General Richard Prescott, habitually spent his evenings in an isolated farmstead owned by a Mr. Overing and located 4 miles from the town. It was also noted that Prescott was usually accompanied by a minimal personal guard and local militia commander, Lieutenant Colonel William Barton, conceived a daring plan to seize the General in a night raid on the Overing farmhouse.

To add a further incentive, the Rhode Island General Assembly offered bounties of \$20 dollars for each private soldier captured and upwards of \$1000 dollars for a general. It would seem that Barton had decided to garner the top prize. But actually capturing Prescott proved to be more difficult than it seemed. First and foremost, Barton and his raid force of 38 men had to row, with muffled oars 15 miles and pass undetected between at least 2 British frigates, HMS *Chatham* and HMS *Diamond* immediately offshore. Then, in total darkness thread their way for one-half mile to the Overing house on the island's West Road. Fortunately, Barton and his party got to the farmhouse undetected and quickly overcame the sentry posted outside the General's bedroom door. Simultaneously seizing the General's secretary, Lieutenant Barrington, successfully kidnapped them and had rowed across the bay and back between the frigates before anyone knew that Prescott and his lieutenant were missing. Prescott proved to be such a valuable prize that he was quickly exchanged for Continental Army Major General Charles Lee, who had been captured in New Jersey in December 1776.²² Even the British had to admire Barton's audacity. Frederick Mackenzie wrote on 11 July 1777 that the "rebels" had executed their raid "in a masterly manner, and deserve credit for the attempt. It is certainly a most extraordinary circumstance, that a General Commanding a body of 4000 men, encamped on an Island surrounded by a Squadron of Ships of War, should be carried off from his quarters in the night by a small party of the Enemy from without, & without a Shot being fired." Mackenzie further believed that the raid was "convincing proof that the Enemy receive from some of the Inhabitants of this Island, the most perfect intelligence of every circumstance of which they wish to be informed."²³

During the months of June and July 1777, Mackenzie also observed an upsurge in raiding activity against exposed British and Hessian detachments on the north end of the island. He took time to note during this same period three suicides by British and Hessian soldiers and the desertion of a number of soldiers of previous "good character." Mackenzie was convinced that the reason for these events was directly due to "our having remained so long in a State of inactivity. The Soldiers have nothing to do but to mount Guard once in three or four days.... While all the rest of the Army is in Motion [meaning those assigned elsewhere in the American theater] naturally leads some to gloomy reflections, and induces others to commit actions disgraceful to themselves, hurtful to the discipline of the Army, and destructive to the Cause of their Country." Mackenzie believed that his men should conduct raiding operations themselves to "employ the minds of the Soldiery, give them something to do and talk of... and give them confidence."²⁴

22 Gerald M. Carbone, "Barton's Daring Plan Nets a British General," *Providence Journal* 13 June 2006.

23 Mackenzie, Vol. 1, 150.

24 Mackenzie, Vol. 1., 146-147.

Nonetheless, desertion seemed to continue with British and Hessian troops at a fairly brisk rate. In fact, during the 18th century many army units experienced desertion rates of up to 20 percent of their complement. Major Mackenzie noted in his journal on 4 September 1777, that two soldiers of the 22nd Regiment deserted in the night added that: "there is no doubt there are some persons there who make it their business to intice the Soldiers to desert, and assist them in making their escape; which is no difficult matter as we have at present no Guards or Patroles from the right of the Encampment of The Chasseurs at Point Pleasant, quite round to Easton's beach." He believed that "any inhabitant convicted of such practices should be hanged immediately. The lenity shown so frequently to declared Rebels has been productive of numberless ill consequences." The real difficulty for British forces at Newport in preventing desertion was directly due to being located on an island in close proximity to the American lines on all sides. Mackenzie also stated that Private William Bennet of the 54th Regiment was hanged following his conviction at a General Court Martial for desertion but believed that the punishment was less effective due to the amount of time that had elapsed between the soldier's desertion and his execution. Nonetheless a select group of 50 men from each regiment were paraded to witness Bennet's execution.²⁵

One way acting British commandant, General Robert Pigot, responded to the problem of locals enticing soldiers to desert was to round up male citizens of military age who were suspected of disloyalty and place them aboard the now empty transport ships in Newport harbor. In October 1777 after a series of fairly large raids on his outposts on the north end of the island, Pigot ordered 70 Newporters jailed aboard the ships for an indefinite period of time. Furthermore, it was common garrison practice that as the weather got colder, the more troops would be quartered in the town itself and fewer men were placed on outpost duty. Those that were out of town were rotated on a monthly basis. Thus there were fewer opportunities for the locals on the north end of the island to establish relationships or permanent contact with the soldiers on duty there.

On 25 October 1777 one Newport diarist noted that the British Provost marshal continued to arrest citizens and send them aboard the transports. However, it was not long before smallpox broke out among the detainees and consequentially also spread to town itself. The diarist noted that "numbers of small children break out with it." Sick and destitute refugees from Newport flooded into the nearby town of Providence. The winter that year was especially harsh and the town continued to suffer. Ambrose Serle, secretary to British Admiral Richard Howe, arrived in Newport in January 1778 and noted that "the Country is pleasant but entirely stripped of its Trees & Fences, which have been taken for Fuel."²⁶

During February 1778, the new Franco-American alliance was announced and it immediately changed the entire complexion of the war. Now the British not only had to guard against American forces surrounding the island but the possibility of a French invasion fleet arriving off the harbor mouth with little to no notice. Moreover, British intelligence had determined that the French fleet at Toulon had sortied from its base and, under the command of Jean-

25 Mackenzie, 4 September 1777, Vol. 1, 173, 252.

26 Anonymous Diarist, "Newport in the Hands of the British," *The Historical Magazine*, (February, 1860), 35-36; Ambrose Serle, *The American Journal of Ambrose Serle, Secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778*, (San Marino, CA: Huntington Library, 1940), 253.

Baptiste, comte d'Estaing and was somewhere in the Atlantic. Moreover, French privateers were now capturing British shipping in the English channel, thus forcing the recall of many Royal Navy ships to home waters.

Perhaps taking the advice of Major Mackenzie that the cause of many administrative problems was idle soldiers in Newport, on 25 May 1778, General Robert Pigot ordered a large 600 man raid to be conducted on the towns of Warren and Bristol, located immediately to the north of Aquidneck Island and largely believed to be the primary base for American raiding parties on the island. Burning numerous boats and skiffs found gathered along the shoreline, the soldiers also set fire and pillaged the two towns at will. Believing that the house of Mrs. Peleg Anthony had been set on fire by militia as a signal the soldiers attacked townspeople who arrived to put out the fire. According to Newport diarist Fleet Greene, "the inhabitants, without respect of persons, were greatly abused, knocked down and beat. Wearing apparel of all sorts, necklaces, rings and paper money, taken as plunder at Bristol and Warren, were offered for sale by the soldiers" in Newport.²⁷

But the true revelation of the raid was not the plunder. Rather it was the large amount of barges and other landing craft that had been gathered by the Americans for a possible assault to retake the town of Newport. It was feared that with the help of the French fleet, Newport might become more of a liability than asset to the British.

And indeed on 29 July 1778, d'Estaing and the French fleet sailed into Narragansett Bay and quickly forced their way past the British batteries at the harbor entrance. Anchoring just out of range, d'Estaing's force waited in the bay to consult with their American allies, now under command of Continental army Major General John Sullivan. Local Newport resident Mary Almy, a woman of Tory sympathy, stated that most townspeople assumed that the fleet in sight must be Lord Howe. However, by 10 that morning it was determined that the ships were French and said that the news "threw us into the greatest consternation." She added that now "the merchant looks upon his full store as worth nothing. The shopkeeper with a distressed countenance locks and bars his shop, not knowing what is for the best....Heavens! with what spirit the army undertook the old batteries; with what amazing quickness did they throw up new ones...." Mrs. Almy spent the night comforting her frightened children and was busy burying her "papers and plate in the ground."²⁸

Two days later, Mrs. Almy was shocked to see the British burning their now trapped frigates and observed at Coddington's Cove the HMS *Kingfisher* and two galleys furiously ablaze and stated that she spent this day, "trembling, crying and hiding." By 4 August, she noted that American troops were being gathered opposite Howland's ferry on the north end of the island. The next day she observed that "at night [the British] had ordered all sailors into town, if possible to keep some order with them." But apparently this did not take place as she noted that "every sailor was equipt with a musket that could get one; he that could not, had a billet of wood, an old broom, or any club they could find. They all took care to save a bottle of spirits, which they call *kill grief*; some fiddling, some playing jewsharp....By dark the bottles

27 Fleet Greene, "Journal of Fleet Green, 1777-1779," *Newport Mercury*, (30 November 1861 – 5 April 1862), unpaginated.

28 Mary Almy, "Mrs. Almy's Journal," in *Newport Historical Magazine*, Vol. I, (July, 1880), 17-36.

were exhausted, and they so unruly that we were obliged to be safely housed that night.”²⁹

It was clear that the appearance of the French had caused great consternation among the townspeople. Mrs. Almy noted that orders had been given that upon the appearance of the American army on the island, houses within three miles of the town was to be burned, all livestock on the island except a single cow per family were to be driven into town. All the wells outside of Newport were ordered filled in and blocked. Her up-island relatives fled into Newport with all their belongings. She wrote, “Heavens! What a scene of wretchedness before this once happy and flourishing island.” On 7 August, the French shelled part of the town. Mrs. Almy described the sheer pandemonium of the attack with “women crying and children falling down.” Taking her children with her, Mary Almy ran with them to a house she thought might be safe from the shelling laying flat on the ground until a broadside had passed overhead and then jumping up and running until the sound of the next salvo. She exclaimed, “to attempt to describe the horrors of that night, would pronounce me a fool, for no language could put it in its proper colors. Fire and sword had come amongst us and famine was not afar off, for the want of bread was great.” Fleet Greene concurred with Mary Almy and noted that in addition to the loss of livestock, “all carriages, wheelbarrows, shovels, pick-axes, &c, are taken from the inhabitants....A number of trees cut down and put in the road to obstruct the Provincials march....The army continues to lay waste the land, cutting down orchards and laying open fields.”³⁰

By 9 August 1778 the Americans had landed over 6000 troops on the north end of the island – the British and Hessian outposts had fled to the safety of their lines in town. However, on this very same day, a small fleet from New York under the command of Lord Howe arrived off Narragansett Bay to challenge that of French Admiral d’Estaing. And while d’Estaing had originally planned to land approximately 5000 troops to assist their American allies, he now weighed anchor without landing any of them and prepared to engage Howe in a decisive sea battle.

However, despite the best laid plans of the Americans and French, the weather turned against both fleet commanders. In fact, it was likely a hurricane that had moved up from the Caribbean. For three days the storm tossed and damaged both fleets and widely scattered them. Several of the largest French ships, including d’Estaing’s flagship, the *Languedoc* had been totally dismasted. While Howe was able to retreat to New York City with its extensive shipyards and repair facilities, d’Estaing limped back into Narragansett Bay with Newport’s yards still in enemy hands. Thus he decided to leave the environs of Newport for American-held Boston to refit his damaged fleet. This decision, of course, left the Americans alone in their quest to liberate Newport. Even so, the American ranks, now swelled with local militia, still outnumbered the British and Hessian forces. Ominously, after d’Estaing had decided to depart for Boston, Sullivan’s militia began to dissipate. Still the Americans pressed the British into their outer Newport fortifications and began exchanging cannon fire. However, with his militia rapidly departing his force daily, Sullivan decided that now the French no longer controlled the Bay, his best move was to retreat off the island before he was trapped by British naval power now returning from New York. Indeed on 27 August 1778, three British frigates, the *Sphinx*, the *Nautilus*, and the *Vigilant* dropped anchor in Newport and were the

29 Mary Almy, 5 August 1778, 22.

30 Mary Almy, 8 August 1778, 26; Fleet Greene, unpaginated.

vanguard of a relief force coming from New York City.

On 29 August 1778, Hessian Private Johann Dohla noticed that the Americans no longer returned cannon fire launched on their lines on nearby Honeymen Hill. Pigot ordered an immediate counterattack with 2000 men in order to see if he could catch or damage the American army as it tried to make its escape off the island. Fighting a day long battle with American forces as they withdrew up the island, the Americans fought a successful rear guard action and were able get their forces completely off the island the following evening. The Hessians, in particular, suffered heavy casualties in the fighting. Fleet Greene reported that the British and Hessian troops further plundered the up-island inhabitants so that “families are destitute of a bed to lie on.”³¹

While recriminations flew back and forth as to whom was to blame for the Franco-American failure to take vulnerable Newport, life for the troops in the town and on the island returned to mind-numbing routine once again. In fact, the British increased their number of troops there to over 9000 men. In October 1778, Major Mackenzie observed that “we are left in a Strange situation: Two of the three passages [in Narragansett Bay] are entirely open to the enemy. The winter advancing & no provision made for the supplying the Garrison with firing [wood]....No barracks provided, no materials to fit up any, nor any Straw for the troops either while in the field, or when they come into quarters.” Fleet Green noted that the dearth of winter fire wood forced many residents to leave town because the British refused to allow the locals to buy wood or have it brought in from the countryside.³²

During December 1778, Newport was hit by a massive snowstorm that forever afterward was known locally as the “Hessian storm.” The snow fell so fast and was so deep that Hessian guards froze to death at their posts. Hessian Private Stephen Popp stated that the snow was 3 or 4 feet deep, that 9 Hessians had froze to death and the regiments had numerous cases of frostbite.³³

On the last day of the year, 1778, Private Dohla noted that most of the town’s provisions and food magazines for the troops had been exhausted. The “Hessian” storm had simply exacerbated an increasingly desperate situation for soldiers and townsmen alike. Now, Major General Prescott, exchanged as a prisoner of war, urged the local population to leave if they had a place to go on the mainland. Dohla noted that “all of the trees that stood on this island, and all of the garden fences, have been chopped down in order to supply the watches and the troops stationed here with wood to ensure their lives. At present nothing can be brought here from Long Island and Block Island because the French fleet has cut off all wood from the old ferryboats. These were torn apart and the wood chopped out. We received only half wood and half peat to burn.”³⁴ Dohla also noted that throughout January 1779, his rations, due to scarcity, had been severely reduced. It also may have been better if the locals had taken up on his earlier offer to leave the city. On 9 February 1779, a number of locals were “pressed” [forced] by sailors to serve in the Royal Navy.

31 Rockwell Stensrud, *Newport: A Lively Experiment, 1639-1969*, (Newport, RI: The Redwood Library, 2006), 213-217; Fleet Greene quoted in Stensrud, 217.

32 Mackenzie, Vol. II, 414; Stensrud, 219-220.

33 Stephen Popp, “Popp Journal, 1777 – December 1783,” translated by Joseph G. Rosengarten, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, 26, (Philadelphia, 1902), 25-41, 245-54.

34 Johann Dohla, 31 December 1778, 96.

Hessian Brigadier General Von Lossberg agreed with Private Dohla. After three years of occupation, he summed up the situation in Newport:

At the present time we all eat barley broth, and not much else. There is not much we can do about it. Admiral Byron's fleet took a lot of provisions on board, and the provision boat which is eagerly expected has not shown up. When it does, we will get our regular food ration. We are on an island which allies and enemies have devastated. This is very little cattle left, and what there is gets slaughtered by those not entitled to do so. If a Hessian does it and gets convicted, he has to atone for his appetite by running the gauntlet for two days. The English are not too lenient with their men either, but it still happens. I had a cow myself which was ready to bear a calf early next month. Some good friends had already requested the latter. But one morning the stable was empty and the cow was gone. At any rate I shall save the wine that would have gone with the meat. Thus we have to get all our food from New York, regardless of what it is. Only hogs can still be gotten out in the country. At times, too, ships arrive with fresh meat, from where, I do not know. I suppose that those farmers prefer our guineas to their scrip.³⁵

The summer and early fall was more of the same. Soldiers were tried and convicted of petty theft, drunkenness and the more serious crime of desertion. By October 1779, even the British had had enough of now devastated Newport. Besides, the new commander-in-chief, General Henry Clinton decided on a new strategy and focused his attention and that of his army in North America on the southern colonies. By mid-October 1779, it was clear that the British were preparing to depart the town of Newport. They burned all the wooden structures in their fortifications including the provincial lighthouse at Beavertail Point on nearby Conanicut Island. The soldiers chopped up and burned the town's commercial Long Wharf and pulled down 160 more houses and burned them as well. Town wells were filled in and ruined. As the soldiers departed, Private Dohla noted that they were marched to their transport ships in silent, solid columns "and it was no the strictest orders of General Prescott that no inhabitants, and especially no females, permitted themselves to be seen at any window or on the street, and should anyone show themselves, those who were on patrol were ordered to fire at them immediately. Therefore, in Newport it appeared as if the entire city had died. This was done so no one could desert or be left behind."³⁶

AFTERMATH

There can be no doubt that the three year British occupation of Newport had left an indelible mark upon the town. The ubiquitous preacher, Dr. Ezra Stiles returned to his home town and estimated that at least 300 houses had been totally destroyed and many of those still

35 Major General Friedrich von Lossberg, 18 January 1779, in the Friedrich von Lossberg Letters, Redwood Library, Newport, RI.

36 Johann Dohla, 25 October, 1779, 113.

standing significantly damaged. All churches in town save one (the Anglican Trinity Church) were heavily damaged having been used at times as barracks, hospitals and even an indoor riding academy for officers. The colonial state house was also heavily damaged so the when the state legislature returned after the British had left town, it was forced to temporarily meet in the nearby Jewish synagogue for a short time.

The island's landscape had been totally altered by the removal of nearly every tree on the 24 mile long island. Hardly a wooden fence had been left standing. Farms had been used as soldier camp grounds and much of the livestock and vegetables had been taken by the departing regiments. Its wharves and commerce at a complete standstill, the winter of 1779-1780 proved to be as harsh as the previous one. Even with the British and Hessian troops gone, there was still a chronic shortage of firewood and foodstuffs for another year.

One of the most noticeable effects of the occupation was the failure of much of the population to return to the town following the British troop pull-out. Only about 35 percent of Newport's 1774 residents could still be found in town by the end of the war. Concomitant to the loss of population was the nearly entire destruction of the town's trade. Before the war, Newport had been a maritime center of commerce. Most people in town were connected to or actively engaged in the seafaring industry. And even with the British gone from town, the seas were still largely controlled by the Royal Navy. The importation of molasses from the West Indies, long a staple of the rum industry in town had totally dried up. Moreover, even if a ship got through the British blockade, the town's wharves remained unusable. And while the legislature quickly seized the homes and estates of Tories who had fled with the British, these were not nearly enough to offset the destitute situation of those residents still living in town.

Some residents who had stayed in town during the occupation, although they professed loyalty to the American cause, were still declared *persona non grata* and banished from the state of Rhode Island altogether. The state legislature passed laws to identify and banish Tories and collaborators. However, the definition of who was called a collaborator, as Newport resident Thomas Robinson found out, could be quite broad. Robinson wrote, "the vote...to have the Inhabitants banished, was more of a Mob than the Sence of the Town, not a solid Character amongst them, not scarsely any to be called reputable amongst men." Being deprived of the right to vote in his own defense Robinson and others who had remained in town were driven beyond the state borders and had their homes and property confiscated.³⁷

During the course of the war and especially during its occupation, Newport not only lost its principal market, the West Indies, but also saw an exodus of most of its powerful merchant class. Businessman Aaron Lopez was one of the first to leave. Many others followed him out of town taking their capital and businesses with them leaving Newport, as one Bostonian noted, "a town of Tories and beggars." Once these merchants left town, most never returned and established themselves elsewhere leaving a commercial leadership vacuum that was hard to replicate. However and ironically, Aaron Lopez was one of the few who planned to return after the evacuation but he died enroute to his former home in 1782.

In the end, Newport resembled, as Benjamin Waterhouse termed it, "an old battered

37 Withey, 216.

shield.”³⁸ And while this condition lasted for a number of years following the Revolution, Newport would once again see better days. Thanks to its cool sea breezes and generally healthy climate, the town was re-discovered as a resort for the emerging wealthy elite of the 19th century. Billionaires like the Vanderbilt family built “cottages” along the seashore and once again, Newport became an exclusive destination. Even today, tourism remains Newport’s primary industry and one that the local population seems happy to embrace.

38 Benjamin Waterhouse quoted in Anthony Walker, *The Despot’s Heel: British Occupation of the Bay, Island, and Town, December 1776-October 1779*, (Newport, RI: Seaford Press, 1996), 46.

Preconditions of war – logistics, civilian society and the consequences of war during the period of the Napoleonic Wars

MARTIN HÄRDSTEDT

Soldiers obviously need food, drink and warmth. Warfare is not possible if the soldiers don't get these three things. In the same way horses need fodder. Armies therefore must have a good logistical organization. There must be a supply system that works. Commanders in all times have been aware of the difficult problems of moving and feeding an army. Before the industrialization of Europe, and development of modern communication, armies had to rely on local resources. It was not possible to move large quantities of food and fodder long distances. Scholars like Martin van Creveld and John A Lynn have pointed at the importance of logistics to understand the preconditions of warfare. This paper deals with the importance of logistics, how the local civilian society was dragged into war and the consequences of war. My main conclusion is that the consequences of war for the civilian society during the period of Napoleonic Wars are not found on the battlefield but in the steps of the marching armies. To understand the consequences of war we must understand the preconditions of war: the logistical problems. I will use examples from the literature and from my own studies of the logistical problems during the Swedish-Russian War of 1808-98 (also called the Finnish War 1808-09).¹

LIVING OFF THE COUNTRY

Regarding the question of how war affected the civilian population in the age of Napoleon, Geoffrey Best tells us in his *War and Society* that the actual battles never had any impact on civilians. Sieges were of course the one exception to this rule, especially if the city or the fortress were captured in a very costly assault for the attackers. Of course, civilians became directly involved in the war if they fought as guerillas. Best points out that the battles almost always took place in open places where very few people lived. The areas affected by the combat were also restricted. The wartime sufferings of the civilian population stemmed from the fighting armies' need for food and fodder.² This is a very important conclusion. But how and why were the civilian society dragged into war by the armies need for food and fodder?

1 Hårdstedt, Martin, *Om krigets förutsättningar. Den militära underhållsproblematiken och det civila samhället i norra Sverige och Finland under Finska kriget 1808-09* [The Preconditions of War. Logistical Problems and Civilian Society in Northern Finland and Sweden in the Finnish War 1808-09] (Umeå 2002) and Hårdstedt, Martin, *Finska kriget 1808-1809* [The Finnish War 1808-1809] (Stockholm 2006). Also several articles Hårdstedt, Martin, "Living off the country — Logistics, Local Resources and Civilian Society in the North of Sweden during the Swedish-Russian War of 1808-1809 in *Between the Imperial Eagles*, Armémuseum 1998-1999, Hårdstedt, Martin, "Finska kriget 1808-09 — krigsförlopp och förklaring" i *Meddelande 66* Armémuseum, (Stockholm, 2007), Martin Hårdstedt, "Sjötransporter och skärgårdskrig — avgörande faktorer under kriget i Finland 1808" i *Skärgård nr 3 2007* (Åbo 2007) and Hårdstedt, Martin, "Sveaborgs kapitulation 1808 — ett moralhistoriskt problems egentliga betydelse" i *Finsk Tidskrift* 2008/1.

2 Best, Geoffrey, *War and Society in Revolutionary Europe 1770-1870*, Leicester 1982, p. 99.

The book *Supplying War*, published in 1977, by Martin van Creveld stand forth as a milestone in the writing of military history. He stresses that logistical problems were the determinant factor in warfare. Van Creveld tells us that armies in the Age of Napoleon used the method of living off the country because enough supplies could never be stored in advance and convoys were never enough. At the same time he emphasizes the importance of local resources. He suggests that Napoleon and his way of making war were no exception. Van Creveld says that it is true that Napoleon transformed the art of warfare in many ways, but he never freed himself from the tyranny of logistics and his dependence of local resources. In fact he used the same logistical method as earlier armies when living off the country.³

In this way van Creveld connects war with local society through the armies' desperate need of local resources. Unfortunately, van Creveld does not explain more in detail what he means by "living of the country". He uses the term as distinct from the methods of forwarding supplies from depots established in advance. Living off the country in van Crevelds terminology is almost the same thing as foraging than on march. John A. Lynn makes this point in the anthology *Feeding Mars*. He writes that the term "living of the country" hides a good deal of variety. The principle of living off the country have been used by almost every army in the history of warfare before the First World War, but the methods have varied. During the century before the Napoleonic Wars the armies of the great nations in Europe began to use more organized supply systems. After years of plundering, which were in fact a very inefficient way of getting food, during the Thirty Years War different forms of regular taxes and contributions became means of maintaining an army in an occupied area. Raising contributions became a way of making war feed war. One method of utilizing the resources was by giving the soldiers money so that they could buy food for themselves. A third way of supplying an army was the *étapes* system, with armies drawing their provisions from local markets or depots at intervals along their march. Sometimes the local authorities set up a market where soldiers and commissaries could buy what they needed. The armies did not have to foraging for food, since they knew it would be there waiting for them⁴ How did the armies use the local resources during the Napoleonic Wars?

SUPPLY SYSTEMS DURING THE NAPOLEONIC WARS

How the local resources were exploited during the Napoleonic Wars varied from time to time. Different methods were also used in different parts of Europe. The preconditions were very different in let say Russia and Flanders. The population density together with the stage of development of communication decided the possibilities to feed an army. It is also important to understand that the organization of the armies, not least how the soldiers were recruited, affected the supply system and how the armies were feed.

The French armies under the command of Napoleon never had a sufficient supply system. Although Napoleon made some efforts to improve the supply system, and despite his pronouncement that "an army marches on its stomach", he was most of all an improviser. His strategy was base on rapid movement. Big baggage trains were therefore no solution.

3 Creveld, Martin van, *Supplying War*, London 1977, p. 40f.

4 Lynn, John A. *Feeding Mars. Logistics in Western warfare from the Middle Ages to the Present*, Oxford 1993, p. 15f.

The corps instead spread out over a wide area and was given a sector each for foraging. This method did not work well in the poor areas as in the eastern parts of Europe, Spain and Russia. 1806-07 transport battalions were formed to take care of the transportation but that alone could not solve the problem completely. For the invasion of Russia Napoleon made extensive preparations, but it was not enough to save his army.⁵

The British army under the leadership of duke Wellington had a better supply system than the French. Wellington took the logistical problems more seriously. At the same time the British army was much smaller than the French army. During the Peninsula War British soldiers were ordered to pay for everything they took. Much of the transportation in Spain relied on civilians.⁶

The Russian army did not have a sufficient supply system. During the war in Austria against the French the Russian army arrived more or less without any logistical support at all. In spite of the lack of supply the Russian Army survived in a miraculous way. The Russian soldier was more than his brothers in the other armies, during the period of Napoleonic Wars, a professional soldier. He was recruited for life (or 25 years). The Russian soldier possessed a better developed capacity for fending for himself. The lowest level of catering the Russian Army was the *artel*, which was in effect a brewing party consisting of a small group of soldiers. Food was divided between the soldiers in the *artel*. The organization proved its worth when supply from outside failed.⁷

THE SWEDISH RUSSIAN WAR OF 1808-09

The Swedish-Russian war of 1808-09 was fought in the sparsely populated areas of the northern parts of Sweden and Finland. The level of agricultural produce was low. Poor roads also added to the problems. The area where the war was to be fought was remote and vast tracts of land lacked a road net adequate to the amount of transportation required for the supplies of the two armies.

In many ways the Swedish system of supply was better organized than the Russian system. In spite of the good organization the Swedish supply system was heavily dependent on stored supplies. The store houses were the main source of supply for the army. In all the Swedish system relied on local resources and the local civilian society. The most important article of food stuff was bread. Four fifth of all bread available to the Swedish Army was produced or purchased locally. On a total scale the Swedish Army had enough bread in the store houses. Despite a certain amount of tactical superiority in the summer of 1808 the Swedish Army failed in achieving any major success. This can be explained by the lack of sufficient supply. The Achilles' heel of the war was the transport organization. All transportation over land was dependent on farmers with their horses and carts, which was a very unwieldy system. Transportation over sea had of course been an alternative, but the leadership was weak and no ships arrived in time to help the Swedish army. The Swedish Army became heavily dependent on store houses. It became a tactical necessity to always be deployed within a

5 Rothenberg, Gunther E, *The Art of Warfare in the Age of Napoleon*, London 1977, p.129f.

6 Ibid p. 184.

7 Hårdstedt 2002.

logistical reachable range to the store houses. This necessity became a tactical hindrance to the operative capability of the Swedish Army.

The Russian Army was less dependent on store houses and more flexible. When supply stopped coming the Russians were far better at coping with the lack of external supply than were the Swedes, despite the fact that both sides were equally dependent on road transport. The Russian had two advantages: the Russian baggage train carried a greater amount of supplies and the Russian soldiers within the *artel*-system possessed a better developed capacity for fending for himself.⁸

CIVILIAN SOCIETY AND THE MILITARY SUPPLY SYSTEMS

A study of the supply systems during the Napoleonic Wars demonstrates the great significance of the civilian society for supply in war. The civilian society could support the armies with food, fodder, transportation and accommodation. The farmers were the ones who effectuated transportation of supplies and other services such as grinding and baking bread. In remote areas as Russia, Poland and Finland the farmers became very important. The entire system of transportation rested on the capability of the farmers carry out road transport by means of their own horses and carts, alternatively sledges. In more developed countries the burghers played a more important role. Sometimes the merchants of the town constituted an important group acting as middle between the hinterland and the army looking for food. In some cases burghers and merchants enriched themselves. In coastal towns had large fleets of merchant vessels that were use by the armies. The French Army in Spain used vessel for sea transportation and more than half of the shipping during the Swedish-Russian War of 1808-09 took place from the coastal towns in the north of Sweden and Finland.⁹

It was of great importance to have good relations to the civilian communities. The French army alienated the population in Spain by their indiscriminate looting. In many parts of the Peninsula guerilla warfare became a serious problem for the French army.¹⁰ In other parts of Europe civilians experienced exploitation and looting when the French armies moved across the continent.¹¹

I Finland 1808 the Russians use a completely different way of treating the Finns. The Russian Army observed a strict discipline in the occupied areas. Looting did not occur with few exceptions, like the looting of Vaasa in June 1808. This restraint on the part of the Russian Army was largely due to a realization that looting per se was counterproductive to the Russian war aims. The Russian were also keen on gaining the confidence of the local population. Supply of provisions would be endangered by any kind of uprising amidst the locals. This strict discipline was also part of a heart-and-mind winning policy the ultimate aim of which was to incorporate Finland with the Russian Empire.¹²

CONCLUSIONS

8 Ibid

9 Morgan, John Leckey, *The Army of Catalonia*, Chicago 1994, p.319f.

10 Rothenburg, s. 130;

11 Esdaile, Charles J., *The Wars of Napoleon*, London 1995, p. 109-116.

12 Hårdstedt 2002.

When we talk about consequences of war we must not forget the importance of European Armies need of supply during the Napoleonic Wars. Because the supply system relied on local resources the civilian society was dragged into war. The consequences of war in the age of Napoleon were connected to the military supply systems. The farmers and burghers of Europe had to pay a high price for the insufficient supply system of the European armies at the time. The marching armies brought poverty to the people of Europe.

Consideraciones sobre la guerra de la independencia española (1808-1814). La relación entre militares y civiles en armas.

HUGO O'DONNELL

CUESTIONES TERMINOLÓGICAS

La llamada “Guerra de la Independencia” sorprende incluso por la propia denominación que ha prevalecido y que constituye en nuestra opinión una incoherencia conceptual ya que no existió una previa dependencia de Francia, como ocurrió con los territorios americanos que accedieron casi contemporáneamente a la adquisición de su soberanía respecto a la metrópoli española.

La obsesión de José Bonaparte fue la de aparecer como defensor de la independencia y de la integridad de España, y de hecho lo fue frente a las pretensiones anexionistas francesas que, pese a todo, acabaron por convertir el 27 de enero de 1812 las cuatro provincias catalanas en las prefecturas francesas de Montserrat, Ter, Sègre y Bouches-de-l'Èbre.

Conocedor de los elementos disgregadores preexistentes, sorprenden su programa y sus palabras publicados por el *Moniteur Universel*, diario oficial del gobierno francés, de gran difusión en Francia y Europa, y también en América, controlado estrictamente por el propio Napoleón: *L'Espagne sera invincible, indépendante, dès le jour même où le Castillan, l'Aragonais, le Basque, le Catalan, oubliant chacun ses anciennes divisions et les dénominations qui les ont perpétuées, confondra son nom avec celui d'Espagne*¹.

Mencionar a José, nos lleva a otra cuestión también terminológica. Joseph Bonaparte fue ciertamente entronizado por Napoleón (6 de junio de 1808) tras una situación asombrosa de “sede vacante”, producida tras las abdicaciones de Bayona. Su nombre hispanizado de José I con el que reinó sólo fue reconocido por el Imperio francés y sus aliados; por lo que resulta inapropiado que un sector de la historiografía universal e incluso española, siga intitulando de esta forma a este usurpador. Con mayor motivo se debía llamar al archiduque Carlos de Austria, pretendiente al trono español durante la Guerra de Sucesión, Carlos III, que con ese nombre reinó, firmó y fue reconocido por sus parciales, y por fortuna no se hace.

Volviendo a la denominación de “Guerra de la Independencia”, el éxito del nombre rubricó en su momento el de los que en las tribunas o en las tertulias, en todo caso no en los campos de batalla, llevaron a cabo la transformación política aprovechando las circunstancias de la guerra y la desvertebración del Antiguo Régimen. Señala Durántez Prados acertadamente: *La literatura y la historiografía nacionalista española de mediados del siglo XIX enlazaron ambos factores -lucha por la libertad y contra el absolutismo, y lucha contra el opresor extranjero- y dieron carta de naturaleza, erróneamente y creyendo de buena fe dignificar de ese modo la heroica conducta del pueblo español, a la terminología “de la independencia”*.²

1 Gazette Nationale ou Le Moniteur Universel (MU), 19 mai 1809.

2 Durántez Prados, Frigidiano Álvaro: No fue Guerra «de la Independencia». En «Mar Océano» Revista del

De las diversas alternativas históricas del término es sin duda la que eligiera Francisco Xavier Cabanes en 1809 la que más se ajusta a su verdadero origen y aceptación, aunque, para aclaración general la ponga a igual nivel que la que acabaría imponiéndose: *Guerra de la Usurpación, ó sea de la Independencia de España*³. Denominación que al menos sirve de aclaración temprana al término confuso, especialmente ante el extranjero, de Guerra de la Independencia. Guerra de la Usurpación (1808-1814) que como la Guerra de Sucesión (1701- 1714), es mucho más expresiva en sí misma.

El sector contemporáneo más liberal respondió sin titubeos a la pregunta sobre si la Guerra de la Independencia fue una revolución popular en el sentido de que lo fue. José María Queipo de Llano y Ruiz de Saravia, conde de Toreno, tituló su historia de la Guerra de la Independencia *Historia del levantamiento, guerra y revolución de España*, interpretando que se trató, juntamente con una reacción frente a la amenaza exterior, de un proceso revolucionario, y desde los primeros momentos. “Revolución” sin más siguió llamándose por los contemporáneos como el agustino fray Manuel Salmón “Maestro Salmon” -maestro sí, pero de libelistas- , Álvaro Flórez Estrada , o Jean Nellerto⁴. Sin excepción estudian el proceso bélico conjuntamente con el proceso constitucional, como si de un mismo fenómeno se tratara.

La reacción popular continuada desde 1808 tuvo en la forma todas las características de una revolución en lo que tuvo de indisciplina, desorden, insubordinación, anarquía, y violencia primaria, pero también de heroicidad, espíritu de sacrificio, decisión y valor. Como quiera que todas estas connotaciones se dieron por todas partes, pudieron dar la impresión de un movimiento coordinado. Las reacciones primarias son compartidas mayoritariamente por los componentes de una etnia cultural; son rasgos propios que tienen de bueno y de malo, son personales de los individuos donde quiera que se encuentren y a la vez en buena parte similares entre sí; sin el freno de la norma de conducta, reflejan el modo de ser de una nación. José Almirante Torroella afirma que *lo de 1808 no fue una regla, fue una explosión, rechazando por su propia índole, toda idea de plan preconcebido, de ejecución metódica, de resultado probable*.⁵.

Lo que no fue es lo que pretendieron y algunos todavía pretenden: una revolución ideológica en la que el pueblo asumió el poder con intención de permanecer en él y que en virtud de ella se “dotó” graciosamente de unas libertades y de una Constitución.

El propio Carlos Marx, quien por un lado conceptúa de “revolución popular”, en algunos aspectos precursora de la que él iniciaba con la pluma, se contradice al tratar de la Guerra de la Independencia, llegando a negar en el alzamiento general el menor atisbo de regereación innovadora: *El movimiento, en su conjunto, más parecía dirigido contra la revolución que a favor de ella. De carácter nacional, por proclamar la independencia de España con respecto*

Humanismo Euroamericano nº 23, pág. 115.

3 *Historia de las operaciones del Ejército de Cataluña en la Guerra de la Usurpación, ó sea de la Independencia de España*, Tarragona, Imprenta de la Gazeta, , 1809.

4 Autores respectivamente de: *Resumen Histórico de la Revolucion de España*, Cádiz y Madrid 1812-14; *Introduccion para la historia de la Revolucion de España*, Londres, 1810; y *Memorias para la historia de la Revolucion española con documentos justificativos*, Paris, 1821.

5 Almirante Torroella, José: *Diccionario Militar (1869)*. Madrid, Ministerio de Defensa, 1989, Tomo I pág. 613.

a Francia, era al mismo tiempo dinástico, por oponer el “deseado” Fernando VII a José Bonaparte; reaccionario, por oponer las viejas instituciones, costumbres y leyes a las racionales innovaciones de Napoleón; supersticioso y fanático, por oponer la “santa religión” a lo que denominaba ateísmo francés, o sea a la destrucción de los privilegios especiales de la Iglesia romana.”⁶

La nueva ideología la fueron imponiendo los diputados de Cádiz y los nativos y población flotante más chillona y, prueba de que el pueblo español -y no solamente la corona- no la asimiló, son nuestras guerras civiles del resto del siglo.

OTRAS PECULIARIDADES DE LA GUERRA DE LA USURPACIÓN

De los múltiples aspectos de esta Guerra, todos ellos tratados muchas veces y que hacen de ella una guerra peculiar, la combinación insatisfactoria de esfuerzos encaminados a un fin nacional común, es el más extraordinario. Fuente de discordia estamental, por causas que veremos, produjo unos resultados no deseables en perjuicio de las operaciones militares propiamente dichas.

No dejaremos sin embargo de señalar antes otra peculiaridad, que supone un aspecto mucho más positivo, y que no puede separarse del anterior. El hecho de que esta contienda, a diferencia de otras en la propia era napoleónica en las que una o dos batallas decisivas bastaron para la rendición general del país, en España, a un ejército derrotado sucedía otro nuevo que no tardaba en sustituir al anterior más que el tiempo mínimo para alistarlos, armarlos y adiestrarlos precariamente.

Nada pudo el desaliento, en espera del cambio en el panorama nacional e internacional que favoreciera por fin su actuación. La prensa inglesa, y particularmente *The Courier* comprendió ya en sus oficinas del Strand londinense, en fecha tan temprana como el 4 de agosto de 1808, que *Es en la constancia en la única forma en la que los españoles pueden ganar*. El modo napoleónico de hacer las cosas, el buscar y obtener la batalla decisiva, no sirvió en este caso, y Ocaña (19 de noviembre de 1809) no se convirtió en un Wagram que había incitado a Austria cinco meses antes no sólo a pedir la paz, sino incluso la alianza con el vencedor. Guerra total, guerra a muerte, guerra nacional, es aquella que, como indica José Almirante en la que la nación *no se contenta con alentar y secundar a su ejército, sino que se le une integralmente, y saliendo al campo, forma casi una masa compacta, impotente de hombres y hasta mugeres fanatizados por el patriotismo. La guerra de la Independencia es el tipo de guerra nacional, consagrado por todos los pueblos modernos*.⁷ Guerra hasta el final sin posibilidad de armisticio y compromiso, en la que el juicio de Napoleón también pecó de injusto al tachar de hombre por debajo de las necesidades a su hermano José, cuando en todo momento un arreglo y una componenda fueron algo impensable.

El tratadista militar Antoine-Henri, barón de Jomini, que había sido jefe de estado mayor del mariscal Ney, fue el primero en calificar de “guerre nationale” a la “Guerre d’Espagne”. El fracaso en la sumisión total del territorio español no lo cifra ni en el continuo esfuerzo regenerativo de las tropas españolas, ni en el constante estado de guerra provocado por las

6 Engels, F. y Marx, C., *España Revolucionaria*, Madrid, Ediciones Vosa, 1990, pág. 13.

7 Almirante Torroella, José: *Diccionario...*, Tomo I, pág. 649.

partidas, sino en ambas cosas a la vez. Lo señala como gran novedad de una guerra que ofreció enormes dificultades como consecuencia de un doble efecto que se acabó combinando, aunque a nosotros nos toque señalar las deficiencias de esta colaboración. Mientras que los franceses sólo dispusieron de un ejército convencional, los españoles contaron en primer lugar con un contingente considerable de tropas disciplinadas, pese a que en determinados momentos estas fuesen casi testimoniales y pese a que su eficacia real dejase mucho que desear, y junto a éste, con un pueblo en armas. Un pueblo entero levantado en masa o en su mayor parte, que convirtió en armas todos los utensilios, y en el que hasta los no combatientes sólo pensaba en buscar el momento para intervenir y colaborar en la perdición del enemigo.

Un teatro de operaciones en el que sólo se dominaba la tierra bajo los pies y para cuyo difícil tratamiento recomienda Jomini el despliegue de una masa de fuerzas acorde con la resistencia ofrecida, calmando a la vez las pasiones populares por todos los medios posibles, combinando una política de rigor y de dulzura, reprimiendo los excesos de las fuerzas propias con justicia⁸. Escandalizado de que la Guerra de España no cumpliera ninguno de sus numerosos postulados teóricos de estrategia y de táctico, dirá de ella que escapaba *a todo cálculo, regla, precepto y doctrina*⁹.

Aunque la relación interestamental fue imperfecta en todo momento, no cabe duda de que se intentaron poner en práctica diversas medidas que dieron algunos resultados.

En un primer momento en el que el poder local, surgido más o menos espontáneamente tras los sucesos de Bayona, asumió en su aislamiento y orfandad los imperativos de su defensa, los desatinos fueron frecuentes pero justificables que llevaron a algunas de juntas, como la de Valencia que estimó que las operaciones militares exigían una dirección, un impulso general que no podía quedar al arbitrio de cada provincia, cuyas disposiciones parciales podían resultar contradictorias con las de las otras: *La organización del ejército, la elección de sus jefes y demás ramos de su dirección no pueden estar divididos sin formar un cuerpo monstruoso sin cabeza*. O la de Murcia, que se manifestó en términos parecidos haciendo ésta un llamamiento a los propios militares: *Capitanes generales, generales famosos, proteged este remedio que va a salvar la nación: dignos héroes, de vosotros se debe formar un consejo militar de donde emanen las órdenes que obedezcan los que rigen los ejércitos, y con el conocimiento de todas las fuerzas de la nación, y de los movimientos del enemigo, mandaréis ejecutar y concurrir adonde la necesidad mande, y por donde se salve la patria*.¹⁰

Tras el triunfo de Bailén y con motivo de la entrada en Madrid de los generales Castaños y González Llamas el 5 de septiembre de 1808 se puso de manifiesto la dificultad entre los diferentes niveles del poder español para constituir una autoridad única tanto política como militar. Había que consolidar los progresos realizados hasta entonces que habían llevado al repliegue francés hacia el norte del valle del Ebro, pero también que afrontar el presumible contraataque que los napoleónicos, con las manos libres en Europa, podían volcar en España. Una vez creada en Aranjuez de la Junta Suprema (25 de sept de 1808), interlocutora válida

8 Lecompte, F.: *Le général Jomini, sa vie et ses écrits*. Lausanne, 1860.

9 Cfr. Almirante Torroella, José: *Diccionario...*, Tomo I, pág. 641.

10 Circulares de las juntas de Valencia (16 de julio) y de Murcia (22 de junio de 1808) solicitando la formación de la Junta Central. Cfr. Fernández Martín, Manuel, *Derecho parlamentario español*. Tomo I, Madrid, Imp. de los Hijos de J.A. García, 1885, pp. 318-323.

con Inglaterra, la actitud localista no cambió sin embargo. En las fuerzas mixtas reunidas por las juntas se manifestó especialmente la ausencia de una visión estratégica general, para exasperación de nuestros aliados británicos. Un comisario inglés relataba: *Cada provincia rehusaba a permitir que su ejército fuese mandado por un general de otra; cada junta competía con la vecina para obtener una mayor asignación de las armas y municiones que el gobierno británico había ordenado distribuir a sus acosados agentes militares. Ninguna junta consideraba a la Junta Suprema, eventualmente constituida en respuesta a repetidas sugerencias británicas.*¹¹.

En el aspecto estrictamente militar, junto con la Junta Suprema Gubernativa, presidida por Floridablanca, se creó la Junta Militar, presidida a su vez por los generales Castaños, Castelar, Morla, González Llamas, Marqués de Palacio y Bueno, cuya acción resultaría ineficaz a la hora de unificar esfuerzos y dirimir disensiones, enfrentada a las rivalidades entre los líderes militares, que emprendían acciones sin coordinación al amparo del clima de federalismo de facto favorecido desde las diferentes juntas provinciales, como hemos visto. Si a esto añadimos la divergencia política sobre la reforma del sistema del Antiguo Régimen y el surgimiento de reclamaciones particulares a cada territorio, comprenderemos mejor la escasísima eficacia de la defensa del Guadarrama, establecida como infranqueable barrera frente al aluvión napoleónico que no parará hasta Cádiz.

La creación, el 9 de junio de 1810 del Estado Mayor, con el teniente general Joaquín Blake al frente, organismo encargado de planificar la actuación de los diversos ejércitos y cuerpos combativos de una manera más coordinada y racional, hizo comprender mejor a todos la necesidad de acometer una defensa conjunta, aun a costa de sacrificar intereses locales. La deseada unificación del mando no se produjo hasta 1812, en la persona de Wellington; tenía de positivo y eficaz que se trataba de la única persona a la que nadie se atrevía a poner cortapisas, pero de negativo que suponía una humillante manifestación de desconfianza por parte de los poderes públicos hacia todos los generales españoles, incluido un ofendidísimo Ballesteros.

A la hora de valorar la situación objetiva del ejército regular, resulta que, con todas sus limitaciones y fracasos, probó una permanente voluntad de resistencia, desconocida en otras latitudes. Esta es su mejor faceta y en ella mucho tuvieron que ver los poderes públicos. La peor es que estos últimos se dejaron llevar en demasiadas ocasiones por criterios distintos al de la más oportuna dirección de las operaciones. Ante esta actitud, los generales tuvieron que someter el suyo profesional, aunque no por ello dejaron de manifestar su opinión y sus quejas, porque, como vuelve a señalar Almirante al respecto: *la guerra y la política, tan enlazadas y combinadas han de obrar, que no es fácil decidir cuál predomine; pero siempre los principios generales de la primera tendrán exacta y fecunda aplicación.*¹².

Excepción al panorama general de derrotas y resurrecciones lo constituyó la batalla de Bailén (19 de julio 1808), tan sorprendente, que tardó en reconocerse públicamente en Francia que se trataba de una victoria únicamente española, de la misma manera que sucedió con la resistencia gaditana.

El fenómeno de la irreductibilidad nacional española sorprendió a sus contemporáneos y

11 Cfr. Christopher Hibbert: *Corunna*, (1961). Ed. Windrush Press, 1996. pág. 16.

12 Almirante Torroella, José: *Diccionario...*, Tomo I, pág. 641.

nos sorprende ahora; su razón de ser hay que cifrarla en dos circunstancias: la atomización del poder al menos en la primera fase de la guerra que multiplicó los focos de resistencia y la voluntad indomable de una nación que asumió en todos sus estamentos y hasta las últimas consecuencias su compromiso con el triunfo final o el aniquilamiento. Este es el primer aspecto que nos interesa destacar y que es aplicable, tanto a la guerra en general como a la de sitios: Napoleón se encuentra por primera vez con una situación imprevista debida a una reacción diferente y numantina calificada reciente y acertadamente por Ronald Fraser de “levantamiento nacional”.

Este mismo autor recoge el tantas veces repetido reconocimiento tardío del error por parte del Emperador en los lamentos de Santa Elena: *Esta maldita Guerra de España fue la causa primera de todas las desgracias de Francia. Todas las circunstancias de mis desastres se relacionan con este nudo fatal: destruyó mi autoridad moral en Europa...esta maldita guerra me ha perdido*.¹³.

Los “detalles”, demasiado nimios para alguien que, como genial, se consideraba artífice de grandes acciones, perdieron al Emperador, cuya máxima militar se condensaba en su afirmación: *Hay muchos buenos Generales en Europa, pero ellos ven demasiadas cosas al mismo tiempo. Yo veo solamente una cosa, el cuerpo principal del enemigo. Trato de destruirlo, en confianza que las cosas secundarias se van a arreglar por sí solas*. Clausewitz, su ilustre prisionero en Jena, le llevaría la contraria poco después: *el primero, el supremo, el acto de juicio de mayor alcance del hombre de estado y del comandante, tiene que establecer el tipo de guerra en la cual se están embarcando. No equivocarlo ni tratar de cambiarlo por algo que sea extraño a su naturaleza*.¹⁴.

Napoleón, como señala Carlos Marx, , *tuvo una sorpresa fatal al descubrir que, si el Estado español estaba muerto, la sociedad española estaba llena de vida y repleta, en todas sus partes, de fuerza de resistencia*.¹⁵. Porque efectivamente, poco o nada de la estructura nacional podía o merecía mantenerse y poco fue lo que se respetó de ella, milagro fue que se sostuviese el trono y la dinastía, posiblemente gracias a la desinformación que tuvo el pueblo de los acontecimientos reales y de la necesidad de contar con un elemento aglutinador en una época de desintegración manifiesta.

La gran aportación popular indiscutible y trascendental a la causa patriótica fue doble: la reacción inicial frente a los acontecimientos ante la inacción de quien correspondía, aquejado de la imperdonable ceguera -por muchos contemporáneos interpretada como traición- del aturdido gobierno español y sus representantes militares a quienes se había dado orden de colaborar con los franceses, y el genial recurso a la guerra de guerrillas. Esto último resultó útil en todo momento y fundamental cuando, tras las derrotas de los ejércitos españoles y la creación de otros nuevos, constituyó el único testimonio de la perseverancia en la voluntad de lucha. Reconocido e incluso rápidamente adoptado por los franceses, la primera referencia escrita al término actual por la que la partida bélica, similar en algunos aspecto a la tradicio-

13 Fraser, Ronald: *La Maldita Guerra de España. Historia social de la guerra de la Independencia, 1808-1814*, Editorial Crítica, Barcelona, 2006. Prólogo.

14 Cfr. Vergara, General de división Evergisto de, *La Naturaleza, la Conducta y el Propósito de la guerra*, Instituto de Estudios Estratégicos de Buenos Aires. Investigación. Feb 03, pág.1.

15 Marx, Karl: *New York Daily Tribune*, 9 de septiembre de 1854.

nal “partida de caza a la española”, se conoce, la encontramos como expresión poco habitual “petite guerre” en 1811, en el periódico oficial imperial *Le Moniteur*. Es también este mismo rotativo el que informa tres años después de la adopción de la guerrilla en las zonas del sur de Francia ocupadas por los Aliados: *Depuis que l'on a commencé à former des compagnies franches, tous les Basques se sont levés en masse et harcèlent l'armée anglaise de toute part. Ce genre de guerre convient également à la nature du pays et au caractère de ces actifs et intrépides montagnards. Accoutumés à manier avec adresse leurs fusils de chasse, ils tuent souvent les coureurs et les éclaireurs de l'ennemi*.¹⁶

LA IMPERFECTA INTEGRACIÓN PUEBLO-EJÉRCITO EN LA GUERRA Y EN LA DEFENSA URBANA.

Al hablar del conflicto entre la ciudadanía, el paisanaje armado y más o menos militarizado y el estamento militar en el esfuerzo común contra el invasor, se hace imprescindible señalar las razones previas de prevención hacia todas las autoridades constituidas y muy especialmente hacia las militares.

Los planes napoleónicos de ir ocupando ladinamente y sin oposición diversas fortalezas clave de la defensa territorial, alegando necesidades de sus tropas en supuesto tránsito hacia Portugal, se habían ido cumpliendo sistemáticamente privando de ellas al incauto y deferente gobierno español, a veces en circunstancias grotescas si no fueran trágicas.

En Pamplona, donde se venía alojando y asistiendo a los franceses como aliados, la ciudadela había permanecido, lógicamente, en manos españolas. Por ello que el general D'Armagnac había recurrido al ardid de ocultar en su alojamiento a un grupo de granaderos y mandando a otro «de paseo» que simulaba jugar con la nieve que se aproximase al cuerpo de guardia, entre unos y otros se habían apoderado de la fuerza, sin que de nada hubiesen servido las protestas oficiales (16 de febrero 1808). Cuatro días después le tocado a las defensas de Barcelona. En la ciudadela, donde ya se conocían los hechos de Pamplona, había vuelto sin embarco a suceder lo mismo: con el pretexto de complimentar al gobernador de la Ciudadela se había presentado ante ella la tropa francesa formada. Franqueadas gentilmente las puertas a sus mandos militares, había sido cogida prisionera toma su guarnición, mientras Álvarez de Castro recibía órdenes escritas de entregar Montjuich cuando ya se aprestaba para su defensa de su capitán general, el conde de Ezpeleta que se había dado por satisfecho con la explicación de Duhesme de querer dirigirse a Cádiz por esa extraña vía. El 5 de marzo, la ciudad y la fortaleza de San Sebastián habían recibido orden expresa de abrir sus puertas a los franceses de Thouvenot que ante las iniciales vacilaciones alegado una razón tan inconsistente como la de querer establecer allí un hospital. Otros cinco días más tarde, el 10 de marzo, la llave de la modernísima fortaleza de Santa Engracia de Pancorbo, en el camino real de Francia, construida ex profeso durante la Guerra de la Convención para impedir el acceso enemigo al interior de España había sido entregada al un oficial de Moncey que había mostrado autorizaciones del Gobierno. El 2 de abril un batallón francés que se había quedado en Figueras disfrutando de la hospitalidad de sus vecinos, al mando del coronel Piat, había solicitado y obtenido del mando de la fortaleza, temeroso de enojar al aliado, el alojamiento de un grupo

16 *Le Moniteur Universel* de 8 de julio de 1811 y de 17 de enero de 1814.

de reclutas que temía que desertasen. Junto con los reclutas se habían introducido soldados veteranos que en muy poco tiempo habían podido reducir a la escasa guarnición de una plaza defensiva considerada como de primer orden a nivel europeo.

Todas estas fortalezas, dada su importancia, pueden ser consideradas como «los sitios que pudieron haber sido y no fueron» por las fundadas esperanzas que podrían haber sustentado. La historia particular de Figueras nos la presenta como fuerza de difícil expugnación, pero sorprendentemente vulnerable a la traición y al engaño. Pese a todo, Madrid acogió resignadamente al grueso de las tropas de Murat que habría de convertirse en su verdugo un día antes del recibimiento apoteósico del nuevo rey Fernando VII.

Por muy benévolos que queramos ser alegando que pudo más la disciplina que la razón, comprenderemos fácilmente que a un mes justo del Dos de Mayo madrileño, el mando militar hubiera perdido la confianza del pueblo. Los acontecimientos que siguieron, protagonizados por la Corona y la elite política, no hicieron sino incrementar hasta el paroxismo la prevención contra todas las autoridades que en buena parte les habían «vendido» a un extranjero, lo que condujo a una purga salvaje y poco justificada en términos generales de la que los altos mandos castrenses fueron las principales víctimas. Reacción provocada por un sentimiento de indefensión y de traición contra la institución, totalmente desacreditada, que produjo en los primeros momentos, no sólo la muerte alevosa de cuatro capitanes generales, sino también la muerte, la lesión, la deposición y el escarnio de numerosos corregidores y gobernadores locales, invariablemente oficiales militares. No sangrientas, pero sí claramente revolucionarias fueron, entre otras, la sustitución de Jorge Juan Guillelmi, capitán general de Aragón, por el brigadier José Palafox; el relevo del mariscal de campo Joaquín de Mendoza, gobernador de Girona, por los representantes municipales y en favor del teniente de rey Julián de Bolívar y la renuncia obligada del infortunado Antonio Filangeri, posteriormente asesinado, al que sustituyeron sucesivamente Antonio Alcedo y Joaquín Blake en Galicia... ocurridos todos en 1808. Restringsida en su aspecto más primitivo y sangriento conforme la guerra se fue desarrollando, se mantuvo viva esta falta de sintonía a la que agravaron otros factores como la pretensión lógica de los profesionales de la guerra de dirigirla y de «uniformar» bajo criterios castrenses todos los esfuerzos. Este último objetivo encontró una notable oposición en el carácter individualista español que había convertido en héroe a imitar no al soldado disciplinado, sino al romántico guerrillero. También se enfrentó con las juntas, donde los defensores a ultranza de fueros locales vieron en la creación de un ejército nacional conculcados los privilegios de las fuerzas locales, algunas seculares, instituidas exclusivamente para la defensa del territorio.

En Cataluña fue sin duda donde se manifestó de una manera más clara este fenómeno que ponía en entredicho las disposiciones de los sucesivos capitanes generales referentes a reclutamiento y a subsidios para el ejército. Enrique O'Donnell, en una proclama de 31 de enero de 1810 llegó a considerar el rechazo a las quintas un pretexto, con el que *los malévolos y cobardes pretenden cubrir su infamia, y acaso su adherencia al partido enemigo, con un falso amor a los antiguos privilegios, induciendo a los incautos a recibir con disgusto la única providencia que puede salvarnos*.¹⁷ Esta «providencia» no era otra que el mando

17 O'Donnell D'Anethan, Enrique. Archivo de la Corona de Aragón, Junta Superior, Folleto Bonsoms, caja 73, nº 3968.

único en la zona de operaciones y la integración en las fuerzas regulares.

Este mismo general, en connivencia con la Junta de Cataluña, intentó acomodar los alistamientos a la índole de los naturales, imponiendo sólo un enganche de dos años, con facultad de gozar cada seis meses de una licencia de 15 días. Señala Toreno al respecto: *Sin embargo los catalanes tan dispuestos á pelear como somatenes, repugnaban á tal punto el servicio de tropa reglada que tuvo su congreso que establecer comisiones militares para castigar á los desertores, y aun a los distritos que no aportasen su contingente*.¹⁸

Ante esta situación ni las regencias ni las Cortes estuvieron a la altura de las circunstancias, indecisas ante el dilema y temerosas de adoptar actitudes poco populares. La decisión de Blake de dejar el mando de su ejército en manos del marqués de Portago, tras haber solicitado su relevo de la Junta Central sin conseguirlo, no se debió a la pérdida de Gerona, sino el haber permitido esta que el Congreso catalán levantara 40.000 hombres de somatén en contra de su criterio Blake quería crear cuerpos de línea y no reuniones informes de indisciplinados paisanos *Pero los catalanes... hallaron arrimo en el gobierno supremo, desatendiéndose las reflexiones juiciosas y militares de Blake, quien en medio de sus conocimientos no gozaba de popularidad á causa de su mala estrella*.¹⁹

La integración de partidas, somatenes, milicianos, voluntarios, en las unidades regulares, de lo que constantemente se quejaron sus mandos naturales no fue eficaz para estas ni feliz para las primeras. Lo mismo ocurrió con la incorporación, desde diciembre de 1808, de los tercios de migueletes a los regimientos del ejército. Para todos ellos la actuación independiente resultaba más acorde con su propia naturaleza, comprometiendo la efectividad, produciéndose descoordinación y desertiones que se intentó atajar con la peor de las fórmulas: el indulto repetido. La Junta de Cataluña pone en boca de Fernando VII desde Tarragona en 1809 el siguiente encabezamiento a un cuarto indulto: *Por quanto la benignidad con que quise hasta aquí fuesen tratados los Desertores de los Cuerpos de ejército concediéndoles indultos generales hasta dos y tres veces ...*²⁰. La Proclama a los catalanes del marqués de Copupigny de ese mismo año tiene mucho de reproche: *La escandalosa deserción de los Miqueletes y el criminal abrigo que encuentran en sus casas y en sus pueblos, han dexado en esqueleto los tercios que levantasteis al Principio de la Guerra...*²¹. Este mismo capitán general se vería obligado más tarde a dictar un bando imponiendo sanciones a quienes propagasen que las tropas regulares no cumplían con sus deberes de soldados y que los paisanos se bastaban para expulsar a los franceses del Principado.

En el resto de España la integración de oficiales y soldados en las partidas como consecuencia de haber sido deshechas sus unidades en combate es un hecho bien probado, así como el que desertores y fugitivos, previamente alistados en el Ejército, tenían pocas alternativas diferentes que la de sumarse a la que más pareciera convenir a cada situación, siendo bienvenidos en ellas. La acción reclutadora de las partidas, incluida esta de reclutamiento pasivo, puso en entredicho el pretendido monopolio del ejército en la defensa armada y redujo

18 Queipo De Llano, conde de Toreno, José María: "Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra y Revolución de España", Tomo II, París, Baudry, 1851, pág. 180.

19 Queipo De Llano, José María: "Historia del Levantamiento...", Tomo II, pág. 125.

20 Impreso de la Junta de Cataluña, por Miguel Puigrubí, Tarragona, 1809. Encabezamiento.

21 Coupigny, Marqués de: Proclama a los Catalanes. Cuartel General de Tarragona (1809).

la efectividad de sus medidas cautelares y punitivas. Además, la guerrilla llegó a constituir una puerta falsa de ingreso y de promoción al mundo militar que tuvo que ser aceptada por la necesidad de conseguir un cierto acatamiento a las órdenes generales. De forma parecida a la empleada por las juntas provinciales a la hora de otorgar patentes de oficiales en las fuerzas por ellas reunidas, adoptaron muchas veces criterios de promoción entre los que el mérito o la capacidad militar de los beneficiados no eran tomados en consideración. Este fenómeno tan negativo para los objetivos militares también se detectaría al más alto nivel en la actuación demagógica del gobierno nacional, atento más en muchas ocasiones a la reacción de la ciudadanía y forasteros gaditanos que a las verdaderas necesidades tácticas. La unidades regulares se resintieron consecuentemente en su moral: *Las tropas que advierten esto, y la indevida pridileccion que se hace de los Cuerpos menos arreglados y menos dispuestos con olvido y menos precio de los mas acreditados, y de los oficiales mas despreciables y que ni aun siquiera leér y escribir saven, con detrimento y agravio de otros venemeritos, pelean con desaliento, trabajan con disgusto...*²².

Cuando uno de los más afamados y exitosos guerrilleros, Juan Martín Díez, «el Empecinado» comenzó a disponer de un contingente muy superior a la partida que le había llevado al éxito y en su condición de flamante brigadier, dejó de ser efectivo en opinión de muchos. No supo sacar partido de una fuerza estimada en 3.000 infantes y 800 caballos y así lo expusieron los representantes de Guadalajara a la Regencia en julio de 1812: *no teniendo talento, ni capacidad, si no para manejar 200, ó 300 caballos, y otros tantos infantes... las crecidas fuerzas que despues ha querido manejar por un efecto de ambicion, solo han servido para formar unas masas de hombres indisciplinados, que hubieran engruesado los Exercitos sin el dolor de haberlos visto malogrados en sorpresas y ataques de ninguna prevision y conocimiento*. Tildando de

*masa y amalgamiento de hombres a estas fuerzas y señalando con desaliento que hasta aqui la prudencia, y dissimulo del Gobierno pasado no ha sido bastante para remediarlos.*²³.

Hemos de insistir una vez más en que Gobierno nacional estuvo más atento a la opinión del ciudadano de Cádiz que a la de sus generales a los que sacrificó sin miramientos analizando en clave política y sin remordimientos el agrado con que la plebe «liberal» exigió y aplaudió las injustas y demagógicas condenas por traición a los generales Jaime García Conde y conde de Alacha, defensores - no geniales- pero sin posibilidades ni fortuna, de Lérída (mayo 1810) y Tortosa (enero 1811) respectivamente. Modo político y oportunista de actuar que había provocado ya la amarga queja de Castaños, el ensalzado vencedor en Bailén que también se había visto acusado de traición al endosársele la responsabilidad de la retirada ante los franceses en Tudela en 1808: *...los pueblos no respetan justicia ni gobierno, y ejecutan escandalosamente cuantos excesos e insultos promueven algunos perversos tumultuarios*

22 Expediente, abierto a instancias de los diputados en Cortes por la provincia de Guadalajara, sobre el estado de sometimiento en que se encuentra la provincia por la conducta del Empecinado, situación ya denunciada antes por el general en jefe del 2º Ejército, general Odonell, por el mariscal Bassecourt y el comisario regio para este asunto Rafael Gutiérrez, entre otras personas. Cádiz, 13 de julio de 1812. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Diversos- Colecciones, 106, N.11.

23 Expediente, abierto a instancias de los diputados en Cortes... Cádiz, 14 de julio de 1812. Archivo Histórico Nacional, Diversos- Colecciones, 106, N.11.

*imbuidos de las execrables especies que ha esparcido el prodigioso número de desertores y extraviados de los ejércitos, diciendo que todos los generales son traidores, que tenían vendidos los soldados por un tanto, que los llevaban al matadero, etc. etc, apoyando estas proposiciones con aquellas ideas más groseras y ridículas que son propias de su idiotismo, y del temor que les infundían sus delitos para evitar ser detenidos y tratados como delinquentes; pero que por desgracia la indiscreción del populacho poco reflexivo ha oído y dado crédito.*²⁴ Pueblo ignorante y engañado por los políticos elevado a la condición de juez: *...traidor es un General que no ataca cuando se le antoja a un soldado o a un cualquiera que está a 200 leguas del enemigo; traidor si retira al ejército que va a ser envuelto y sacrificado sin recurso y sin utilidad para la patria... y traidores todos los jefes si por desgracia se pierde una acción.*²⁵

De la participación ciudadana -Milicia Urbana- y más aún de su influencia en la decisión y dirección de la defensa puede decirse con carácter general algo semejante.

En el caso de Madrid rendido ante el propio Napoleón tras la derrota de Somosierra por los generales Morla, De la Vega y el marqués de Castellar el 5 de diciembre de 1808 tras una mera demostración artillera, produjo una enorme decepción por no haberse defendido de acuerdo con su condición de mito nacional adquirida con el Dos de Mayo. La falta de coordinación entre civiles y militares fue inmensa: *des cris se faisaient entendre de toutes parts, les cloches de deux cents églises sonnaient à la fois, et tout présentait l'image du désordre et du délire* publicaba al respecto el Bulletin de l'Armée d'Espagne del día anterior a la capitulación. La frustrada defensa de Madrid estuvo presidida por la presión del populacho a la que la crónica oficial del ejército atacante tilda de *tyrannie de la multitude*, lo que no impidió la rendición en cuestión de horas. El periodista militar testigo de los primeros parlamentos de Bessièrès relata lo siguiente: *Un général de troupes de ligne parut aux avant-postes pour répondre à la sommation du duc d'Istrie; il était accompagné et surveillé par trente hommes du peuple dont le costume... lorsqu'il élevait la voix, ses paroles étaient dictées par les misérables qui le surveillaient.*²⁶

Miserables en efecto, que se habían erigido en los tan sangrientos como incompetentes cabecillas de un pueblo sencillo, valiente e ignorante que a la fácil e inconsistente acusación de traidor acababa de dar muerte ignominiosa a uno de sus mejores jefes, el marqués de Perales, que se había desvivido en la defensa y en el alistamiento del 23 de noviembre de la milicia llamada Honrada, que se había verificado claustros madrileños de la Trinidad Calzada, de los Mostenses y de San Francisco.

En la misma Zaragoza, donde la colaboración se llevó a cabo bajo parámetros mucho

24 *Representación del general Castaños en que da cuenta de los acaecimientos de su viaje* [al encuentro de la sede de la Junta Central Suprema]. Impreso fechado en Torremilanos, 21 diciembre 1808, incluido en *Reales órdenes de la Junta Central Suprema de Gobierno del Reino; y representaciones de la de Sevilla y del general Castaños acerca de su separación del mando del ejército operaciones del Centro, con las demás contestaciones que ha producido este asunto, año de 1809*. Ejemplar en Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, R 60121-12, pág. 15.

25 *Reales Órdenes de La Junta Central Suprema de Gobierno del Reyno; y representaciones de la de Sevilla y del general Castaños...*/ Xavier Castaños; Antonio Cornél.- Algeciras: [s.n.], 1809, pág. 70

26 *Quatorzième bulletin de l'armée d'Espagne, Devant Madrid, le 3 décembre 1808. Oeuvres de Napoléon Bonaparte*, Publicado por C.L.F. Panckoucke, 1821, pág. 335.

más cordiales, se hizo caso omiso de las disposiciones de la Junta de Defensa por las que se habían nombrado militares para la defensa de las puertas, poniéndose en su lugar líderes populares, con lo que hubo que transigir.

Situaciones inconcebibles para militares, incluso para los franceses, hijos de los horrores de su Revolución, de la que por cierto se copiaron las formas con demasiada frecuencia y no menor ferocidad: no olvidemos la masacre de residentes franceses en Valencia sin que la Junta de Defensa pudiese intervenir e innumerables otras escenas de «guerra sucia». En la afición por las soluciones más drásticas y crueles y en la sospecha generalizada hacia cualquiera que razonara o contradijera lo más mínimo la opinión más vulgar pero que pudiera parecer la del «pueblo» se detecta la influencia inconsciente del «Terror» de 1793, vecino en el tiempo y en los subconscientes. Presión popular y de las autoridades civiles de la que también es muestra en el aspecto que nos toca tratar el hecho de que, habiéndose negado el capitán general Blake a comprometer el conjunto de sus fuerzas en defensa de la asediada Gerona de 1809, fue forzado a hacerlo aunque sin aventurar una batalla bajo la amenaza de que si no lo hacía se exponía a que el paisanaje se armase contra la tropa.

Gerona se perdería sin llegar a ser socorrida, pero el hecho es de por sí bastante significativo. Aún lo son más los motivos de la capitulación de Tortosa ante Suchet (2 enero 1811). Alguien tan poco sospechoso como el liberal Toreno narra a la vez que explica este fenómeno «populista»: *prevaleció como era natural y no mas honroso, el parecer de la mayoría al que daba gran peso el desaliento de los vecinos, de tanto influjo en esta clase de guerra*²⁷ en alusión no sólo al carácter del levantamiento social ante el vacío de poder, sino frente a cualquiera otro que viniera impuesto.

En Zaragoza, como en Gerona y en otras partes, sospechosas las autoridades militares, se eligieron los mandos entre profesionales de la milicia, pero revolucionariamente y unos más y otros menos, estos dependieron de algún modo de quienes tumultuariamente les había nombrado. Lo de Valencia rayó en lo increíble, ya que para poder lograr cierto entendimiento entre los mandos y el pueblo se tuvo que recurrir en los casos más extremos a los servicios de intermediario de un franciscano, el padre Rico, ya que era él quien gozaba de la confianza popular desde los sucesos de 1808 que habían acabado con la vida del barón de Albalat, linchado por un populacho al que resultaba poco simpático por su condición de coronel de Milicias, institución poco querida.

Como no conviene confundir pueblo con populacho, es de justicia señalar otros comportamientos cívicos como los de la población en armas de Zaragoza, o militares en las propias milicias que integradas en las ocho compañías cívicas de la llamada «Cruzada Gerundense» resultaron tan disciplinadas como insustituibles en el Tercer Sitio de Gerona. O las que resistieron en Ciudad Rodrigo los ataques de Masséna y Ney en la primavera y el verano de 1810 buena tropa de milicias, jóvenes, atléticos y bien pertrechados con fusiles ingleses y espadas toledanas que pintara William Bradford, capellán del ejército británico meses antes²⁸.

27 Queipo De Llano, conde de Toreno, José María *Historia del Levantamiento, Guerra y Revolución de España*, Tomo IV, Madrid, Tomás Jordan ed., 1835, pág. 117.

28 *Sketches of the Country, Character and Costume in Portugal and Spain made during the Campaign, and on the route of the British Army, in 1808 and 1809. Engraved and coloured from the drawings by the Rev. William Bradford, A. B. of St. John's College, Oxford, Chaplain of Brigade to the Expedition*. London, John Booth ed., 1809.

Convertidas las Milicias Provinciales y Urbanas en combatientes por necesidad, se tuvieron que crear unas « Milicias Honradas», siguiendo la pauta del Reglamento el 22 de Nov de 1808, por la Suprema Junta del Reino, con sede en Aranjuez, como fuerzas de orden público al objeto que en aquellos lugares que a causa de la guerra se quedasen sin guarnición ni fuerza armada, se crean unos cuerpos fieles para precaver los desórdenes, que también acabaron en convertirse en soldados de ocasión en las ciudades sitiadas, actuando preferentemente como «prebostes» para evitar desertiones.

Como señala Dufour, *los sitios de Zaragoza y de Gerona contribuyeron poderosamente a la creación del mito de la «nación indomable» que, efectivamente, permitió la victoria final sobre el soberano más poderoso de Europa. Pero ¿desde el punto de vista militar? La cuestión queda pendiente desde el primer día de cada sitio...*²⁹.

29 Dufour ,Gérard: *La Guerra de la Independencia. Zaragoza y Gerona*, Madrid, Arlanza, 2008, pág. 42

The impact of the Peninsular War on the Portuguese civil population (1807-1809)

JORGE MARTINS RIBEIRO

The Peninsular War, as all wars, had a negative impact on civil populations, and the French armed intervention in Portugal between 1807 and 1812 was no exception. Of course we have to think that this was an early 19th century conflict, in many aspects different from the wars of the beginning of the 21st century, but the sufferings it caused on the civilians is not very different from nowadays. Perhaps there is a change on scale and I would probably dare to affirm that nowadays impact, due to the new technologies and to the fact that there is not a real war front, is worse than it was in those days.

It is important however to explain what brought the Napoleonic Armies to the Iberian Peninsula, namely to Portugal. Napoleon needed to close Portuguese ports to British ships and navigation, since Portuguese ports were a good base for the Royal Navy in the European Continent. In fact, as early as 1801, by means of his brother Lucien Bonaparte, sent as envoy to Madrid, he managed to persuade D. Manuel Godoy, Spain's Prime-minister, to accept the possibility of a war against his Iberian neighbour. After the signature of the Madrid Convention, in January 1801, Portugal was attacked through the borders of the Alentejo in May. The invasion lasted 2 weeks and the so-called Treaty of Badajoz, whose articles were very unfavourable to Lisbon, put an end to it on June 1801 (Serrão, 1982: VI, 326).

Things however changed with the battle of Trafalgar, as great victory for Britain as it was a big defeat to Napoleon. After October 1805 the British became masters of the ocean and as French Historian, André Latreille writes, Napoleon was confined to the continent and condemned to its conquest. The Emperor won several victories over Austria (Ulm), Russia (Austerlitz) and Prussia. After the signature of the Peace of Tilsit, Russia adhered to the *Continental Blockade* (Latreille, 1974: 143; Godechot, 1984: 166-170, 174, 176; Droz, 1972: 232, 237-238; Fugier, 1994: II, 171, 176-177).

Unable to beat Britain militarily, Napoleon decided to use an economic weapon to defeat her. So, by the decrees of Berlin (21st November 1806) and Milan (17th December 1807), he forbade all trade between the United Kingdom and continental Europe. He hoped this would provoke serious social problems and force the English cabinet to negotiate peace. London however replied by the Orders in Council, declaring France and her allies in state of blockade (Godechot, 1984: 181-182; Macedo, s.d.: 339; Ribeiro; 1990: 51).

These events were going to have serious repercussions in Portugal, as Lisbon persisted in being faithful to the United Kingdom's alliance, Portuguese ports continued open to all British shipping, remaining an important base for the Royal Navy. At the same time we must not forget that by 1807 almost all European ports were closed to the navigation of Great Britain.

Napoleon decided to invade Portugal, in order to avoid a possible British landing on Portuguese shores, enabling an attack to Spain, since metropolitan Portugal had an important strategic position, at the entrance of the Mediterranean. Besides this, the Atlantic islands

(Madeira, the Azores and the Cape Verdes) were Portuguese possessions and were important points for Atlantic navigation. On the other hand Napoleon feared that if Spain decided to become neutral, her ports could be used by the Royal Navy. We must not forget that in Napoleon's mind Portugal was also economically important to France. He wanted to replace England in the Portuguese market and gain access to the richness of Brazil. All this helps to explain why Napoleon decided to invade Portugal (Ribeiro, 1990: 52, 101; Macedo, s.d.: 344-345, 348; Silbert, 1977: 51, 57).

At the approach of the French Armies, the Portuguese royal family, following a previous decision, left for Brazil, so that the king as the fundamental focus of political power shouldn't fall into French hands and avoid the possibility of being obliged to take decisions that would put in jeopardy the country's independence.

Lisbon didn't agree with the French Ultimatum as the conditions were quite unacceptable: closing the ports to British trade and shipping, imprisoning all the English subjects that inhabited in the country and seizing their properties. In the face of this decision, Napoleon ordered that the Army of Gironde, commanded by general Junot, governor of Paris and former ambassador in Lisbon, to whom he will bestow the title of Duque de Abrantes, be prepared to march towards Portugal (Macedo, s.d.: 350-351).

Nevertheless, in order to reach Portugal it was necessary to have the complicity of Madrid as French troops had to cross Spain. It was not difficult to obtain the necessary authorization and even military help due to problems in the Spanish Royal family and the ambition of D. Manuel Godoy. In exchange for a principality Godoy negotiated with Napoleon the Treaty of Fontainebleau, signed in 29th October 1807. Metropolitan Portugal was to be divided in three parts. The Alentejo and the Algarve would be given to D. Manuel Godoy, who would become Prince of the Algarves. Northwest Portugal (Entre-Douro e Minho) was to be granted to the King of Etruria, with the title of King of Northern Lusitania. The remainder of the territory would stay occupied by French troops until a general peace was to be settled and only then would its destiny be decided (Ribeiro, 1970: 102; Macedo, s.d.: 352).

The French army crossed the Portuguese border during the first days of November 1807 and entered Lisbon on the 30th of the same month. Junot was not able to imprison the Royal Family since it had already embarked to Brazil. He dismissed the governors left in charge of the country by the Prince Regent, appointed a new government, took several measures to neutralize the Portuguese armed forces and put Frenchmen in key posts. At the same time North-western Portugal, the Alentejo and the Algarve were occupied by Spanish troops in accordance with the stipulations of the Fontainebleau Treaty (Macedo, s.d.:353-354; Serrão, 1982: VI: 334-335; Serrão, 194: 20-21, 24).

The important and powerful community of British merchants established in Oporto, who traded in all kind of commodities, is a good example of the impact of war on civilians, as they undertook effective measures to escape French fury, as soon as they realized Portugal could not remain neutral and there was a strong possibility of being invaded.

Before the French armies arrived, the English were able to leave the country, taking everything they could with them. In this way they managed to save their belongings from the seizures ordered by French and even by Portuguese authorities. In November 1807, under the pressure of Napoleon, the Lisbon government confiscated all the British assets in Portugal.

Prior to their departure the merchants took dispositions to ensure that their real estate was not going to be taken by the occupants. For that purpose they used several stratagems. They contracted mortgages giving their landed property in pledge and declared before a public notary they owed money to Portuguese citizens, guaranteeing the payment of these debts with their estate if they were never to return. The merchants also left powers of attorney to their employees, so that they could take care of their business while they were away.

Some British subjects, however, stayed in Oporto, throughout the occupation to look after their property and their fellow-countrymen's business and were arrested, in December 1807, by the Spanish invaders who in accordance with the stipulations of the Fontainebleau Treaty, signed between Napoleon and Spain, were occupying the northwest of Portugal.

The measures taken by the English merchants, we described, proved to be effective as they didn't suffer much loss in the course of the French interventions of 1807-1808 and 1809, the only ones that reached Oporto. In fact, as soon as the Napoleonic armies retired many of these tradesmen returned and went on with their business (Ribeiro, 1990: 34, 51, 54-55, 59, 87, 107-130, 183-187; Sanceau, 1970: 63).

At the economic level, war also had an impact on the activities of these merchants as they shipped wine to the United Kingdom and imported the indispensable foodstuffs to feed the British and Portuguese armies. In fact, due to war conditions, Portugal was cut from her other traditional markets such as Spain, France and Hamburg, a British Army was stationed in her territory and Portugal had to rely mainly on the United Kingdom as a provider of foodstuffs and as a buyer of her products. Actually, the quantities of products entering Portugal were by far much superior than the needs, as part of them was to be sent to Spain (RIBEIRO, 1998: 135).

North Portugal was the first place in the country to rebel against the invader and because of this commanded the restoration's movement of the legitimate government. This is connected and articulated with the Spanish *Junta*'s movement of restoration of Fernando VII's authority. In fact the 2nd of May in Madrid started the rupture of the cooperation between France and Spain. In the 18th of June in Oporto took place the proclamation of independence (Capela, Matos, Borralheiro, 2008: 23, 57-58; CRUZ, 1970: 21-22).

It can be said that in 1808 there was a popular insurrection and in 1809 a national war, because in this year the reaction against the invader took place within a military framing. The people is indeed present in this revolutionary movement in some places and as it dominated the events obliged the local elites and authorities to join it. Quickly however legal authorities, military commanders, city halls, magistrates, ecclesiastical institutions, men of letters and even merchants took over the leadership. At this time what can be described as the populace seems to remain absent from the dynamics that will organize the political organs issued from these movements. On the other hand, the dominant classes wanted that the demonstrations of patriotism to fit into the established system, but the people more anarchically transformed their actions into guerrilla movements against everybody and everything. In consequence in some northern municipalities appeared new organs of government, the *Juntas*, a kind that will spread all over the country (Matos, 2000: 149-151, 177).

In the course of 1809 a new invasion took place, this time the occupation army was commanded by Marshal Soult, duke of Dalmatia, and northwest Portugal was specially attained.

The military operations and the forced lodging of troops were a great burden to civilians.

One priest contemporary to these events wrote a diary in which he speaks about the atrocities committed by the French on their way to Oporto and says this exasperated each time more the population, who ambushed and killed the soldiers. He also alludes to the deaths caused by this war, having died besides the civilians many priests and monks who took up arms against the invaders (Monteiro, 1809, fls.1, fls.4).

In fact, if we are to believe in what Pierre le Noble, a French officer who took part on this campaign, wrote in his *Mémoires* about how the inhabitants were forced to take up arms at the approach of Soult's army, menaces or arrests were used by the Portuguese authorities to obtain cooperation and the most reluctant were massacred. It seems also that the consuls of Denmark, Holland, Prussia and Russia were forced to serve on the Oporto batteries (LE Noble, 2005: 130; Soult, 1955:78).

Soult arrived near Oporto on the 26th March 1809 and started the attack on the 29th at 8h 00m in the morning. It was this day that one of the biggest disasters in the city's history happened. The bridge of boats, built with vessels put side by side, that linked Oporto to the southern shore, to Vila Nova de Gaia, collapsed under the weight of the enormous quantity of people fleeing the city. Many persons drowned in the river Douro. Marshal Soult in his *Memoires* speaks of 2.000 people and a French priest émigré of 3.600, but many more lost their lives during the attack (Soult, 1955: 77; Avril, 2006: 81-82). After this, Oporto was "thoroughly sacked", even if it seems that Soult tried to prevent it, but the pillage lasted three days. As Sir Charles Oman writes in his *History of the Peninsular War* Soult had conquered the city and had delivered some French captives, but was "far from having completed the conquest of northern Portugal as on the day he first crossed its frontier, He had only secured for himself a new base of operations, to supersede Chaves and Braga". His main goal, however, the capture of Lisbon, never occurred and the same Oman states "like so many other French generals in the Peninsula, he was soon to find that victory was not the same things as conquest" (OMAN, 1995: II, 248-249; AMS, *Dietário de Tibães*, 1798-1829: fls, 125).

Colonel Napier an eyewitness of the war in the Peninsula also speaks about the conciliatory police of Marshal Soult, endeavouring to remedy the soldiers' fury "recovering and restoring a part of the plunder, he caused the inhabitants remaining in the town to be treated with respect, and invited by proclamation all those who had fled to return. He demanded no contribution, and restraining with a firm hand the violence of his men, contrived, from the captured public property, to support the army and even to succour the poorest and most distressed of the population". At the same time, it seems that there was an amelioration of "relations between the army and the peasantry", French soldiers were no longer murdered and even the priests were not so hostile. It is interesting to note this defence of Soult made by a British officer. He even criticises Portuguese ferocity when he speaks about the death of colonel Lameth and the consequent retaliation, In fact, this young officer was ambushed and murdered near the village of Arrifana his body being "stripped, and mutilated in a shocking manner". This, in Napier's point of view, "was justifiable neither by the laws of war nor by those of humanity" and he concluded that "no general could neglect to punish such a proceeding". As a consequence Soult decided to punish the culprits and send with that purpose to Arrifana general Thomiers accompanied by a Portuguese civilian. After a "judi-

cial inquiry” 5 or 6 persons considered guilty were killed. It seems, however, that the real individual responsible, a major of militia together with some companions managed to escape (Napier, 1993: II, 227-231).

During the occupation of Oporto, civilians had to live together with their enemy, the French troops. Some divisions were quartered in barracks and convents, while the officers were lodged in the inhabitants' houses. In fact, 167 officers, 50 servants, 129 horses and a donkey were accommodated in the city centre. We obtained these data in a document kept in the Oporto Municipal Archives and we could ascertain that the major part of them, were billeted with the knowledge of their superiors. As we can image this must have caused a great deal of inconvenience to the civilian population (AHMP, Maço n°. 1832). On the other hand Portuguese authorities were summoned to deliver furniture, household-linen, table-linen, bed-clothes and other objects of daily use, all of the best quality, to the occupant. This was of course very onerous to the city (Basto, 1926: 148-156).

We would also like to draw attention to the collaborationism that took place between the inhabitants and the military occupant. In fact, some of the Portuguese were convinced that the only way to modernize and develop Portugal was under Napoleon's rule, which could give the country a Constitution and put in practice the Revolution's ideas and achievements. Obviously many of these people had problems after the war. But, besides this, there was also what we could probably call another form of collaborationism. After the retreat of Soult's army one woman was arrested and accused of receiving at her home French officers and that she had said that they would return and play ball with the head of the Portuguese. She denied all these accusations and declared that the plaintiffs were two Portuguese soldiers who besides desiring to maintain with her illicit relations, wanted to rob her. The fact that they wanted to steal from her was proved. But on the other hand however although the inventory made by the judiciary authorities of all her belongings, showed that she owned money and some valuable objects, like silver-plate, jewels and a big quantity of other items such as furniture, household linen and nice clothes. And we must bear in mind that the city was plundered for three days. Besides, this inventory was made on demand of a man who wanted to know if some of his things were among them. This was possible, because at the approach of the French army he had fled his home, living behind all his personal property and the house was used by several French officers who lived there some women, including the accused. We also ascertained that this woman sometimes received at her home French officers and that although single she had a nine year old daughter, whose deceased father had left her an important heritage in Brazil. So, after analyzing the judiciary process we can guess that even if she had not been favourable to Soult's government, she maintained closed relations with some French officers, making it possible that she continued in possession of all her assets. This fact aroused the cupidity of the Portuguese soldiers (BPMP, Ms. 1773).

As we have seen on this paper, taking as an example the armed French interventions of 1807-1808 and 1809, precisely 200 years ago, we can see how the military operations disrupted everyday life and affected the civilians. To start with the Portuguese royal family and the court left to Brazil, the country was invaded and became a theatre of operations that caused suffering and destructions. Not only Portugal had in its territory the French occupation army, but after the beginning of August 1808 also a British army, under the command of

Sir Arthur Wellesley, future duke of Wellington, that came to Peninsula to help to defeat the French. The fact that there were two foreign armies in Portuguese soil was viewed by some as a negative thing and by others as a hope for the country's development and modernization. At least this seems to have been favourable to the British merchants business. In spite of what one believed, all, the English inhabitants included, expected the end of the military operations to enjoy a normal and better life. In Oporto and northern Portugal the occupation was very hard for the inhabitants, who had to socialize, lodge and feed the occupants.

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Vers une guerre totale ? Innovations et ambiguïtés de la politique de Soult en Andalousie (1810-1812)

JEAN-MARC LAFON

Même si cette notion fut inventée et diffusée par des auteurs (L. Daudet, E. Ludendorff, C. Schmitt) notoirement contre-révolutionnaires, voire pour certains nazis, la plupart des historiens s'accordent aujourd'hui à voir la naissance de la *guerre totale* avec la Révolution française, au printemps 1792.

Aux conflits réglés et limités d'Ancien Régime liés à des enjeux surtout dynastiques et à la maîtrise de soi nobiliaire, elle opposa une guerre de masse, impliquant mobilisation de l'ensemble des ressources matérielles et humaines (et donc l'ébauche d'une production industrielle et scientifique des armes et autres équipements militaires), confusion des pouvoirs militaires et politiques, disparition de la distinction entre civils et combattants, diabolisation inégalée de l'ennemi et imprécision des buts de guerre, la rendant très difficile à terminer pour ceux qui l'avaient déclenchée. La guerre devient inexpiable, donc illimitée dans le temps comme dans l'espace¹.

Les débuts du pouvoir personnel de Napoléon semblèrent cependant marquer une rupture dans ce processus, avec un retour à la négociation. Il signa la paix de Lunéville avec l'Autriche en février 1801, puis celle d'Amiens avec l'Angleterre en mars 1802 ; tandis qu'amnistie et rétablissement de la liberté religieuse permettaient d'en finir avec la guerre civile dans l'Ouest. Enfin, ses conquêtes s'inscrivaient dans la lignée d'une vision dynastique, au service de sa famille, tant naturelle qu'élargie (Eugène de Beauharnais, Murat...). « *Mais s'il se souciait toujours plus d'adopter des formes traditionnelles de légitimation, il n'en rejetterait pas pour autant le nouveau modèle de la guerre* »².

De fait, la guerre d'Espagne (1808-1814), « anormale » déjà pour les contemporains, est souvent qualifiée de guerre totale. L'apparition de la guérilla suppose une « belligérance universelle » pour M. Artola, vision généralisée par la suite³. Nous tenterons de vérifier cette affirmation par l'étude des pratiques de pacification de Soult en Andalousie, longtemps éclipsées par l'action de Suchet en Aragon et à Valence⁴.

1 J.-Y. Guiomar, *L'invention de la guerre totale XVIII^e-XIX^e siècle*, Paris, Éditions du Félin, 2004 ; D. A. Bell, « Les origines culturelles de la guerre absolue, 1750-1815 », *La Révolution à l'œuvre. Perspectives actuelles de l'histoire de la Révolution française*, J.-C. Martin dir., PU de Rennes, 2005, p. 229-239, et *The First Total War. Napoleon's Europe and the Birth of Modern Warfare*, London, Bloomsbury, 2007.

2 D. A. Bell, *The First Total War...*, *op. cit.*, p. 195.

3 M. Artola, « La guerra de guerrillas. (Planteamientos estratégicos en la Guerra de la Independencia) », *Revista de Occidente*, II, 10, 1964, p. 12-43 ; C. Almuiña Fernández, « Formas de resistencia frente a los Franceses. El concepto de guerra total », *Repercusiones de la Revolución Francesa en España*, Madrid, Universidad Complutense, 1990, p. 453-471.

4 J.-R. Aymes, « Soult en Andalousie y Suchet en Zaragoza y Valencia: dos métodos de pacificación diferenciados », *Cuadernos del Bicentenario*, 1, 2006, p. 57-79 ; ainsi que « Les maréchaux et les généraux napoléoniens. Pour une typologie des comportements face à l'adversaire », *Acteurs de la Guerre d'indépendance. Mélanges de la Casa de Velázquez*, 38-1, 2008, p. 71-93.

Soult apparaissait alors comme un « *général capable, laborieux, actif et ferme jusqu'à la dureté* »⁵, d'où son surnom de *Bras de fer* chez les troupiers. Après la victoire d'Ocaña (19/11/1809), il prôna de fusiller les transfuges récidivistes, nombreux parmi les 26 000 prisonniers⁶, à l'opposé de la politique de clémence adoptée par le roi Joseph depuis son entrée en Espagne. Il conçut aussi, inspiré par ses expériences antérieures de la « guerre populaire » (Suisse en 1799, Barbets piémontais en 1800-1801), un projet novateur de contre-insurrection, se distinguant tant des vues de Napoléon, exclusivement militaires, que de celles de son frère, avant tout politiques. L'Andalousie facilement conquise au printemps suivant lui permit de l'expérimenter en y instaurant une dictature militaire, sitôt le roi reparti pour Madrid, début mai 1810. Il le fit avec le soutien tacite de l'Empereur, qui attendait que le Midi pourvoie avant tout à l'entretien de ses soldats⁷.

UN PROCESSUS DE GUERRE TOTALE

Avant même le départ du roi, Soult formula une doctrine de pacification à l'usage de ses subordonnés, incompatible avec les vues de Joseph. Occultée dans ses *Mémoires*, elle est manifeste dans sa correspondance (conservée à Vincennes et aux Archives Nationales) et ses nombreuses proclamations, hélas très dispersées dans la presse officielle *josefina* et de multiples fonds d'archives, y compris ceux de diverses municipalités andalouses.

Elle se nourrit d'un complexe obsidional croissant, qu'elle entretient aussi :

- Éloignement de l'Andalousie, difficultés logistiques et nombreuses ponctions des officiers supérieurs français sur le matériel (important convoi de poudre détourné par Ney en mai 1810) et les renforts destinés à l'Armée du Midi.
- Présence d'armées ennemies sur les confins portugais, à Cadix et à Murcie.
- Menace latente sur le littoral suite à la suprématie maritime anglaise, appuyée de surcroît par les bases alors inexpugnables de Gibraltar et Cadix, même si elle ne fut que peu employée dans les premiers temps, sans doute à cause du fiasco du débarquement de Lord Blayney à Fuengirola en octobre 1810.
- Essor de la guérilla dès mars 1810.

« *Désormais, nous ne devons avoir en Espagne que des amis ou des ennemis, les indifférents et ceux qui veulent rester neutres sont dangereux ; il faut les forcer à servir leur légitime souverain ou à se prononcer contre, alors on leur fera la guerre et ils subiront le sort des vaincus* »⁸. En fomentant ainsi la guerre civile, Soult recherche une bipolarisation de la société méridionale, par la compromission et/ou la coercition, suivant une logique qui

5 Bouillé, *Souvenirs et fragments pour servir aux mémoires de ma vie et de mon temps*, Paris, Picard, 1911, III, p. 277.

6 AMAE, Correspondance politique, 680, ordre de Soult du 28/11/1809.

7 J.-M. Lafon, « Contre-guérilla ou contre-insurrection ? La politique de pacification de Soult en Andalousie (1810-1812) », *Ocupación y resistencia en la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814)*, Barcelona, Museu d'Història de Catalunya, 2005, II, p. 951-971 ; « Occupation, exploitation : le maréchal Soult en Andalousie (février 1810-septembre 1812) », *France occupée, France occupante. Le gouvernement du territoire en temps de crise (de la guerre de Cent ans au régime de Vichy)*, Y. Delbrel, P. Allorant & Ph. Tanchoux dir., PU d'Orléans, 2008, p. 346-358.

8 SHD-DAT, C⁸ 146, lettre du 17/04/1810 au général Reynier.

semble préfigurer la définition du politique de C. Schmitt⁹. Certes, cette démarche n'est pas isolée dans la Péninsule¹⁰, mais Soult la poussa à son terme.

La criminalisation de l'ennemi compte dès lors parmi les plus virulentes de la Péninsule. Elle s'avère aussi omniprésente, diffusée par les divers médias officiels (presse, théâtre, prédication...). Dans un premier temps, selon un témoignage évoquant la « pacification » de la zone insurgée de la Serranía de Ronda en juin 1810, on respectait certaines formes. « *Nous leur tuâmes beaucoup de monde. On ne fit prisonniers que les militaires espagnols, les paysans pris les armes à la main étaient fusillés immédiatement et on brûlait leurs habitations* »¹¹. Par la suite, les « brigands » capturés seront pendus, leurs corps dépecés et exposés, selon la tradition coercitive d'Ancien Régime, de façon à discréditer leurs motivations.

Parallèlement, l'occupant s'attache à mobiliser les ressources régionales, minières et humaines (ouvriers et artisans spécialisés...) en fonction de ses intérêts. D'où la création de pôles industrialo-militaires à Séville, Grenade et Cordoue, dont la gestion centralisée et rationalisée s'oppose au saupoudrage antérieurement pratiqué par la Junte Centrale. De même, la production agricole est consacrée en priorité à l'entretien de l'Armée du Midi ; de nombreuses municipalités méridionales doivent financer, à leurs frais, la réfection de routes ou la construction de fortifications pour répondre à ses besoins¹².

Le tout s'accompagne d'une confusion délibérée des pouvoirs, le duc de Dalmatie refusant de s'en tenir à la seule sphère militaire et méprisant ouvertement les prérogatives de l'administration civile *josefina*, au nom des impératifs systémiques de la pacification. « *En Andalousie comme partout ici, l'administration et la police se lient si intimement aux opérations militaires qu'il n'est pas possible de les séparer* »¹³. Cela justifia à ses yeux la création d'une police totalement indépendante du ministère madrilène, en octobre 1811, qui se traduisit, notamment dans la préfecture de Cordoue, par la levée d'escouades montées de policiers au service exclusif des autorités d'occupation¹⁴.

De plus, on assista à une unification/personnalisation croissante du commandement au profit de Soult, dès lors que des rivaux potentiels (Dessoles, Sébastiani, Victor...) furent rappelés en France et remplacés par des fidèles du duc de Dalmatie ou des généraux plus dociles. La réorganisation de l'Armée du Midi, notamment au printemps de 1812, jouait également dans ce sens¹⁵.

Enfin, l'optimisme initial de Soult lui fit considérer l'Andalousie comme un tremplin idéal

9 C. Schmitt, *La notion de l'ennemi*, Paris, Flammarion, 1992, p. 64-66, 70-71 et 112-114 (1^{ère} édition 1927).

10 Ney l'essaya également à La Corogne au printemps 1809, cf. O. Levavasseur, *Souvenirs militaires 1800-1815*, Paris, Librairie des Deux Empires, 2001, p. 144 (1^{ère} édition 1914) : « (...) employant tous les moyens pour attirer et compromettre dans notre cause des personnes marquantes. Il leur disait qu'il fallait se montrer à lui comme ami ou comme ennemi ».

11 J.-B. d'Héralde, *Mémoires d'un chirurgien de la Grande Armée*, Paris, Teissèdre, 2002, p. 136.

12 J.-M. Lafon, *L'Andalousie et Napoléon. Contre-insurrection, collaboration et résistances dans le midi de l'Espagne (1808-1812)*, Paris, Nouveau Monde/Fondation Napoléon, 2007, chap. VII et VIII.

13 Soult, *Mémoires. Espagne et Portugal*, Paris, Hachette, 1955, p. 224.

14 M. Turrado Vidal, *De malhechores a gente de orden. Historia de una partida bonapartista cordobesa*, Madrid, Fundación Policía española, 2005.

15 Bouillé, *op. cit.*, III, p. 499.

pour l'accomplissement d'un vieux rêve napoléonien, la conquête de l'Afrique du Nord¹⁶ (la mission de renseignement de Boutin à Alger, dont les plans eurent un rôle déterminant pour l'expédition de 1830, avait eu lieu entre mai et juillet 1808). Cet éloignement indéfini des objectifs était propre à une guerre totale.

AMBIGUITÉS ET LIMITES DE LA « GUERRE TOTALE » EN ANDALOUSIE

Ce processus, dont j'ai donné une vision synthétique, s'avérait beaucoup plus heurté et empirique dans les faits, malgré une tendance certaine à la radicalisation. Faut-il voir dans cette dernière un sentiment d'échec du duc de Dalmatie, tendance assez manifeste chez certains historiens andalous tels Martín Turrado Vidal ou Francisco Luis Díaz Torrejón, évoquant volontiers son obsession sécuritaire et sa fièvre répressive¹⁷ ? Pour ma part, je n'en suis pas aussi sûr ; il me semble qu'elle relève avant tout de la logique de surenchère induite par la guerre totale comme par sa rhétorique de prédilection. Elle était de plus sous-tendue par la conviction, alors avérée chez Soult, que la solution du conflit était à portée de main, qu'on pouvait l'atteindre au prix d'un ultime et décisif effort¹⁸.

J'ai pu en reconstituer quelques étapes. Soult systématisa quelques mesures ponctuellement adoptées par certains de ses subordonnés, tels Dessoles à Cordoue (mise en place de passeports obligatoires et usage des animaux de selle et de bât réservé aux élites sociales dès mars 1810¹⁹) ou Sébastiani à Grenade. Il en imposa d'autres, de façon à obtenir un ensemble cohérent, préventif plutôt que simplement réactif. Cet aperçu chronologique en livre également certaines limites :

- Mai 1810 : tournant répressif et strict contrôle de la population (institution des cartes de sûreté, limitations censitaires sur l'emploi des chevaux et mulets, blocus des zones insurgées).
- Juillet 1810 : règlements sur la guerre de course, visant à réserver l'essentiel de ses profits à la caisse de l'Armée du Midi.
- Novembre 1810 : municipalités rendues responsables de l'ordre public, déboisement des abords des principales routes sur 50 toises (environ 100 m).
- Octobre - Novembre 1811 : création de la Police d'Andalousie, mise sous tutelle des Juntas Criminelles Extraordinaires, organismes civils institués par Joseph en mars 1810 afin de contrer l'emprise et l'arbitraire de la justice militaire française²⁰.
- Mars - Avril 1812 : censure stricte de la correspondance confiée aux maîtres de postes, décret de « guerre à mort » et exécutions de soldats espagnols prisonniers par leurs com-

16 Rapport du 21/08/1810 à l'Empereur, cité par N. Gotteri, *Le maréchal Soult*, Paris, B. Giovanangeli, 2000, p. 397-398.

17 F. L. Díaz Torrejón, « Política contraguerrillera en la Andalucía napoleónica (1810-1812) », *Cortes y Revolución en el primer liberalismo español. VI Jornadas sobre la batalla de Bailén y la España contemporánea*, F. Acosta Ramírez (Coord.), Universidad de Jaén, 2006, p. 97-123.

18 Les Girondins furent les premiers à unir paix définitive et guerre d'extermination dans leur surenchère dialectique, durant l'hiver 1791, cf. D. A. Bell, *The First Total War...*, op. cit., p. 114-115.

19 Décret du 23/03/1810 cité par M. Turrado Vidal, op. cit., p. 225-227.

20 J.-M. Lafon, « Criminalisation et répression. Les dimensions judiciaires de la pacification en Andalousie (1810-1812) », *Pour une histoire de la justice militaire : modèles, sources, pistes*, Paris, Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, 2005 (sous presse).

patriotes ralliés, en réponse à la « petite guerre » de Ballesteros dans la préfecture de Malaga²¹, « *moment où l'on fusillait les prisonniers de part et d'autre* »²².

- Août - septembre 1812 : politique de « terre brûlée » lors de l'évacuation de l'Andalousie (réquisition des dernières ressources financières et agricoles, confiscation des derniers chevaux et mulets, destruction des établissements industriels et des fortifications...) selon les recommandations expresses de Soult à ses principaux subordonnés²³. Ces destructions systématiques par l'emploi de fourneaux de mine pouvaient s'avérer dangereuses : l'explosion du couvent fortifié d'Alhaurín el Grande, près de Malaga, fit 104 victimes parmi les habitants²⁴.

Malgré ses affirmations de la nécessité de rallier le petit peuple andalou, « *peuple vraiment espagnol, peuple rude, presque sauvage, fait aux privations, aimant la vie aventureuse, habitué à porter les armes, exalté par les passions les plus vives* »²⁵, il s'agissait bien d'une politique de classe. Elle bénéficiait en priorité aux oligarchies municipales (grands fermiers, hidalgos, négociants) qui constituaient la base des *gardes civiques* au service de l'occupant et profitaient des marchés militaires, ainsi que de l'acquisition de Biens Nationaux et du patrimoine communal. Soult se conformait ici aux conceptions de Napoléon sur le rôle crucial des notables²⁶, comme à la dérive conservatrice du régime impérial, en multipliant faveurs et passe-droits à la noblesse et au haut-clergé, en échange de leur ralliement, au moins nominal.

Dans ces conditions, les « brigands » relevaient surtout du prolétariat rural, poussé à la délinquance par soif de revanche, attiré du pillage ou instinct de survie... C'était lui qui subirait les principaux « dommages collatéraux » de l'occupation, dans l'indifférence des chefs militaires impériaux, qui le rendaient seul responsable des misères endurées par son obstination dans le « crime ». « *Je suis fâché que les habitants [de la préfecture de Jerez] souffrent [de la famine], mais c'est de leur faute, ils se sont attirés ces malheurs par leur conduite antérieure* »²⁷.

Cet état d'esprit se diffusa chez ses subordonnés. Ainsi, pour le général Maransin, dernier gouverneur de Malaga : « *Que les habitants prennent tous les armes, aillent grossir l'armée ennemie si cela leur convient, mais en attendant, il faut les obliger à déterrer leur argent et à payer leurs dettes. Ils ne font pas tant les récalcitrants quand Ballesteros [un général patriote, particulièrement doué pour la « petite guerre »] se présente : il trouve des ressources partout.*

21 P. Romero Gabella, « Ecos de la Vendée en un manifiesto de Soult (1812): guerra de opinión y guerra a muerte », *Las guerras en el primer tercio del siglo XIX en España y América*, P. Castañeda Delgado (Coord.), Madrid, Deimos, 2005, II, p. 327-345.

22 J.-B. d'Héralde, *op. cit.*, p. 181.

23 AN, 402 AP 50, ordres de Soult au général Digeon du 01/08/1812, au général Sémellé du 02/08/1812, au général Conroux des 05 et 15/08/1812, au général Villatte du 11/08/1812, et au général Vichery du 29/08/1812.

24 S. D. Pérez González, « La Guerra de la Independencia en Alhaurín el Grande », *La Guerra de la Independencia en Málaga y su provincia*, M. Reder Gadow & E. Mendoza García (Coord.), Málaga, CEDMA, 2005, p. 553-570, p. 567.

25 Soult, *Mémoires...*, *op. cit.*, p. 177.

26 A. Casanova, *Napoléon et la pensée de son temps. Une histoire intellectuelle singulière*, Paris, La Boutique de l'Histoire, 2000, p. 114-120 et 255-256.

27 AN, AP 402 49, lettre de Soult au général Villatte du 27/04/1812.

(...) *Puisque les Espagnols s'obstinent à vouloir être malheureux, qu'ils le soient* »²⁸.

Mais le principal obstacle était économique, puisque certaines des mesures adoptées par Soult lésaient à l'évidence le commerce (limitations des déplacements et transports, sur les routes, mais aussi sur le Guadalquivir rendu navigable entre Cordoue et Séville par les soins de l'occupant) et l'agriculture (arrachage forcé d'oliviers et autres arbres fruitiers trop proches des voies de communication, nombreuses réquisitions de bétail de trait, corvées peu ou pas payées). Cela ne pouvait que compromettre le ralliement des notables, même s'ils étaient souvent victimes d'extorsions et d'exactions diverses de la part des insurgés. De plus, l'économie andalouse, en proie aux réquisitions et aux contributions financières répétées de l'occupant, ne permettait pas d'inscrire la guerre totale dans la durée. Ainsi, la production agricole n'assurait pas l'autosuffisance en temps normal. Soult en était conscient, et il s'efforça de développer commerce (blé, orge, riz, morue séchée...) avec le Maroc, notamment par l'intermédiaire de la maison de commerce Grévinée de Malaga, et guerre de course comme palliatifs²⁹.

La Régence réfugiée à Cadix se réclama de la loi du talion pour promulguer la guerre sainte dès l'été 1810, en s'appuyant sur les *cruzadas*, corps paramilitaires formés ou encadrés de religieux, qui avaient été organisés à partir du printemps 1809³⁰. En avril 1812, elle recourut à l'embargo sur les vivres à destination des ports occupés³¹, arme bien plus efficace en l'occurrence, d'autant qu'elle fut appuyée par un resserrement du blocus britannique en mai. Dès lors, ses réserves épuisées et la famine se répandant, l'Armée du Midi ne pouvait espérer se maintenir longtemps en Andalousie, malgré la prétention de Soult d'en faire le pôle de la résistance impériale aux offensives de Wellington, face aux ordres pressants de Joseph en faveur d'un repli général sur Madrid.

Bien sûr, les civils furent les premiers touchés, un médecin patriote le constata en avril 1812 à Malaga, doublement éprouvée, par le déclin de son trafic portuaire comme par l'afflux de plusieurs milliers de paysans réfugiés. « *Des personnes de tout âge et origine sociale se battaient pour une feuille de salade, un trognon de chou, ou le moindre déchet jeté parmi les ordures ; les citrons et les oranges amères passaient pour des mets exquis, et l'on disputait aux chiens les os jetés par les Français et leurs partisans* »³². Plusieurs témoins français

28 Lettre du général Maransin au capitaine Serra (21^e dragons), chef d'une colonne mobile, du 28/02/1812, in A. L. Grasset, *Málaga, provincia francesa (1811-1812)*, Universidad de Málaga, 1996, p. 417-418 (1^{ère} édition, française, 1910).

29 Cf. U. Bonnel, *La France, les États-Unis et la guerre de course (1792-1815)*, Paris, Nouvelles Éditions Latines, 1961, p. 240, 282 et 307 ; et J.-M. Lafon, « Entre fortune de mer et déboires terrestres : la course française à Almeria (1810-1812) », *Course, corsaires et forbans en Méditerranée XV^e-XX^e siècle*, Toulon, SFHM, 2005 (sous presse).

30 Cf. P. Pascual Martínez, « Frailes guerrilleros en la Guerra de la Independencia », *Historia 16*, 280, 1999, p. 36-56. Il ne faut pas surestimer leur efficacité, ni sans doute l'enthousiasme du clergé espagnol à s'engager dans une guerre sainte, cf. C. Rodríguez López-Brea, « La Iglesia española entre 1808 y 1810. Un cruce de viejos y nuevos problemas », *Respuestas ante una invasión*, numéro extraordinaire de la *Revista de Historia Militar*, 2006, p. 183-205, p. 195-196.

31 BS, *Colección Gómez de Arteche*, 316.03, Proclamation aux Andalous du 19/04/1812.

32 J. Mendoza y Rico, *Historia de Málaga durante la revolución santa que agita a España desde mayo de 1808*, edición y notas de M. Olmedo Checa, Málaga, Real Academia de Bellas Artes de San Telmo y Academia Malagueña de Ciencia, 2003, p. 208.

rapportèrent également les souffrances de la population, réduite à manger de l'herbe et évoquèrent les nombreux décès quotidiens - entre 20 et 25 - provoqués par la faim à Séville, Malaga, Puerto Real³³...

Il s'avère encore difficile aujourd'hui d'établir un bilan de cette politique. Sur le plan matériel, la faillite économique semble avérée, notamment pour le bétail, qui ne retrouverait son importance d'avant guerre qu'en 1824 seulement. Quant aux pertes humaines, les premiers voyageurs romantiques les estimaient, dans les premières décennies du XIX^e siècle, entre 300 000 et un million pour l'Andalousie³⁴. Or, cette fourchette apparaît désormais très fortement exagérée. On évalue actuellement le total des pertes espagnoles à environ 500 000, ce qui fait cependant de la guerre d'Indépendance le conflit le plus meurtrier de l'histoire de l'Espagne contemporaine en mortalité relative (près de 5% de la population, contre moins de 2% pour la Guerre civile)³⁵. Un historien espagnol avait certes avancé le chiffre de 10 000 morts, affectant surtout les plus jeunes, pour le royaume de Grenade durant le conflit, mais sans exposer comment il parvint à ce résultat³⁶.

Faute de recensements généraux entre ceux de 1787-1797 (ces derniers se révélant assez peu fiables, et de toute façon invalidés par la crise démographique du tournant du siècle) et de 1857, les quelques études récentes se sont focalisées sur les zones les mieux pourvues en sources sérielles, pour l'essentiel, les registres mortuaires paroissiaux. Ce sont notamment la Catalogne, la Nouvelle Castille ou les Asturies³⁷. 1812 représenta bien un pic de mortalité pour le Midi de l'Espagne, mais à ma connaissance, seule une perspective de micro-histoire en rend compte, par l'examen de la *Casa Cuna* (orphelinat) de Grenade, spoliée de ses ressources habituelles par les occupants. Avec 468 décès cette année, le taux de mortalité infantile s'y monta à 97%, contre une moyenne de 49,3% entre 1780 et 1790³⁸.

CONCLUSION

Diverses tentatives de *guerre totale* eurent effectivement lieu dans les deux camps, durant la Guerre d'Espagne. Gouverneur de la Vieille Castille au printemps 1811, le maréchal Bessières utilisa des méthodes répressives qu'un observateur – d'autant plus horrifié qu'il

33 A. Fée, *Souvenirs de la guerre d'Espagne (1809-1813)*, Paris, Michel Lévy, 1861, p. 135 (1^{ère} édition 1856) ; lettre de Maransin au marquis de Bouillé du 08/03/1812 in A. L. Grasset, *Málaga, provincia francesa...*, *op. cit.*, p. 437 ; AMAE, Correspondance consulaire et commerciale, Malaga, 17, rapport du consul Augustin Proharam du 10/05/1812 ; Bouillé, *op. cit.*, III, p. 516 ; Manière, *Souvenirs d'un canonier de l'Armée d'Espagne*, Paris, J. Rouam & Cie, 1892, p. 31.

34 M.- J. Álvarez Arza, *La economía andaluza vista por los viajeros del siglo XIX*, Madrid, UNED, 1986, p. 98-99.

35 E. Canales Gili, « 1808-1814 : démographie et guerre en Espagne », *Annales Historiques de la Révolution Française*, 336, avril-juin 2004, p. 37-52, p. 50.

36 E. Díaz Lobón, « La población granadina a principios del siglo XIX y los efectos demográficos de la Guerra de la Independencia », *Actas del I Congreso de Historia de Andalucía, Andalucía contemporánea*, Córdoba, Monte de Piedad y Caja de Ahorros, 1979, I, p. 67-75, p. 71.

37 E. Canales Gili, « 1808-1814 : démographie et guerre en Espagne », *op. cit.* ; M. C. Ansón Calvo & F. Manzano Ledesma, « Repercusiones poblacionales en Asturias de la Guerra de la Independencia (1808-1814) », *La Guerra de la Independencia en Málaga y su provincia*, *op. cit.*, p. 451-472.

38 M. Vallecillo Capilla, *Política demográfica y realidad social en la España de la Ilustración. La situación del niño expósito en Granada (1753-1814)*, Universidad de Granada, 1990, p. 110-113.

adhérait probablement à une éthique aristocratique de la guerre – jugea dignes de celles de Turreau en Vendée³⁹. Le chef guérillero Espoz y Mina et les généraux Abbé et Reille rivalisèrent d'atrocités en Navarre à partir de décembre 1811. En Catalogne, le général patriote Lacy pratiqua une « guerre chimique » durant l'été 1812, par l'empoisonnement à l'arsenic des vivres et des citernes des principales garnisons françaises (Barcelone, Hostalrich, Tarragone, Mataró, Olot...) ⁴⁰. Pour sa part, le général Henriad, gouverneur de Lérida, employait systématiquement la torture sur les prisonniers et les otages catalans.

Cependant, il s'agissait là d'initiatives isolées, souvent temporaires car étroitement liées à la personnalité de leurs concepteurs. Ainsi, le simple changement d'un gouverneur de ville ou de province pouvait présenter des conséquences notables sur le degré de pacification du secteur concerné⁴¹. En outre, elles furent généralement désavouées par les autorités civiles, *afrancesadas* comme patriotes, et on s'efforça d'y mettre fin. La Junte de Catalogne remplaça Lacy par le général Copons, moins exalté, et des conventions minimales furent rétablies avec les occupants français. Le ministre de la Guerre français, dûment averti par des administrateurs civils de la Catalogne annexée au premier rang desquels le préfet A. de Villeneuve-Bargemon⁴², ordonna à Suchet de mettre un terme aux exactions de Henriad.

A contrario elles démontrent la difficulté de définir le conflit espagnol, dans son ensemble, comme une guerre totale. De même, l'analyse minutieuse de témoignages immédiats des différents belligérants (journaux, lettres, mémoires rédigés à partir de notes quotidiennes...) suggère que « l'ennemi absolu » fut davantage un impératif de propagande (surtout espagnole, dans les faits) qu'une réalité⁴³. En cela, le parallèle avec la dévastation planifiée et indiscriminée de la Vendée⁴⁴, établi par D. A. Bell pour faire de l'Espagne le deuxième terrain d'application des théories de guerre absolue⁴⁵, s'avère insatisfaisant. À moins d'insister sur sa dimension, longtemps déniée ou limitée à la seule perspective de l'*afrancesamiento* idéologique, de guerre civile⁴⁶.

Soult constitue ici une exception relative, en tant que maître dictatorial des provinces méridionales de l'Espagne jusqu'à leur évacuation définitive, entre août et septembre 1812 ; j'avoue m'écarter ici du portrait flatté et par trop unilatéral dressé par sa dernière et majeure biographe, Nicole Gotteri. Car il n'avait que peu à craindre du roi Joseph, à part des plaintes

39 Broglie, *Souvenirs*, 1785-1870, Paris, Calmann-Lévy, 1886, I, p. 149.

40 Incidents rapportés in N. Gotteri, *La police secrète du Premier Empire. Bulletins quotidiens adressés par Savary à Napoléon*, Paris, Honoré Champion, V, 2001, p. 92, 142, 169-170, 184, 231, et par L. M. Routier, *Récits d'un soldat de la République et de l'Empire*, Paris, Vermot, 1899, p. 125-126.

41 Gonneville, *Souvenirs militaires du colonel...*, Paris, Perrin, 1895, p. 143.

42 A. Tiano, *Alban de Villeneuve-Bargemon (1784-1852), le précurseur d'un État social ou un grand notable bien ordinaire ?*, Nîmes, Lacour, 1993, p. 110-120 pour son opposition à Henriad.

43 J.-M. Lafon, « Les *Souvenirs* sur l'Espagne, outils pour saisir la singularité du conflit ? », *Trienio, Ilustración y Liberalismo*, 47, 2006, p. 5-29, p. 17-22.

44 Car n'épargnant pas les républicains locaux, ni leurs biens, ce qui correspond à la « violence d'éradication » définie par J. Sémelin, *Purifier et détruire. Usages politiques des massacres et génocides*, Paris, Seuil, 2005, p. 408.

45 D. A. Bell, *The First Total War...*, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

46 J.-M. Lafon, *L'Andalousie et Napoléon...*, *op. cit.*, p. 536-544.

véhémentes et répétées auprès de l'Empereur⁴⁷, qui restaient sans écho, ce dernier se désintéressant toujours plus du théâtre d'opérations ibérique. Les seuls reproches de Napoléon à Soult visaient les lenteurs du « siège » de Cadix, l'inactivité de l'Armée du Midi ou la décision d'armer des partisans espagnols...

Mais ses pratiques novatrices de pacification débouchèrent sur une « victoire à la Pyrrhus », faute notamment de gestion raisonnée des ressources régionales. L'Andalousie fut durablement ruinée, et les troupes françaises en sortirent dans un piteux état, et fort indisciplinées : on les surnomma alors – ironie de l'histoire ? – « *les brigands de l'Armée du Midi* »⁴⁸.

Sigles

AMAE : Archives du Ministère des Affaires étrangères (Quai d'Orsay)

AN : Archives nationales

BS : Biblioteca del Senado (Madrid)

SHD-DAT : Service historique de la Défense, département Armée de Terre

47 Notamment à partir de mai 1812, pour culminer début 1813 en demandes pressantes de rappel du duc de Dalmatie en France, cf. V. Haegele (ed.), *Napoléon et Joseph. Correspondance intégrale, 1784-1818*, Paris, Tallandier, 2007, p. 721-741.

48 A. Fée, *op. cit.*, p. 168 ; également J.-B. d'Héralde, *op. cit.*, p. 183.



Età contemporanea in Europa



Le répartition, système de soutien logistique des armées par la population

FRANCISCO JOSE CORPAS ROJO

Annoncer que l'on va parler de la relation entre la guerre et la population civile, c'est presque toujours sous-entendre que l'on va traiter des souffrances d'une population soumise à l'occupation d'une armée ennemie, ou que l'on va s'attacher aux misères issues de la mobilisation, de la pénurie ou d'un feu ennemi qui cherche à anéantir les ressources et le moral de ladite population sur son propre territoire.

Historiquement, et pendant des siècles, en temps de paix comme en temps de guerre, les armées se sont ravitaillées sur le terrain. La tactique de la terre brûlée, qui visait à ne rien laisser de profitable à l'ennemi, était fréquente et, très souvent, le résultat des batailles dépendait de ce que l'on allait appeler plus tard la logistique.

Dans un contexte où les troupes combattantes ont à peine de quoi se nourrir, on imagine aisément les privations, voire la faim, dont souffre la population civile dans les secteurs où la guerre se déroule.

Historiquement, même en temps de paix, les troupes stationnant sur leur propre territoire ou se déplaçant d'un endroit à l'autre de ce même territoire se sont ravitaillées aux frais de la population civile, à défaut d'une infrastructure qui leur aurait facilité la vie et les déplacements. Ainsi, elles tirent de cette population les ressources, déjà maigres, qui lui sont nécessaires et occasionnent parfois chez les habitants autant de pénuries que la guerre elle-même.

Les présents travaux s'attachent au système qui sert à subvenir à ces besoins, tel qu'il a été appliqué par l'armée espagnole à compter du XVI^e siècle – et qui s'appuie essentiellement sur la population civile – jusqu'au développement, à la fin du XIX^e siècle, d'une structure logistique spécifique fondée sur ce que l'on appelle les Services¹.

Ce système reçoit le nom de « répartition », par allusion à la charge à répartir entre les membres d'une communauté donnée – généralement les habitants des localités où les troupes stationnent ou passent lors de leurs déplacements sur le territoire national.

Pour la population civile, la charge des répartements est semblable à celle des levées de troupes. De fait, la littérature du Siècle d'Or espagnol aborde ce problème à maintes reprises. Ainsi, par exemple, *Le Maire de Zalamea* – célèbre pièce de théâtre où un capitaine est logé par la famille Crespo – décrit comment les habitants d'un village se vengent des humiliations subies pendant l'hébergement des troupes. Son auteur, Calderón de la Barca, connaissait bien

1 Ces services, créés au XIX^e siècle et dépendant du corps d'administration militaire comprennent les services de base, fournis par répartition : hébergement (casernement), fournitures, et bagages (transports). Il y a ensuite les services qui dépendaient du trésor royal, pour les soldes, les vivres (subsistances), les œuvres et les hôpitaux. Et ceux qui étaient à la charge de l'armée proprement dite, comme l'artillerie. Ajoutons ceux qui ont été créés pour répondre aux besoins ayant surgi avec le temps et autrefois inexistantes, comme les services vétérinaires, la remonte et l'élevage des chevaux, les ingénieurs, les véhicules automobiles, les services cartographiques, etc.

la question puisqu'il avait lui-même été soldat des bataillons de Flandres.

La prolifération des règlements qui, tout au long de l'histoire, s'efforcent de faire accomplir les dispositions relatives aux répartements et à sanctionner les contrevenants montre bien qu'il s'agissait d'un problème récurrent, tout comme, à partir du XVIII^e siècle, les ordonnances portant sur la tarification des prix ou leur paiement pour les répartements gratuits.

Dès les commencements de l'Histoire militaire, les soldats vivent sur le terrain lorsque les besoins de la guerre les contraignent à se déplacer hors de leur lieu de résidence habituel. Les chroniques médiévales regorgent de récits d'expéditions de ravitaillement et de rapines dans les campagnes et les villages, destinées à piller les habitants du lieu au bénéfice de l'armée ou des individus.

En Espagne, l'organisation de l'État coïncide avec celle des premières armées régulières, à l'époque des Rois catholiques. Des activités qui, auparavant, étaient régies par les us et coutumes ou, dans le pire des cas, par la loi du plus fort, commencent à être réglementées.

Parmi ces habitudes, il y a celles qui découlent du besoin des troupes – autrefois compagnies féodales de gens d'armes, désormais armées du roi – de subsister hors de leurs quartiers habituels.

Le premier règlement connu à traiter ces sujets en Espagne est l'ordonnance dite des gardes, de 1503², édictée par le roi Ferdinand V à Barcelone, le 28 juillet, et par la reine Isabelle I^{re} à Monasterio, le 6 août, puis publiées à Séville le 13 septembre 1503. Elle a pour objet de compiler les règlements existants, trop épars et même parfois contradictoires entre eux, comme le reconnaît son introduction, et de les unifier.

« Sachez que, ayant été informés que, par nos ordres, après que certaines lois et ordonnances aient été promulguées en plusieurs occasions en vue de la bonne gouvernance de nos Capitaines et des gens de nos Gardes, et que l'ayant été à différents moments, certaines d'entre elles étaient contraires les unes aux autres, d'autres étaient superflues et non nécessaires et, faute d'être regroupées, beaucoup d'entre elles n'étaient ni connues ni conservées, et que pour ces raisons il y a eu beaucoup de défaillances et de désordres dans la gouvernance de nos Gardes, afin de remédier à cela, nous avons mandé à nos comptables principaux de regrouper toutes ces ordonnances de nous, qui sont désormais réunies, et de voir lesquelles étaient nécessaires et utiles, et d'éliminer les superflues et les contradictoires, et d'ajouter celles qui étaient maintenant nécessaires. Ce qu'ils ont fait, et ce dont ils nous ont rendu compte, et, ont été vues par nous, qui devons mander les accomplir de la façon suivante. »

Dans cette ordonnance, composée de 62 articles, les règles purement militaires côtoient celles qui concernent l'administration économique, parmi lesquelles figurent les dispositions relatives aux répartements.

Même si les ordonnances s'adressent aux gardes de Castille, elles s'appliquent à toute armée levée à l'époque, si bien que le système de répartements qu'elles définissent est applicable à l'ensemble des armées espagnoles.

2 Archives générales de Simancas. Comptabilité des Soldes, 2^e époque, n° 1. Transcrit dans Conde de Clonard (Serafin Soto). *Historia de las Armas de Infantería y Caballería*. Imprimerie de D.B. González, Madrid, 1851 (tome 2, p. 395). Sur sa couverture figure, en lettres plus actuelles, « Duplicados en diversos de Castilla, libro 1^o, folio 42 ».

« [...] Chefs de nos Gardes, nos Capitaines généraux et autres capitaines des gens de nos Gardes et de notre Artillerie, et Tireurs, Fantassins, Voyers et Comptables desdites Capitaineries, et Cavaliers, Écuyers et autres gens de pied et de cheval rattachés à celles-ci et à d'autres, toute personne concernée ou pouvant l'être par le contenu de notre Charte d'Ordonnance [...] »

N'oublions pas que, à l'époque, la solde allouée au soldat lorsqu'il s'enrôle est fonction des armes qu'il apporte. Il lui incombe de plus d'apporter et d'entretenir son armement individuel, son équipement, son habillement, son alimentation, son hébergement, jusqu'à son cheval dans le cas des troupes montées, bien que, parfois, certains de ces éléments lui sont fournis par le trésor royal qui, presque toujours, les défalque ensuite de la solde. Autrement dit, l'armée, en tant qu'institution, ne subvient à aucun des besoins de vie ou de déplacement, sauf cas particuliers, et le soldat doit y pourvoir par ses propres moyens.

Hormis les armes, les besoins les plus essentiels sont l'hébergement, l'alimentation et le transport – qui, des années plus tard, constitueront le noyau des services fournis par l'administration militaire et formeront le contenu de la logistique, branche de l'art militaire. Ce sont là les premiers répartements régis par ces ordonnances de gardes.

En effet, il faudra encore attendre deux cents ans pour que l'armée commence à utiliser des logements permanents pour les troupes et à construire des casernes. En attendant, le problème est résolu en faisant loger les troupes dans les maisons des communes et des endroits de passage ou de stationnement. Cet hébergement entraîne l'utilisation d'un certain nombre d'objets, dont le lit et d'autres articles – par exemple le combustible servant à faire la cuisine et à s'éclairer – rangés sous la dénomination de « fournitures ».

La coutume des répartements, désormais réglementée par le roi, est une source intarissable de protestations. D'ailleurs, l'exemption de cette obligation est un privilège royal octroyé à certaines classes sociales ou à certains métiers, notamment aux nobles et au clergé.

Néanmoins, dans les ordonnances qui nous occupent, l'hébergement est considéré comme un devoir universel, à accomplir, sans exceptions, par tout propriétaire d'une maison. Malgré tout, avec le temps, les exemptions de l'obligation d'héberger les troupes referont surface et on trouve, aussi tard qu'en 1816, une nouvelle déclaration au sujet du devoir, pour tous les ordres de la société, d'accomplir cette obligation³.

Avant l'arrivée des troupes et conformément aux renseignements fournis par le maire du lieu, les fourriers de la capitainerie des gardes⁴ divisent chaque maison, et le linge de maison correspondant, en trois parties. Le propriétaire en choisit une pour lui, le soldat logé une autre, et la troisième partie reste à la disposition du propriétaire. La durée maximale d'hébergement est de trois mois et le logeur est délivré, pour les huit mois suivants, de toute obligation d'hébergement.

Le soldat logé répond des dommages éventuels. En cas de désaccord avec le propriétaire, les dégâts sont évalués de gré à gré par le lieutenant de la capitainerie, son fourrier et le maire ou l'échevin du bourg.

3 L'ordonnance royale du 22 janvier 1816 étend l'obligation de loger les troupes en déplacement à toutes les classes exemptées, dans Reguera Y Urrutia, Eduardo. *Colección Legislativa Militar*. Madrid. 1^{ère} éd. Imp. de Pascual Gracia y Orga. (6 tomes). 1864 (t. 4, p. 611).

4 La capitainerie des Gardes est une unité de type compagnie de cavalerie.

Pour ce qui est des vivres (subsistances), l'armée fournit des rations de pain pour les hommes et des rations d'orge pour les chevaux. Ces rations sont remises par le commis aux provisions au receveur de chaque capitainerie, en présence de son capitaine, de son voyer et de son comptable.

L'ordonnance du 30-12-1706⁵ prévoit la possibilité suivante : « Si mon infanterie, du fait qu'elle est en marche ou pour toute autre raison, ne peut pas recevoir le pain des munitions (de bouche), le sergent-major prendra à témoin la justice du lieu qu'elle n'a pas reçu le pain, qui lui sera satisfait contre deniers, au prix que je paierai au pourvoyeur général, par la première personne ayant cette compétence que l'on aura trouvée sur place ».

Si le ravitaillement s'effectue dans un bourg, la procédure habituelle consiste à signer un reçu à la mairie, cette dernière se faisant ensuite payer par les représentants du pourvoyeur général (et plus tard par les Intendances de province ou d'armée).

De la sorte, mais seulement de façon exceptionnelle, le système de répartements s'étend aux rations de pain que le soldat reçoit chaque jour.

Le soldat achète ensuite les autres aliments à ses frais. Le maître de la maison où il loge doit lui fournir de la paille, du bois, du sel, du vinaigre, de l'huile et des chandelles au prix arrêté préalablement de gré à gré par le bailli ou le maire de l'endroit et le capitaine de la compagnie ou son lieutenant. Ces prix sont régulièrement actualisés. Le même système est appliqué pour le fourrage des chevaux.

Enfin, les ordonnances de 1503 réglementent une troisième sorte de répartition, celui qui a trait au transport des impedimenta (bagages) des troupes, qui, à l'époque et pendant encore quatre siècles, n'ont pas de moyen de transport propre. On a recours aux chariots à mules ou à bœufs des habitants des lieux traversés.

Le prix de ces transports est établi selon un système semblable à celui qui régit les subsistances et il concerne au maximum deux jours de trajet depuis le lieu de la transaction. Dans des cas exceptionnels et uniquement pour des raisons de nécessité absolue, le contrat peut être prorogé jusqu'à un maximum de quatre journées, au terme desquelles le propriétaire de la charrette retourne chez lui.

Le système de répartition des bagages est aussi utilisé pour le transport des victuailles et du matériel de l'armée en général, dans les cas où ils sont fournis par le commis aux provisions de l'armée, pour le compte du trésor royal.

Le système décrit est maintenu à l'époque des armées de la maison d'Autriche, aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles. On constate cependant que les bataillons de Flandres bénéficient d'un plus grand nombre de contrats – à la charge du trésor royal – d'approvisionnement en habillement et en armes que les bataillons établis à l'arrière-garde, sur la péninsule. Après celle des Rois Catholiques, aucune autre ordonnance, aucune autre disposition légale venant modifier les répartements n'est attestée.

Au XVIII^e siècle, l'arrivée des Bourbons s'accompagne d'une conception uniforme et centraliste de l'État, ainsi que de la professionnalisation de l'armée et de sa réglementation par un ensemble d'ordonnances qui viennent modifier l'organisation existante.

5 Portugés Joseph Antonio. *Colección general de las Ordenanzas Militares, sus innovaciones, y aditamentos, dispuesta en diez tomos, con separación de clases, comprende las de 12 de julio de 1728, de orden y a expensas de S. M.* Madrid. Imprimerie d'Antonio Marín. (10 tomes). 1764. (t. 1, p. 519).

Différents facteurs, comme l'évolution de l'armement, incitent le trésor royal à se charger de l'approvisionnement des soldats en ce qui concerne certains éléments qu'ils ne peuvent pas se procurer par eux-mêmes. C'est un premier pas vers l'uniformisation.

Au fil du temps, la publication d'ordonnances successives régit tous les aspects relatifs aux besoins de vie et aux besoins de déplacement, mais chacun à sa façon. Ainsi, les dispositions concernant les déplacements restent pratiquement inchangées jusqu'au XIX^e siècle, jusqu'à la construction des chemins de fer, et même jusqu'au XX^e siècle, jusqu'à l'invention du moteur à explosion⁶.

En effet, le système bourbonien des intendances se charge des différents besoins des troupes. Il le fait au début dans le prolongement des habitudes établies, c'est-à-dire essentiellement par des répartements et des contrats passés avec des fournisseurs étrangers au trésor royal, dont le rôle se borne à payer de façon plus ou moins centralisée.

Les ordonnances de 1718⁷, reprises en 1749⁸, s'adressent aux intendants : leur rôle de chefs des services de soutien des troupes existantes à l'époque commence à s'esquisser. En grande partie héritiers des systèmes de soutien des armées, qui, sans faire partie de l'organisation militaire du siècle précédent, répondent aux besoins des armées, parfois de façon rudimentaire et presque toujours via des contrats passés avec des fournisseurs extérieurs à l'armée ou par le biais d'opérations de répartition, les intendants accomplissent des fonctions de liquidation et de contrôle du système à l'aide de ce que l'on dénommait « ajustement des unités »⁹.

On constate que, avant la publication des ordonnances générales de 1718¹⁰, communes à toute l'armée bourbonnienne, les services sont réglementés par les ordonnances des corps d'infanterie, de cavalerie et de dragons, dans lesquelles figure, en règle générale, le règlement relatif aux services, à l'exception des questions de l'hébergement (1708) et des vivres¹¹ (1705).

Toutefois, les différentes modalités de soutien des combattants par répartements sont très tôt réglementées. Dès 1705, c'est le cas du répartition des fournitures, suivi, en 1706 par celui des bagages et, en 1708, par celui de l'hébergement. Cette hâte s'explique sans doute par les dérangements que les incessants mouvements de troupes occasionnent aux habitants des endroits où elles stationnent. Des sanctions, qui peuvent aller jusqu'à la peine de mort,

6 Il faudra attendre l'Ordonnance Royale du 26 mars 1834, pour que les bataillons d'infanteries soient dotés d'une « charrette » réservée aux marches d'approche en campagne. Voir Reguera Y Urrutia, Eduardo. *Colección Legislativa Militar*. Madrid. 1^{ère} édition. Imp. de Pascual Gracia y Orga. (6 tomes) 1864 (t. 3, p. 642).

7 L'Ordonnance Royale du 4 juillet 1718 établit des intendants, des comptables et des trésoriers-payeurs dans les provinces et les armées, et donne les instructions à suivre. Voir Portugués. Ibid. (t. 10, p. 3).

8 Royale Ordonnance et Instructions, du 13 octobre 1749, à l'adresse des intendants de l'armée et pour le rétablissement des intendants de province. Dans Portugués. Ibid. (t. 10, p. 232).

9 Corpas Rojo, Francisco. *Contabilidad Militar. La evolución de los sistemas de información económica en el Ejército español*. Madrid. Imprimerie du ministère de la Défense. 2005. (p. 239).

10 Ordonnances royales du 30 avril 1718, dans Portugués. Ibid. (t. 2, p. 396).

11 De fait, avant d'être transformés, au XIX^e siècle, en « service des subsistances », les bureaux du service des provisions par contrat de fournitures sont établis dans les lieux de stationnement, tout comme les trésoreries. Ils sont dirigés par un commis de l'adjudicataire auprès de qui l'officier chargé de représenter les intérêts du corps règle les comptes.

cherchent à empêcher les rapines, extrêmement fréquentes.

Parmi les répartements cités, celui des fournitures commence à perdre de sa raison d'être à compter de 1718. La question, intimement liée à la construction des casernes, sera dès lors réglée par des contrats passés avec le trésor royal.

Le transport des effets et l'hébergement des troupes – au sein duquel s'inscrit partiellement l'alimentation et les fournitures associées – conservent, eux, leur caractère de service par répartement. Dans les ordonnances militaires, ils sont désignés sous le nom de « contributions des communes », ce qui sous-entend leur caractère d'impôts en nature auquel on s'astreint pour contribuer à l'entretien des troupes en déplacement.

Un document fait foi du droit des troupes à profiter des prestations du système des répartements. Il s'agit d'un « passeport », établi au nom d'un militaire ou en faveur d'une unité tout entière. Déjà en vigueur au temps de la maison d'Autriche, il est désormais parfois appelé « feuille de route », car il donne la liste des étapes du militaire ou de l'unité en déplacement.

L'ordonnance du 10 avril 1702¹² stipule que la présentation du document nommé « feuille de route » ou « passeport » est indispensable pour obtenir l'hébergement et les moyens de transport aux étapes (l'ordonnance les appelle « villages »), prestations auxquelles ont droit les troupes en marche, et que c'est la raison pour laquelle les lieux de transit y figurent.

Les abus auxquels donne lieu ce système – qui était financé par le trésor royal – entraînent la publication de la cédule royale du 18-05-1710¹³, qui établit l'interdiction absolue de délivrer des « feuilles de route », hormis aux personnes « qui partent strictement en service royal, et aussi aux estropiés (blessés ou mutilés) autorisés à rentrer chez eux, et aux porteurs d'une permission absolue les autorisant à se retirer du service ».

De même, l'ordonnance royale du 15-07-1741¹⁴ déclare que « après vérification, par différents moyens, de la prodigalité avec laquelle sont octroyés les passeports et les escortes, qui surmènent les troupes et harassent les villages sans utilité ni résultats pour le service royal », la concession de passeports par les autorités militaires est limitée aux ayants droit, c'est-à-dire aux « officiers, soldats, ministres et personnes rattachées à l'armée, et à leurs familles » et uniquement dans les cas d'accomplissement d'un service.

En dehors de ces cas, seuls sont délivrés des passeports visant à « faciliter les déplacements, et ne donnant pas droit aux aides réservées aux seuls militaires, ni pouvant servir de prétexte pour les obtenir ». Autrement dit, ces documents ne donnent en aucun cas le droit au logement, aux fournitures et au transport de bagage, propre aux répartements et exclusivement réservé aux troupes royales. L'ordonnance royale du 13-01-1742¹⁵ va dans le même sens.

Devant la réitération des abus, les unités, par le biais du sergent-major du régiment, seront par la suite tenues de demander aux autorités civiles de l'endroit où elles ont profité de leur droit au répartement un document dénommé « *contenta* ». Il s'agit d'un certificat attestant

12 Portugés. Ibid. (t. 2, p. 276).

13 Cédule royale du 18 mai 1710, relative à la façon dont les Passeports doivent être délivrés et à qui ils doivent l'être, dans Portugés. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 625).

14 Portugés. Ibid. (t. 4, p. 213).

15 Portugés. Ibid. (t. 4, p. 220).

que « le régiment n'a commis aucun désordre », c'est-à-dire qu'il n'a rien exigé d'autre que ce que « stipulent les lois du royaume, à savoir de quoi s'éclairer, du bois, du sel, de l'huile, du vinaigre, des couverts, et un lit pour tous les deux soldats, ou encore le lit et un réal de billon pour chaque bouche effective (au libre choix du maître des lieux) »¹⁶.

La « *contenta* » est donc un document militaire officiel. Du fait qu'il est exigé du sergent-major – qui, à l'époque, est le second chef du régiment –, il est la garantie que le commandement de chaque unité prend garde au comportement de ses soldats dans les localités où elle stationne.

Nous allons maintenant nous pencher sur la réglementation des services d'hébergement, des fournitures et des transports en abordant le détail des règlements relatifs aux répartements militaires du XVIII^e siècle.

En ce qui concerne le service de l'hébergement, comme nous l'avons dit, la question du logement des troupes est mineure. En effet, les armées opèrent dans des royaumes situés hors des territoires péninsulaires, dans les guerres des Flandres, d'Italie, de France, etc. Cette charge est considérée par la population comme une imposition de guerre de plus mais, bien souvent, comme un moindre mal en comparaison avec le risque de pillage dérivé du déplacement de forces militaires non toujours soumises à la discipline de leurs chefs.

L'ordonnance de 1708¹⁷ systématise le règlement que l'habitude avait fini par imposer au fil du temps. De fait, on ne remarque dans les ordonnances militaires aucune réglementation relative à la répartition des hébergements après les ordonnances de gardes des Rois Catholiques, quand bien même les allusions au droit des troupes de loger chez l'habitant lors de leurs étapes ne manquent pas.

Au sujet de l'obligation du répartement des logements, un système relativement équitable est établi, de telle sorte que les maisons des nobles et des membres du clergé, qui, malgré les stipulations de 1503, en étaient exemptes, y sont désormais partiellement assujetties.

Ainsi, l'hébergement se fait en premier lieu dans les maisons « des gens de l'État commun. Une fois celles-ci occupées, si elles ne suffisent pas, les soldats seront répartis dans les maisons de messieurs les nobles. Lorsque celles-ci et les autres ont été distribuées, s'il faut davantage de quartiers, les officiers de justice prieront les ecclésiastiques d'accueillir des hommes. Toutefois, si les ecclésiastiques ne le veulent pas, ils n'ont pas l'obligation d'accepter ».

La procédure est simple. À son arrivée à l'étape, le chef de la force, ou le commissaire – s'il est en route avec les troupes –, se rend auprès de l'officier de justice du lieu. Il produit les certificats attestant du droit à l'hébergement (« passeport » ou « feuille de route ») des corps et des détachements, ainsi que la « dépêche » (autorisation) délivrée par le commissaire général de l'infanterie ou de la cavalerie pour les unités plus nombreuses.

L'officier de justice du lieu remet les « billets de logement » nécessaires, en fonction des effectifs et des grades militaires, où figurent l'emplacement et le nombre d'hommes à loger dans chaque maison. Ces billets sont ensuite distribués aux officiers, puis à la troupe, de telle sorte que « [...] chacun se rende dans la maison indiquée, sans occasionner le moindre dé-

16 Ordonnances relatives à l'infanterie, du 30-12-1706, dans Portugais. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 519).

17 Ordonnance royale du 22 janvier 1708, relative au logement des troupes lors des étapes, dans Portugais. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 615).

sordre, et sans obliger les habitants des maisons à accepter des hommes dépourvus de billet, ce qui se pratiquait antérieurement ».

Cette même ordonnance est transcrite littéralement en 1716¹⁸, ainsi que dans l'ordonnance, déjà citée, du 30-04-1718, et elle insiste sur le fait que « mes troupes doivent observer la discipline la plus stricte et les Villages ne doivent subir aucun dommage et aucun dérangement dû à des abus de mes soldats » dans les hébergements. Elle maintient le système classique de distribution des billets sous le contrôle du sergent-major ou de l'aide de camp. On remarquera toutefois qu'elle prévoit la possibilité de logement dans des casernes, ce qui indique l'intention qu'a l'armée de disposer dès que possible de logements définitifs et de ne plus avoir recours au système des répartements.

Cette intention est la conséquence, d'une part, de l'opposition de la population aux répartements, grandissante malgré les règlements et les garanties censés éviter les abus des troupes stationnées. Et elle découle d'une évidence : une fois la Guerre de Succession terminée, les armées resteront stationnées sur le territoire péninsulaire, des garnisons permanentes seront mises en place et il va donc falloir habiller des logements définitifs pour les accueillir.

Ces logements, ou casernes, offrent de surcroît un certain nombre d'avantages du point de vue militaire. Elles facilitent en effet l'instruction intensive des troupes. Celle-ci commence à être systématisée pour l'infanterie (ordonnances militaires du 30-12-1706 et du 18-05-1716), puis pour la cavalerie (dragons), avec l'ordonnance du 30-04-1718. Les casernes offrent aussi un intérêt du point de vue politique puisqu'elles renforcent la dépendance du soldat par rapport à ses chefs et, par conséquent, par rapport à la Couronne, et elles l'isolent de la population générale¹⁹.

Alors que la population penche en faveur de la construction de casernes pour en finir avec le répartition de l'hébergement, les soldats y sont opposés. Ainsi, une lettre que le Marquis de Leganés écrit en 1646 au roi Philippe IV²⁰ expose les doléances des habitants et des autorités de Badajoz au sujet de l'hébergement des nombreuses troupes rassemblées là en raison de la guerre avec le Portugal. Moins de cent ans plus tard, en 1729, des troupes mettront le feu aux casernes de Séville pour ne pas avoir à les occuper.

Le règlement royal du 20-04-1718²¹ indique le système à appliquer. Il tient compte de la distribution territoriale des casernements et des effectifs de chacun d'entre eux, de l'empla-

18 Ordonnance royale du 14 juin 1716, dans Portugués. Ibid. (t. 2, p. 182).

19 Le fait que les unités de l'armée aient habité, éparées, parmi la population, et plus précisément parmi les couches les plus humbles de la société urbaine, et non pas rassemblées dans des casernements, est considéré comme l'un des deux facteurs, qui, par la fusion opérée entre l'opinion de l'armée et l'opinion publique, ont suscité les sympathies révolutionnaires des soldats de Louis XVI le 14 juillet 1789, voir Mc Neill, William H. *La búsqueda del poder*. Madrid. Ed. Siglo XXI. 1988 (p. 208). L'autre facteur est que les officiers n'habitent pas avec les soldats et ne dirigent pas leur instruction, celle-ci étant confiée aux sous-officiers. Or, ces derniers sont beaucoup plus enclins aux nouvelles idées que les aristocrates. Le règlement de 1718 qui nous occupe contraint les officiers à « vivre eux aussi dans les casernes ».

20 Archives générales de Simancas. Négociations de Guerre. Dossier 1 641, dans Cantera Montenegro, Jesús. *La "Domus militaris" hispana. Origen, evolución y función social del cuartel en España*. Madrid. Imprimerie du ministère de la Défense. 2007. (p. 37).

21 Règlement royal du 20 avril 1718, relatif à l'établissement de casernes en Espagne, dans les îles et les villes de garnison, et concernant l'hébergement de l'infanterie, de la cavalerie et des dragons, dans Portugués. Ibid. (t. 2, p. 381).

cement des terrains, de la rédaction et de l'exécution des projets de travaux, du financement de leur construction « afin d'assurer par ce moyen le plus grand allègement des Villages et le mieux pour mes troupes et leur discipline », ce qui montre bien que le roi se soucie du dérangement que le répartition du logement occasionne chez ses sujets.

La distribution territoriale et les effectifs à caserner dans chaque secteur sont calculés par province²², selon le tableau ci-dessous :

Provinces	Bataillons (Infanterie)	Escadrons (Cavalerie)
Catalogne	24	30
Aragon	8	6
Valence	6	6
Murcie	2	3
Majorque	4	3
Côte de Grenade ²³	4	3
Côte d'Andalousie	15	9
Estrémadure	12	6
Frontière de Castille	6	6
Valladolid et Aranda de Duero	-	6
Tierra de Campos	-	6
Galice	4	-
Navarre	2	-
Guipúzcoa	2	-
Sardaigne	5	3
Longon	2	-
Ceuta	4	-
La Manche	-	9
Gardes royaux de Madrid	2	4
TOTAL	102	100

Afin de calculer la capacité d'accueil des casernements « il convient de considérer que chaque bataillon compte six cent cinquante soldats en treize compagnies de cinquante hommes, y compris les sergents et le tambour, sans comprendre les capitaines, lieutenants et sous-lieutenants ; et que chaque escadron compte cent vingt hommes, en quatre compagnies de trente hommes chacune, y compris le sergent et le trompette, étant bien entendu que, s'il peut y avoir de la place pour les officiers, ceux-ci doivent eux aussi habiter dans les casernes ».

22 À l'époque on désigne par « provinces » les anciens royaumes de la péninsule. Aujourd'hui, on parlerait plutôt de régions militaires.

23 Comprenant Malaga, Gibraltar, Melilla et Alhucemas.

Cette distribution montre bien quels sont les intérêts stratégiques de la Couronne à l'époque. Un quart de l'infanterie et un tiers de la cavalerie sont stationnés dans une Catalogne récemment pacifiée, et d'importants détachements sont postés en Aragon et à Valence.

Tout au long de la frontière portugaise, les proportions sont à peu près identiques. Il y a d'importants contingents en Andalousie et des garnisons ordinaires aux frontières avec la France et avec le royaume de Sardaigne. Nulle mention n'est faite d'un quelconque besoin de forces dans les colonies américaines ou autres.

Un délai de deux ans a été fixé, mais à son terme, en 1721²⁴, toutes les casernes ne sont pas terminées. Voilà pourquoi l'ordonnance royale du 1^{er} octobre de cette année-là ordonne le maintien de l'ancien système d'hébergement par répartition dans les petites localités où les soldats ne peuvent pas être logés en caserne.

De même, en 1716²⁵ et en 1786²⁶, des dispositions ordonnent un roulement des régiments de façon à ce que, tous les trois ans, au mois d'avril ou de mai pour les unités d'infanterie, et en septembre ou octobre pour les unités de cavalerie, les soldats entreprennent un itinéraire qui commence en Andalousie et passe par Gibraltar, Grenade, Valence, l'Aragon, la Catalogne, la Navarre, Guipúzcoa, la Galice, Castille-la-Vieille, Castille-la-Nouvelle et l'Estrémadure. L'idée est que, sur trente-six ans, un régiment parcourt toute la péninsule dans le sens contraire aux aiguilles d'une montre. L'invasion française de 1808 interrompt ce cycle, dont on imagine aisément l'impact sur les populations, avec son perpétuel mouvement d'unités et les répartements qui vont avec.

Quant au service des fournitures, on comprend sans peine que les effets dont le soldat a besoin dans sa vie de tous les jours sont indissociables de son hébergement. C'est le cas de la literie, du combustible nécessaire pour faire la cuisine, des couverts pour manger et des chandelles pour s'éclairer la nuit. Ce service constitue donc une contribution par voie de répartition tant que l'hébergement est fourni de cette manière, puisqu'ils sont intimement liés. L'habitant qui héberge les soldats chez lui fournit les deux services à la fois.

Une fois qu'un certain nombre de casernes où loger les troupes sont construites, l'activité du service des fournitures tend résolument à fournir à ces casernes, par le système des contrats de fourniture, le mobilier et les ustensiles, de même que les provisions de combustibles (bois et huile) nécessaires pour donner un minimum de confort à la vie en caserne. L'ordonnance de 1760 définit d'ailleurs ses règles de fonctionnement, notamment en ce qui concerne le mobilier, la literie et les provisions de combustibles indiquées.

En attendant la fin de la construction des logements, l'ordonnance du 28-07-1705²⁷ stipule que les troupes ont le droit de recevoir du logeur qui les héberge « le couvert, le lit, avec draps et couvertures, une place au feu et à la chandelle – à la convenance du maître de maison, au cas où il ne veut pas donner du bois ». Il est interdit « sous peine de mort » d'exiger quoi que ce soit d'autre.

Quelques mois plus tard, le décret royal du 31-12-1705²⁸ est la première des règles bour-

24 Ordonnance royale du 1^{er} octobre 1721, sur l'hébergement des troupes, dans Portugais. Ibid. (t. 2, p. 551).

25 Addenda royal aux ordonnances du 14 juin 1716, dans Portugais. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 178).

26 Ordonnances royales du 22 octobre 1786, dans Clonard Ibid. (t. 5, p. 310).

27 Portugais. Ibid. (t. 10, p. 327).

28 Décret royal du 31 décembre 1705, communiqué au conseil de guerre, relatif à la contribution en fournitures

boniennes à s'attaquer de front au lourd fardeau que le service des répartements en général, et celui des fournitures en particulier, constitue pour la population. Le fait qu'un lit figurait parmi les objets à pourvoir au soldat dans le cadre de la contribution en fournitures est ce qui l'alourdissait le plus.

Ces dispositions considèrent qu'il est « de la plus haute importance de soulager mes vassaux des extorsions des troupes, et ces dernières de la mauvaise foi et de l'avarice des caporaux (chefs) », observation ayant été faite que, à maintes reprises, « les caporaux, ou commandants, de ces troupes, loin de demander à ce que leurs soldats soient aidés par ces prestations (lit, lumière, bois, etc.), accaparent pour eux lesdites fournitures auprès des officiers de justice ou des logeurs, à qui ils extorquent des quantités excessives à discrétion. Cela cause de graves préjudices aux habitants, sans pour autant apporter aucune aide aux officiers subalternes et aux soldats. Et, lorsque les habitants refusent de céder, ils permettent à leurs soldats des licences intolérables ».

Le règlement, qui, désormais, cherche à régir le système d'hébergement et de dotation en fournitures à l'intention des troupes, perpétue la coutume en vigueur. Mais il autorise le logeur à substituer la remise des fournitures par une compensation en espèces, en versant au militaire une somme proportionnelle à son grade. Cette somme va des douze réaux de billon pour un colonel à six pour un capitaine ou à un seul réal de billon pour le simple soldat d'infanterie.

Toutefois, il s'agit d'une option facultative, et c'est au logeur qu'il revient de décider s'il souhaite ou non remplacer sa contribution en nature par une compensation en espèces. « Le logeur et l'officier ou le soldat à loger conviendront librement de cela, mais à la condition expresse que l'officiel ou le soldat n'obligeront jamais l'habitant à adopter la formule de la compensation sous forme d'argent, cette décision dépendant entièrement du libre arbitre du logeur. »

Ces transactions sont vérifiées au moyen de la visite hebdomadaire du sergent-major, qui se rend dans les maisons en compagnie d'un « officier de justice du lieu » pour rencontrer et « écouter le logeur et l'officier ou le soldat hébergé chez lui, et savoir si le logeur livre les fournitures en nature ou en espèces. Et, si c'est en espèces, s'assurer que c'est volontairement. Et s'assurer que l'officier ou le soldat reçoit bien l'argent. S'il ne le reçoit pas et que c'est le commandant, ou tout autre officier supérieur, qui perçoit cet argent, deux actes de procédure seront aussitôt dressés, l'un par le sergent-major, l'autre par l'officier de justice, pour m'être ensuite remis ».

Dans l'ordonnance de mars 1706²⁹, on observe l'intention de doter progressivement tous les casernements des lits nécessaires « afin que les soldats puissent y être casernés et y dormir, non seulement pour leur plus grande commodité, mais aussi pour que l'habillement ne s'abîme pas et ne se perde pas, et qu'il reste plus longtemps en bon état. »

Vers le milieu du siècle, un certain nombre de casernes destinées à loger les troupes sont déjà construites. Toutefois, le problème du binôme hébergement/fournitures persiste en raison des nombreux déplacements des unités.

pour la troupe, dans Portugués. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 478).

29 Portugués. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 514).

C'est ce qui explique la publication de l'ordonnance royale du 27-02-1751³⁰, qui ordonne que la contribution en fourniture ne s'effectue qu'en faveur des troupes en déplacement et précise que ladite obligation n'existe pas vis-à-vis des hommes logés en caserne.

La présence de casernes où les troupes sont régulièrement logées va substantiellement modifier le besoin d'avoir recours aux habitants du lieu de casernement pour régler la question de l'hébergement et, partant, des fournitures nécessaires.

Voilà pourquoi l'ordonnance du 27-10-1760, relative aux fournitures³¹, vise principalement à unifier les règlements portant sur la livraison des différentes sortes d'effets et de combustibles qui forment la dotation réglementaire.

L'inégalité et le manque de méthode avec lesquels, dans les provinces de mes royaumes et dans les places d'Afrique, est exécutée la remise des linges et accessoires qui composent la dotation en fournitures de mes troupes royales rendent non seulement plus onéreuse cette contribution pour la population elle-même, mais, de plus, portent préjudice au trésor royal. Elles entravent l'action des ministres et des bureaux chargés de les inspecter. Cette pratique désordonnée et ses abus bien connus empêchent fréquemment de régler et de liquider convenablement les comptes des fournisseurs et des pourvoyeurs. Il convient donc d'établir une règle fixe afin d'éviter lesdits préjudices et pour exposer la façon dont doit être effectuée la remise de lits, de matériel d'éclairage et de bois aux troupes de mon armée et de ma royale escadre. Et ce, tout autant dans les garnisons et les casernes qu'elles occuperont, que dans les lieux et postes où des détachements et des corps sont envoyés en service. Et j'ai jugé bon de donner dans ce règlement et ordonnance la méthode et la procédure qui doivent être suivies par tous, avec les règles que doivent observer les intendants de l'armée, les comptables principaux, les commissaires ordonnateurs et les commissaires de guerre, les gouverneurs et les sergents-majors et les autres officiers, de même que les fournisseurs et les pourvoyeurs. La quantité des fournitures y est généralisée, et la qualité de ses accessoires y est égalisée, de telle sorte que les fins utiles à mon royal service sont assurées de la façon exprimée dans les chapitres suivants. (Exposition des motifs de l'ordonnance relative aux fournitures de 1760).

Ces dispositions marquent le début de la normalisation des fournitures. Elles concernent les lits, avec tous leurs éléments, linge y compris, le mobilier et le combustible d'éclairage (huile) et de cuisson (bois) et précisent tous leurs paramètres – mesures, poids et qualité.

Les obligations du fournisseur sont dénombrées, de même que celles du trésor royal si le service ne peut être assuré moyennant contrat de fournitures et l'est directement par le biais des intendances – qui l'administrent alors avec leurs propres ressources.

Ces obligations ont essentiellement trait au nombre d'éléments à fournir, lequel est toujours fonction de la force de l'effectif que le corps ou le régiment certifie posséder.

Ainsi, par exemple, il faut fournir un lit pour trois soldats d'infanterie ou pour deux d'artillerie, de cavalerie et de dragons, et un par sergent, quelle que soit l'arme qu'il sert³² ; les draps doivent être changés tous les trente jours en été, tous les quarante en hiver, et à chaque relève des troupes.

Un jeu de mobilier et d'éclairage (lampes à huile) est attribué par module de vingt soldats

30 Portugés. Ibid. (t. 4, p. 404).

31 Ordonnance du 27 octobre 1760, relative aux fournitures, dans Reguera Y Urrutia. Ibid. (t. 3, p. 5).

32 Le décret royal du 4 octobre 1766 établira le nombre d'un lit par homme.

d'infanterie et de quatorze de cavalerie. En revanche, le bois destiné à la cuisine est attribué par homme et par jour. Le bois de chauffage, lui, est limité aux six mois d'hiver. La saison peut être avancée ou retardée « selon ce que demande le temps », au critère de l'intendant.

Ce règlement ne concerne pas les troupes en marche. Celles-ci sont régies par des mandats d'approvisionnement rédigés par l'intendant pour ces occasions-là, autrement dit par la procédure des « passeports » ou des « feuilles de route », dans le cadre du système de répartition.

Bien entendu, lorsque les troupes sont en déplacement, et se trouvent par conséquent hors de leur caserne, une somme équivalente au montant des fournitures remises moyennant contrat est réservée pour payer la prestation par répartition à chaque étape.

Dès lors, le « passeport » ou « feuille de route » prend une grande importance. C'est grâce à lui que l'on sait ce qui a été remis aux soldats en marche, à quel endroit, et par qui, de telle sorte que, ultérieurement, l'intendance pourra régler le répartition.

C'est pour cette raison que l'ordonnance de 1760 insiste sur l'obligation qu'ont les gouverneurs et les commandants des forces de remettre les passeports aux intendants avant que les détachements ne prennent le départ. Il faut en effet que l'intendance puisse « remplir les feuilles de route et y signaler les droits économiques et administratifs de leurs porteurs et de ceux qui doivent y satisfaire. »

Elle indique littéralement « [...] à quel point les feuilles de route sont nécessaires pour pouvoir régler équitablement les comptes auprès des villages et des fournisseurs ».

Elle signale de même l'obligation qu'a le chef du corps ou du détachement en marche de remettre dès son retour la feuille de route où doivent figurer les allocations reçues par l'unité. Il le remettra à son intendance pour que celle-ci s'acquitte de la liquidation correspondante.

En dépit de la précision minutieuse du règlement, si caractéristique de l'État bourbonien du XVIII^e siècle, le législateur est conscient de la charge financière qu'implique ce système. Il arrive donc, à l'occasion, que les communes d'étape soient exemptées d'impôts jusqu'à ce qu'ait eu lieu le remboursement de ce qu'elles ont avancé au trésor royal au titre de fournitures aux troupes.

D'ailleurs, dans les endroits qui connaissent le plus grand nombre de mouvements de troupes, « pour que les communes servant d'étape aux troupes ne soient pas imposées davantage que les autres communes de la province ou du royaume, les intendants devront prévenir les capitales et les chambres des comptes de les exempter du recouvrement du répartition ou des deniers. Mais ils devront aussi indiquer quel est leur contingent habituel, de façon à ce que, à la fin de l'année, l'officier comptable ajuste ou calcule le montant des fournitures, ou du simple couvert (répartition du service des vivres), selon ce qu'il ressortira des feuilles de route ».

Pour ce qui est du service de marche, il faut tenir compte de l'évolution technologique qui, au XVIII^e siècle, se produit dans de nombreux domaines et qui concerne aussi l'armée. L'équipage, qu'il soit individuel ou collectif, devient de plus en plus volumineux, lourd et sophistiqué. Il faut donc de plus en plus de véhicules capables de transporter tout ce matériel, lequel doit accompagner les troupes en marche et être disponible au moment du combat.

Toutefois, le domaine des moyens et des voies de communication n'évolue pas parallèlement à celui de l'armement, et son développement ne suit ni en quantité ni en qualité. Tant

et si bien que, alors que la poudre est en train de supplanter les armes blanches sur le champ de bataille, les transports militaires en sont toujours à des méthodes qui datent de l'époque de la maison d'Autriche. Les chariots tirés par des mules ou des bœufs restent le moyen de transport habituel.

Par ailleurs, la charge qu'implique le répartition relatif aux bagages et qui répond au besoin croissant des unités, cause le malaise et le mécontentement des populations qui se voient privées de ce qui, souvent, est leur moyen de subsistance.

Une tentative est faite d'arriver à un point d'équilibre en remplaçant le répartition pur et simple, compris comme prestation gratuite, par un répartition contre paiement de la prestation effectuée.

Le changement de système est amorcé par l'ordonnance du 10-04-1702³³, qui s'adresse à l'infanterie des Flandres, dans laquelle « Nous interdisons aux officiers qui commandent lesdites troupes d'obliger les habitants des lieux où ils ont logé, et non d'autres, à leur fournir des chariots, des chevaux ou autres bêtes de trait, pour transporter leurs malades ou leurs équipages, sauf à payer la taxe qui sera établie dans chaque royaume ou État ».

Par ailleurs, l'ordonnance du 30-12-1706³⁴, qui, elle concerne l'infanterie située sur le territoire péninsulaire, établit une obligation de payer les bagages similaire : [...] « car, payant à cet effet ponctuellement mes troupes, comme stipulé, je ne veux pas qu'elles soient une autre charge pour les villages que celle déjà prévue (éclairage, bois, sel, huile, vinaigre, couvert et lit) ». Le transport des bagages est donc à la charge de ceux qui en ont besoin, de telle sorte que « si, en raison d'un accident, ils en ont besoin, ils doivent payer pour chaque chariot couvert à six mules vingt-quatre réaux par jour. S'ils sont tirés par quatre mules, seize réaux, et si par deux mules ou deux bœufs, douze réaux. S'il s'agit d'un grand bagage, huit réaux par jour, s'il s'agit d'un petit, quatre. Il est de plus défendu que ces services de bagages puissent, pour quelque motif que ce soit, passer d'un transit à l'autre ».

Cependant, le système organisé pour le service des bagages continue à être source de problèmes et de frictions entre les troupes et les « villages ». Cela est notamment dû au fait que la notion de transit, mesurée en jours de déplacement, prête à diverses interprétations, en fonction de la vitesse de déplacement des forces qui utilisent les moyens de transport.

L'ordonnance du 10-03-1740³⁵, s'efforce de remédier à ces problèmes de « disputes continuelles, qui produisent des désordres réitérés au détriment des habitants et des villages, ainsi que l'embarras des corps et des officiers et le retard de mon service » et établit une « règle fixe » pour le service de bagages.

Le nombre de bagages auxquels a droit chaque unité de type compagnie, corps de garde, infanterie, cavalerie et dragons, ainsi que les officiers seuls et leurs familles, est fixé en fonction du grade militaire.

Les transports militaires sont réglés en fonction du nombre de lieues parcourues. Le tarif est d'un réal et demi pour les grands bagages et d'un réal pour les petits. Les services de ba-

33 Portugais. Ibid. (t. 1, p. 276), qui cependant ne s'adresse qu'aux armées des Flandres.

34 Portugais. Ibid. (t. 1, 519), pour les armées de la péninsule.

35 Ordonnance royale du 10 mars 1740, relative au service des bagages, dans MUÑIZ TERRONES, José. *Ordenanzas de S. M. para el régimen, disciplina, subordinación y servicio de sus Ejércitos*. Madrid. Imprimerie R. Velasco. (4 tomes). 1880 (t. 2, p. 214).

gages destinés au transport individuel des officiers ou de leurs familles sont payés au poids, à quatre maravédís et demi l'arrobe et la lieue parcourue.

La procédure servant à désigner d'office des prestataires – quand il n'y a ni muletiers ni « loueurs de chariots couverts, de charrettes ou de chevaux » est, comme autrefois, à la charge du maire, de l'échevin ou de l'officier de justice du lieu. Le passeport, sur lequel figurent le nombre de lieues entre chaque étape, doit certifier que le preneur à bien droit à ce service.

Une moitié du paiement doit être effectuée au départ et l'autre moitié à l'arrivée de chaque trajet « et en aucun cas il ne sera permis de ne pas payer en argent comptant le montant des bagages, charrettes et chariots que les troupes ont occupés ». La trésorerie d'origine doit donc fournir une avance « à bon compte » au sergent-major de l'unité en déplacement, à la charge de l'avoir des soldes des officiers. Elle sera remboursée dès le premier règlement de l'unité qui se produira après la finalisation du service.

Le système des bagages tel qu'il vient d'être décrit est encore en vigueur cent ans plus tard³⁶. Le service disparaît alors pour être presque aussitôt remplacé par des moyens propres à l'État, comme les chemins de fer, ou propres à l'armée, dans le cadre des services des transports militaires, à la charge du corps d'administration militaire du XIX^e siècle.

CONCLUSIONS

À ses débuts, au XVI^e siècle, le répartition est un système visant à couvrir les besoins des armées royales lors de leurs déplacements, étant donné que ni la structure militaire proprement dite ni le trésor royal ne peuvent y pourvoir.

Par ailleurs, le répartition règle les relations avec les sujets du roi qui doivent recevoir chez eux les troupes en transit. Auparavant, ces relations étaient régies par la coutume, dans le meilleur des cas, et, trop souvent, par la force. Il évite donc les abus commis contre une population civile sans défense. Ces abus pouvaient aller jusqu'au pillage.

Le répartition présente en gros trois facettes. Il y a d'abord le répartition des logements, qui donne aux soldats le droit de dormir chez l'habitant. Ensuite, celui des fournitures, qui constitue un ensemble bigarré d'articles de base servant à faire la cuisine (sel, huile), avec des couverts pour manger, du linge venant compléter le droit au couchage (draps, couvertures), ainsi que du combustible de cuisson, de chauffage et d'éclairage (bois, chandelles), etc. Il y a enfin le répartition des bagages, compris comme moyen de transport de l'impédimenta des troupes et de transport de l'armée.

La conception différente de l'État en général, et de l'organisation du fonctionnement de l'armée en particulier, qui s'impose en Espagne à l'arrivée de la dynastie des Bourbons a une influence sur le système des répartitions. Toujours destiné à pourvoir aux besoins des troupes, il est en même temps réglementé par des ordonnances et progressivement abandonné.

Sur les trois répartitions passés en revue, seul celui des bagages perdurera. Il le fera moyennant une philosophie d'expropriation de l'usage et de compensation par le trésor royal

36 De fait, l'ordonnance royale du 17-09-1845, déclare que les transports de munitions pour lesquels il faudra utiliser les services de la population pour une durée d'une journée devront être rémunérés aux tarifs indiqués dans l'ordonnance de 1740. Pour une durée plus longue, ils le seront « aux prix couramment pratiqués dans le pays ». Cette disposition est réitérée, à l'identique, par l'ordonnance royale du 8-11-1870. Les deux dispositions figurent dans la Collection Législative de l'Armée espagnole.

et non plus sous forme de répartition pur et simple, et se maintiendra ainsi jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle.

Le répartition des logements, lui, disparaît pratiquement avec la construction des casernes. Quant à l'allocation des fournitures, elle sera désormais assurée par un système de contrats de fournitures. Le répartition ne persiste que dans les cas de déplacement des troupes. Sa substitution par un paiement en argent est d'ailleurs même prévue par les règlements, le but étant d'éviter aux habitants la lourde charge de loger des soldats chez eux.

En effet, la charge des répartitions est un lourd fardeau pour la population civile. Elle est perpétuellement source de plaintes et de mécontentement, surtout en raison des abus commis. La réitération des règlements relatifs aux répartitions témoigne bien de ce problème, que les autorités tentent de régler en ayant même recours à la peine de mort.

Les pièces qui certifient le droit des militaires de passage au répartition tentent elles aussi de régler ce problème. Passeports et feuilles de route décrivent d'un côté ce que leurs porteurs sont en droit d'exiger conformément à la loi et, par ailleurs, empêchent les non autorisés à abuser du système sous prétexte qu'ils sont militaires.

De même, la « *contenta* » s'érige en moyen pour le commandement de connaître le comportement de ses troupes et, éventuellement, de prendre des mesures disciplinaires contre les abus.

Le « passeport » est arrivée jusqu'à nos jours, où il est devenu une autorisation de voyager délivrée par l'État par les moyens de transport et selon l'itinéraire qui y sont signalés.

Signalons enfin que le système des répartitions peut donner lieu à de futures recherches qui pourraient porter, pour le moins, sur le recouvrement des impôts dans les communes, à l'aide des archives municipales, sur les dépeuplements dus à l'établissement de troupes, comme c'est le cas de Badajoz en 1646, et sur la construction de casernes financées par les mairies.

La vie des Parisiens pendant le siège de 1870-1871

MARIE-FRANCE SARDAIN

La rencontre que je propose entre civils et occupants comporte deux volets :

La vie quotidienne des Parisiens pendant 4 mois de siège d'octobre 1870 à janvier 1871 et un aperçu de la vie versaillaise pendant les six mois de l'occupation allemande à la même époque.

- les points suivants sont abordés :
 - les premières mesures gouvernementales,
 - le ravitaillement et le rationnement,
 - les civils Versaillais et les Prussiens,
 - le bombardement de Paris,
 - la fin du blocus et le réapprovisionnement.

LES PREMIÈRES MESURES GOUVERNEMENTALES :

du 4 septembre 1870, jusqu'à l'arrivée des Prussiens le 19 septembre, le gouvernement de la Défense Nationale semble ne pas avoir pris d'initiative concernant l'approvisionnement des Parisiens. A l'approche ennemie, les cultivateurs des environs de Paris abandonnèrent leurs récoltes. Des meules de blé furent brûlées à 200 m des fortifications, afin de les soustraire aux Prussiens. Le 11 septembre, la taxe de la viande de boucherie est rétablie dans Paris qui compte deux millions d'habitants. Le 14 septembre, les chemins de fer de l'Est et du Nord suspendent leur service au départ de Paris. Le 16 septembre, la ligne d'Orléans s'arrête à Athis-Mons, la ligne du Havre, la dernière qui fonctionne, fut coupée à Conflans-sainte-Honorine. A l'arrivée des Allemands, les Français font sauter les trois ponts de Saint-Cloud, Sèvres et Billancourt. Le 17 septembre 1870, les colonnes allemandes prennent possession du côté est de Paris, et coupent les adductions d'eau. Deux jours plus tard, Paris est investi, commence alors les premières restrictions. Le 21 septembre c'est la taxe du pain qui est rétablie. La viande provenant des abattoirs de la Villette, Grenelle et Villejuif est vendue à la criée, un quota d'abattage fut fixé dès la fin septembre afin d'éviter tout commerce de boucherie illicite. Le 25 septembre, on vit apparaître dans Paris en faveur des indigents, les premiers fourneaux économiques précurseurs des cantines nationales. Le 26 septembre, la viande de cheval commence à entrer officiellement dans l'alimentation et à être salée. Pour résoudre les questions alimentaires, le gouvernement avait nommé une Commission présidée par Jules Simon, représentant de Paris pour organiser le rationnement. Par exemple, une caisse de la boulangerie fut chargée de délivrer chaque jour aux boulangers une quantité de farine calculée en fonction des besoins quotidiens. Lorsque le stock de farine fut épuisé, il fallut utiliser le grain, l'industrie de la mouture n'existant pas dans Paris, des moulins s'improvisèrent dans des gares, qui furent vite saturés. Pour subvenir à la consommation, l'usine Cail installa dans ses ateliers des unités de production. De cette manière on parvint à satisfaire la demande. Cette période de disette provoqua une flambée des prix, ce qui déclencha des vagues de mécontentement. En ce qui

concerne les logements, les mairies devaient réquisitionner les appartements vacants destinés aux banlieusards réfugiés dans Paris. Des comités de quartier s'organisaient pour l'accueil et le soin des blessés. Ils étaient recueillis par les Parisiens, à la demande de Jules Ferry, membre du gouvernement et délégué à la Mairie de Paris, les hospices de la Seine fournissaient l'alimentation. Plus d'un millier de lits fut mis à disposition par les habitants. Gambetta ministre de l'Intérieur, instaura une mesure auprès du directeur du Mont de Piété pour restituer gratuitement les effets engagés. Spontanément, certaines professions s'engagèrent à participer à la défense de Paris, les industriels collectèrent tous les déchets métalliques pour l'armement.

LE RAVITAILLEMENT ET LE RATIONNEMENT

Dès que la viande fut réquisitionnée, la question de sa distribution fut posée, on instaura un système de cartes municipales, on délivra aux Parisiens des cartes de boucherie et les queues commencèrent. Le gouvernement avait renoncé à faire lui-même la distribution aux habitants, il livrait à chaque arrondissement une quantité de viande en proportion du nombre d'habitants. Les petites quantités de nourriture livrées aux mairies furent attribuées aux cantines municipales et aux fourneaux économiques. On distribua aux Parisiens 1 hareng par personne pour trois jours, du cheval : 120 gr pour trois jours, la répartition demeura plus ou moins équitable en fonction des mairies. La ration de pain est fixée à 300 gr pour les adultes et 150 gr pour les enfants de moins de cinq ans. Ce pain ne contient qu'une faible quantité de blé non bluté. Toutes les réserves de blé devaient être déclarés au ministère de l'agriculture et du commerce sous peine de confiscation du blé non déclaré, du paiement d'une amende et de trois mois de prison.

Au fur et à mesure des besoins, on réquisitionna les chevaux chez les particuliers. A la suite de ces dispositions, les omnibus ne circulaient plus après 22H, il fut même envisagé de supprimer les corbillards et de faire appel aux porteurs comme autrefois. Pour nourrir les blessés et les malades, les poissons pêchés dans la Seine, leur furent distribués. Pendant la durée du siège, l'octroi fut levé pour l'entrée en faible quantité de marchandises considérées comme provisions familiales. Sur une population de deux millions d'habitants, on estime à 500.000 le nombre de nécessiteux. Le nombre de décès a plus que triplé pendant la durée du siège. La viande habituellement consommée se raréfiant, on mangea alors, chose inattendue, des rats, des chats, des chiens, et même certains animaux du Jardin des Plantes. L'âne et le mulet faisaient partie des mets de luxe. Les Allemands riaient en disant : « *Paris n'est pas encore prêt à se rendre, il y a encore 80 000 rats à manger* ». Le Moniteur Universel, notait : « *En résumé, l'alimentation de Paris se trouve assurée pour 4 à 5 mois au moins. On y a mangé de l'âne, du mulet voir chats, rats parce qu'on a voulu en goûter et nullement par nécessité.* » Ce journal avait reçu des ordres dans le but de calmer les inquiétudes de la population. Courant décembre, on avait consommé toute la viande de boucherie. Les repas de famille étaient bien singuliers, on élaborait des plats tels que le gigot de chien à la prussienne, les queues de rat à la Guillaume. La bibliothèque de l'Ecole militaire détient un livre de cuisine attribué à « *une cuisinière assiégée ou l'art de vivre en temps de siège* » qui donne des recettes, comme la soupe de rempart qui consistait en pain trempé avec du vin. En raison de la rareté des légumes, la pomme de terre est une grande absente du siège, des potagers virent le jour au nord de Paris, créant un marché parallèle. Ces récoltes s'étendaient depuis Saint-Denis jusqu'à Noisy et une certaine quantité était prélevée par les Gardes nationaux, ceux-ci pendant toute la durée de ce

trafic, ne manquèrent pas de légumes. Le gouvernement, après avoir réquisitionné la houille et le coke, avait mis l'embargo sur le bois et fait abattre du bois vert impropre au chauffage. Le 24 décembre 1870, à Paris, la température était descendue à moins 15 et la Seine charriait de la glace, les femmes et les enfants arrachaient l'écorce des arbres pour se chauffer. Le combustible, l'huile à brûler et la bougie atteignirent des prix très élevés. Les appareils d'éclairage domestique fonctionnaient à la térébenthine (résine), le gaz n'était plus utilisé que pour les ballons-captifs. Noël 1870 fut fêté comme le 100^{ème} jour du siège, à cette occasion, les cadeaux appréciés étaient les pastilles de viande et les petits pots d'extrait de bouillon.

LES CIVILS VERSAILLAIS ET PRUSSIENS

La situation en dehors de Paris est différente. Les Allemands s'étaient installés dans d'excellents logements autour de Paris, sans être inquiétés. Ils s'étaient hâtés de rétablir les voies de communication et les chemins de fer pour faciliter leurs approvisionnements. Le service sur les lignes françaises était effectué par des employés allemands et de Juvisy jusqu'à Orléans, on voyait circuler des trains réguliers. Paris subit le blocus, cependant, à Versailles, la population est en contact avec l'ennemi et vécut cette situation pendant six mois. Ce témoignage est tiré du journal d'un observateur de « *Versailles pendant l'occupation* » édité chez Plon en 1873. Par exemple, durant cette période, il ne fut célébré aucun mariage à Versailles. Cette cohabitation franco prussienne fut convenable, mais ces relations ne doivent pas faire oublier les actes de violence liés au conflit. Les réquisitions sont fréquentes : chez les particuliers, une personne qui logeait un officier prussien celui-ci trouvant qu'on ne lui apportait pas son bois de chauffage assez vite, voulut se chauffer avec le piano et les fauteuils du propriétaire. On instaura aux habitants du département de la Seine et Oise un couvre-feu à 22 H et le paiement d'une contribution de guerre de un million. Certains actes de cruauté commis par les envahisseurs rappelaient les exactions des Cosaques en 1814 et 1815. Depuis l'arrivée du roi Guillaume 1er à Versailles, une colonne d'industriels allemands s'était installée, créant un quartier typiquement germanique, avec des boutiques achalandées de produits prussiens. Les marchands de tabac avaient été les premiers à s'installer, comestibles, viandes fumées, bazars où l'on trouvait de tout. Ils avaient utilisé plusieurs moyens d'information dont le journal le Moniteur Officiel, et des affiches rédigées dans les deux langues placardées à tous les coins de la ville. Le prince royal occupait Versailles avec 15 000 hommes, les provisions y abondaient, la gare de l'Ouest était transformée en parc à bestiaux. Contrairement aux quartiers du centre de la ville, les faubourgs firent l'objet de pillages. Dans les premiers jours de l'occupation, un certain nombre d'ouvriers refusèrent de travailler pour les Prussiens, le commandant de la place fit afficher un avis en précisant que ce travail serait rémunéré.

LE BOMBARDEMENT DE PARIS

Les camps prussiens autour de Paris se situaient aux points stratégiques, dont un non éloigné de Versailles. Tout d'abord, les obus tombant sur la capitale semblaient dus à une erreur de tirs des forts, la population ne s'inquiéta pas. Les tirs devenant de plus en plus fournis, les Parisiens prirent conscience de leur erreur, les Prussiens bombardaient la capitale. 30 000 bombes tombèrent sur Paris pendant un mois causant la mort de 217 habitants, 615 blessés,

soit un total de 832 victimes.

Le 4 janvier 1871, le bombardement des forts du sud et de la rive gauche de Paris augmenta l'angoisse de la population qui reflua vers le centre de la capitale. Le bombardement s'étendit sur la partie sud de la ville, les projectiles atteignirent le bd Saint-Michel et la place Saint-Sulpice et fut aussi très violent. Les caveaux du Panthéon furent transformés en abris pour les indigents. On vit des femmes et des enfants passer la nuit auprès des sépultures des hommes illustres. Le siège continuant, les tirs se concentrèrent sur le cœur de Paris et atteignirent le quai des Augustins et la rive droite fut sur le point d'être atteinte. Le tir qui balayait la rive gauche de Paris provenait des batteries que les Prussiens avaient établies au pavillon de Breteuil sur la terrasse de Meudon, dans les bois de Clamart, sur le plateau de Chatillon. Le 21 janvier 1871, le gouvernement se décida à publier les dépêches relatives aux armées de province, le général Chanzy battu, se repliait derrière la Mayenne, Faidherbe est battu à Saint-Quentin, Bourbaki est en pleine retraite, ce qui excluait tout secours pour libérer Paris du blocus. Le régime alimentaire auquel la population se trouvait réduite et les nouvelles des troupes de province nous laisse imaginer la tension qui régnait à Paris, la population avait perdu confiance dans son gouvernement. Depuis le 15 janvier, les dernières ressources étaient atteintes. L'arrêté du 17 janvier, relatif à la prime offerte à quiconque dénoncerait les détenteurs de céréales avait produit un effet déplorable et généré un tel mécontentement que peu de temps après le gouvernement dû l'annuler.

Pendant la nuit du 21 au 22 janvier 1871, la prison de Mazas est forcée, plusieurs détenus politiques dont Flourens sont mis en liberté. Les émeutiers se dirigèrent vers la mairie du 20^{ème} arrondissement pour y installer le quartier général de l'insurrection. Ils s'emparèrent de 2000 rations de pain. Quelques compagnies de la Garde nationale délogèrent les émeutiers de la mairie. Le bombardement pendant ce temps n'avait pas cessé.

A Versailles, Jules Favre et le général de Valdan, chef d'état major du général Vinoy partirent négocier une trêve qui eut pour finalité un cessez-le-feu, suivit d'un armistice. Le gouvernement s'adressa au peuple, le 28 janvier 1871, en ces termes : « *Nous ne pouvions prolonger la lutte sans condamner à une mort certaine deux millions d'hommes, de femmes et d'enfants. Le siège de Paris a duré 4 mois 12 jours, le bombardement un mois entier* ». Le gouvernement avait gardé le silence sur l'état réel des ressources et des vivres, et se décida à parler, après la démission du général Trochu, gouverneur militaire de Paris. Il apprit à la population qu'il restait pour sept jours de ce mélange de paille et de son appelé pain, que l'on délivrait à raison de 300 gr par homme et par jour avec 30 gr de viande de cheval. Cette déclaration, provoqua chez les inconditionnels de la guerre une levée de boucliers, ils menacèrent de s'emparer de l'Hôtel de Ville afin d'instaurer le régime de la Commune, issu d'un mouvement qui avait pris naissance fin octobre 1870.

LA FIN DU SIÈGE

Après la trêve, il s'agissait d'arrêter avec la Commission des chemins de fer allemands les conditions de l'acheminement de la nourriture. Le ministre des Affaires Etrangères demanda au chargé d'affaires à Londres de prévoir d'urgence l'arrivée des denrées vers le port de Dieppe. Bien que ce port fût sous l'occupation ennemie, il fût choisi car accessible pour atteindre Paris. La presse britannique s'émut de la situation de Paris et le lord maire invita tous

ses concitoyens à participer à l'approvisionnement. La réquisition des denrées fut levée et les marchandises circulèrent librement à compter du 7 février 1871, les bons de pain ne furent supprimés qu'à partir du 1^{er} mai 1871. Après ces événements, le quotidien du peuple de Paris s'améliora, les Parisiens recommencèrent à se nourrir, cependant, les viandes de boucherie demeurent impropres à la consommation du fait de la peste bovine, ce qui n'empêche pas cette viande d'être consommée malgré tout. Adolphe Thiers, chef du pouvoir exécutif de la République française depuis le 17 février 1871 n'hésita pas à faire tirer le fort du Mont-Valérien sur Paris lors de la répression de la Commune et facilita les interceptions de vivres destinées à la population. Cependant, les Prussiens occupent les forts de la région Nord et Est de Paris, et devinrent spectateurs de la guerre civile. La population vécut alors une autre douloureuse épreuve, le second siège de la capitale commençait.

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Organization and activities of Hellenism under the leadership of religious and distinguished personalities during the Struggle for Macedonia, 1904-1908

EFPRAXIA S. PASCHALIDOU

Macedonia is the heart of the Balkan Peninsula, a fact that gives it an a priori prominent geostrategic and political significance.¹ It was the site where national counterbalancing movements collided, while during the period of the Macedonian Struggle it was a large venue of the defensive struggles of the Hellenic Nation in this area.² The beginning of the Macedonian Struggle marked 1870 with the creation of the Bulgarian Exarchates and by 1897 it was characterized mainly by intense propagandistic action. The main objective was the bulgarianization of Macedonian Greeks and the immediate incorporation of Macedonia into Bulgarian accordance with the terms of the Treaty of San Stefano.³ The struggle took on the mantle of the guerrilla bands of Greeks against the Bulgarians, as well as with the Ottoman Empire, during the period 1904 – 1908.⁴

The Great Church had strong ties to Macedonian Hellenism and, for the duration of the

- 1 General bibliography on Macedonia: Amantos Konstantinos, *Makedonika* [Macedonian topics], Petrakos, Athens 1920, Hammond N.G., *History of Macedonia*, Malliaries-Paideia, Athens 1995, Keramopoulos Antonios, *Makedonia kai Makedones*, Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, Thessaloniki 1972, Martis Nikolaos, *E Plastographese tes Istorias tes Makedonias*, Euroekdotiki, Athens 1983, Mylonas Alexandros P., *E Hellenikoteta tes Makedonias*, Nea Synora, Athens 1991, Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou Maria, *To Makedoniko Zetema*, Hellenike Epitrope Spoudon, Athens 1988, Sakellariou Michael (editor), *Makedonia: 4,000 Chronia Hellenikes Istorias kai Politismou* [Macedonia: 4,000 years of Hellenic History and Civilization], Ekdotike Athenon, Athens 1982, Vakalopoulos Apostolos, *To Makedoniko Zetema*, Parateretes, Thessaloniki 1989.
- 2 Kofos Evangelos, *E epanastasis tes Makedonias kata to 1878* (=The Macedonian Revolution in 1878), Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1969 pp.15-17. Markezines Spyridon, *Politiki Istoria tes Neoteris Ellados* (=A Political History of Modern Greece), Vol. II, Athens 1966, pp.94-120.
- 3 The preliminary peace terms were signed at San Stefano, a suburb of Constantinople, on 21 February 1878, between Russia and Turkey which recognized the independence of Serbia, Montenegro and Romania. The Treaty made important territorial concessions to Russia and established an autonomous, tributary to the Ottoman Empire state of Bulgaria with especially extensive borders. Almost all Macedonia, with its thousands of Greek inhabitants, as well as clearly Serb areas were incorporated into a Bulgarian principality. The creation of such a great Bulgaria surprised even the most fanatical Bulgarian nationalists. The new Bulgarian state showed clearly that, through its effort to resurrect the Great Bulgaria of the San Stefano Treaty, it would become a source of instability and concern in the Balkans and, especially, Macedonia.
- 4 Among a wide variety of bibliography references on the Struggle for Macedonia: Dakin Douglas, *The Greek Struggle in Macedonia 1897-1913*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1966 [reprinted Ekdotiki Athinon, Athens 1993], Hellenic Army General Staff/Army History Directorate (HAGS/AHD), *The Struggle for Macedonia and the events in Thrace 1904-1908*, Athens 2002, Mazarakes-Ainian Konstantinos, *O Makedonikos Agon*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1963, Makedonike Philekpaideutike Etaireia, *Makedonikos Agonas*, Thessaloniki 1985, Modes Georgios, *O Makedonikos Agonas kai e Neotere Makedonike Istoria*, Etaireia Makedonikon Spoudon, Thessaloniki 1967, Vakalopoulos Apostolos, *Makedonikos Agonas*, [1904-1908] Enople Phase, Barbounakes, Thessaloniki 1987.

latter's harsh subjugation, it contributed considerably to its spiritual and moral survival.⁵ For over five centuries religious life, as consolidated by the privileges granted by Sultans since the time of Mohammed the Conqueror, remained the only organized form of life for the Greeks in Macedonia. At these crucial times the institution of the provincial Synod of the Metropolitan bishopric of Thessaloniki⁶ contributed greatly to establishment of the religious and national faith of the Hellenism in Macedonia. Within the framework of this established life, the Orthodox faith and national conscience not only of the Greeks, but also of the Bulgarians and Serbs, were kept vibrant and their native languages were preserved. The clergy's contribution was immense, as it encouraged and assisted the people of Macedonia. The Hellenism and the Church, forever interwoven in Macedonia and Thrace, faced the persecutions of the Bulgarian Committees together. The conflict initially was limited in churches. The priests were the first to confront the komitadjis, followed by the teachers, church-wardens, the notables and all Macedonians remaining faithful to the Patriarchate and to Hellenism. The churches and ecclesiastical foundations were the first to be put to the torch, and fierce battles were even fought for their possession. The failure of the Committees was largely due to the resistance of those villages whose inhabitants remained faithful to the Patriarchate. The story of active or passive resistance remains largely unknown, yet it is widely known that, had it not been for the enlightened prelates of that age to guide, encourage and organize those Macedonians faithful to the patriarchate, Macedonian Hellenism would have altogether vanished before 1903.⁷ The moderation and its inability to reinforce and to protect the Macedonian Greeks that characterized the actions of the official Hellenic State – at least until 1903 – was initially covered by private initiative.

In all of Macedonia, many were those willing to render significant services to Hellenism, either individually or in groups, as soon as the conditions would be favorable.⁸ Initially, there was the powerful patriarchist ecclesiastical organization, which through suitable guidance was sufficient as the stable framework for the organization of the struggle. Assisted by the chain of Greek schools in Macedonia, the Church's organization doubtless was protecting the Macedonian Hellenism. Aside from a very few cases of oblivious priests and teachers, the remaining officials of both the Church and the educational system wholeheartedly devoted themselves to the services of the Consulate and of Hellenism. The Greek populations were eagerly and sincerely assisting the struggle. Young villagers would often train in the use of weapons while weapon depots were constructed, while the task of organizing the struggle

5 For the role of the Church during the Macedonian Struggle: Eliade Amalia, *O kleros ston Makedoniko Agona - E symbole tou sten organose kai sten antistase tou Hellenismou 1767-1908*, Prototypes Thessalikes Ekdoseis, 2003, Karathanases Athanasios, *O Hellenismos kai e Metropole tou Neurokopiou kata ton Makedoniko Agona*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1991, Laourdas Vasileios, *E Metropolis Neurokopiou 1900-1907*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1961, Metallinou Angelike, "Archiereis kai Iereiis Agonistai yper tes Apeleutheroeseos tes Makedonias", *Nea Aletheia*, Thessaloniki 20 April 1959, Stamos Panagiotis, *O Metropolitess Kassandreias Eirenaios, 1863-1945*, Athens 1970.

6 Angelopoulos A., "E Episkopiki Synodos tes Metropoleos Thessalonikis kai e semasia autes semeron" (=The Episcopal Synod of Metropolis of Thessaloniki and its Present importance), *Theologia*, 3, Athens 1977.

7 For the people's contribution, Anestopoulos Angelos, *O Makedonikos Agon 1903-1908 kai e symbole ton katoikon eis ten apeleutherosin tes Makedonias*, Vol. II, Thessalonika 1965.

8 HAGS/AHD, *The Struggle...*, o.c., pp.162-3.

was not a difficult one for the officers-agents. By their side, heeding the call of Hellenism, were the Greek employees of the Ottoman railways, who offered invaluable services as regards to the transportation of arms and equipment, as postmen for the secret correspondence of the struggle, and as gatherers of intelligence. There also existed the great number of various Greek societies and associations, whether charitable, musical, educational or athletic, which served the struggle and provided centers for enlightenment and promotion of the Greek cause from the very first moment. The Greek big landowners, doctors and lawyers, through the influence they held over the population and their acquaintances among the officials of the Ottoman Administration, contributed to a great extent to the formation of the Greek organization. Even without any of those, however, in many villages, minor towns and cities of central and eastern Macedonia, the Greek Macedonians started organizing their defense at their own initiative and by their own means. One central coordinating body would suffice automatically to organize the struggle of the Greek people.⁹

The Greek governments stood for confronting the Bulgarian Committees through the ecclesiastical organization of the Patriarchate of Constantinople. The Consulates co-operated with the ecclesiastical authorities of the Patriarchate, and this co-operation, resulted in significant achievements, especially in those districts which were host to determined prelates and active consuls. Many slavophone Macedonians were forced by the behavior of the Ottoman military forces, despite their whole hearted identification with Hellenism and the Great Church of Constantinople, to join the Bulgarian Committees. The Bulgarian and Ottoman savagery led the Greek population to a revolt. On 10 August the Support Committee of Macedonians was organized, chaired by the Archbishop of Athens and distinguished civilians. Its purpose was to raise funds through donations towards the financial support of suffering Macedonians. For this purpose it appealed to all Greeks, in domestic as well as subjugated lands and communities in foreign lands. A great demonstration was organized on 15 August 1903 at the Pillars of the Olympian Zeus in Athens. The initiative for the demonstration was assumed by the Macedonian Societies of Athens and Piraeus and a resolution of protest was delivered at its conclusion to the Great Powers' Embassies in Athens. The direction and organization of the struggle apparently stemmed from the Macedonian Committee, whose seat was in Athens and whose president was Demetrios Kalapothakes, publisher of a news paper by the name *Empros*.¹⁰

In Macedonia, the appointment of Germanos Karavangeles¹¹ to the Metropolitan see of

9 Zannas Alexandros, *O Makedonikos Agon-Anamneses* (=The Macedonian Struggle-Memoirs), Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1960.

10 HAGS/AHD, *The Struggle...*, o.c., pp.125, 126, 133, 134.

11 Born in the village of Stypse, Lesbos in 1866. His father came from Psara, the island of the naval fighters of 1821. A young man with an impressive bearing, well educated in philosophy, theology and history at the Theological school of Chalke and at the Universities of Leipzig and Bonn, he had every qualification necessary to serve Hellenism of the key district of Kastoria. He already had given proof of his powerful personality and ability since February 1896, while serving as bishop in Peran of Constantinople. He reorganized the schools in Peran on a sound, Greek basis and founded new ones in order to raise the moral of Hellenism there. In the Metropolis of Kastoria, he was the right man at the right place. Germanos Karavangeles, *Apomnemoneumata Makedonikou Agonos*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1959, pp.1-6. See also, Bellou-Threpsiade Antigone, *Morphes makedonomachon kai ta "Pontiaka" tou Germanou Karavangele*, Trochalia, Athens 1992.

Kastoria was particularly successful. In 1900, when he arrived in Kastoria, the situation in the district appeared confused. Powerful Bulgarian bands roamed the the country-side and many villages were joining the Exarchy. One by one the pillars of Hellenism were lost. Germanos, however, would not be daunted by the adversities. Among the first acts was a visit to Monastir and collaboration with the local Greek consul, Stamatis Kiouzes Pezas, for a joint evaluation of the situation. This diplomatic officer was very active in his district as he managed to organize an effective network of informers. In successive reports, he kept the Greek government abreast off all that transpired and drew its attention to the situation of the Greek element. The mutual respect stemming from their initial acquaintance paved the way for their future co-operation. From then on, assisting and complementing each other in amirable concord, the two men pursued their difficult mission together, Pezas in Monastir through his spies and his protests to the Ottoman authorities and Germanos in Kastoria through his encouraging tours and impressive actions. In Monastir, the Consulate Secretary Ion Dragoumes¹² with the aid of distinguished city notables founded the Amyna (Defense) organization. This organization was in contact with that of Germanos in the area of Kastoria as well as with similar organizations in the other cities and minor towns of Western Macedonia that he had also formed, through intensive and coordinated efforts. Similar systematic services were later rendered by Dragoumes in Eastern Macedonia, during his brief term as director of the Serres Consulate which resulted in his being considered as one of the first organizers of Macedonian Hellenism in its reaction to the Bulgarian designs.

The heroic attitude on the part of Germanos encouraged those inhabitants faithful to the Patriarchate and boosted their morale. With time, the villagers started to take heart and abandon their fatalistic attitude, while those who had left their villages for Kastoria, out of fear started to return. The Greek speaking population had begun to organize according to the instructions of the Metropolitan and the first cells of resistance were constituted as committees of local notables. He was also asking for officers, wishing to install within the locals the conviction that free Greece was on their side. In the spring of 1903, four battle-hardened and venturesome Cretans¹³, agreed to move to Western Macedonia and be the pioneers in the rousing of Greece. Finally, one of them managed to deliver important secret correspondence to Ion Dragoumes and Karavangeles. Soon, through the unremitting activity of the group of the officers, the first Greek band for the support of Metropolitan Germanos' organization was

12 Ion Dragoumes, son of Stephanos Dragoumes, was born in Athens on 2 September 1878. Having completed a course of general education, he joined the Diplomatic Corps in 1899 and was appointed as Secretary of the Monastir Consulate in 1902. He later served at the consulates of Serres, Philippoupolis, Alexandria and Alexandroupolis and in 1907 he was appointed as Secretary of the Constantinople Embassy. His entire career was committed to patriotic activity while, devoting his significant literary talents to writing literature with a nationalist bent. In politics he believed in the integrity of the Ottoman Empire and believed that Greek intellect gradually would lead to its Hellenization. Dragoumes opposed the policies of Venizelos, whose supporters assassinated him in the street on 31 July 1920. This took place after the announcement of the attempt on the life of Venizelos in Lyons, France. Euegenes Dimitrios, *O Ion Dragoumes kai o Makedonikos Agon*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1961 [reprinted 1993], Paraschos K., *Ion Dragoumes*, Athens 1936, Vakalopoulos Apostolos, *Koryphaies morphes tou Makedonikou Agona*, Ion Dragoumes, Paulos Gypares, Barbounakes, Thessaloniki 1987.

13 For the contribution of Cretans in the struggle for Macedonia, Gyparakes Andreas, *Kretes Makedonomachoi 1903-1908*, Athens 1976.

formed. In June 1903, ten officers arrived in the district of Kastoria. The presence of the first guerrilla band of ten Cretans from free Greece, although brief, proved particularly beneficial to the struggle.

The Greek Consul General in Thessaloniki Eugeneiades – who retained this post until 1904 – was opposed to the armed organization of Hellenic communities and none of his actions were directed towards this. He believed that only the restoration of Greco-Ottoman goodwill would protect the Greek element in Macedonia and he didn't support the development of an armed struggle. Thus, no organization similar to that of Metropolitan Germanos' in Western Macedonia existed in eastern and Central Macedonia prior to the Greek intervention in the area. Despite the opposition of the Consul, a secret Greek Defense Committee, approved by the government, was formed in spring 1903. The initiative of its formation belonged to some of the city's most distinguished Greek inhabitants. Among its noteworthy actions was the monumental, enormous demonstration on January 1904, whose purpose was to declare Greek rights on Macedonia. Once the decision to initiate the struggle had been made, everything had to start from the very beginning. But delayed as its initiation had been at first, the conclusion of the struggle in the vilayet of Thessaloniki was just a triumphant. This is owed to the personality of Lampros Koromelas and his especially successful appointment to the post of the Consul General. When he arrived at Thessaloniki, in May 1904, he had already been fully aware of the dangers to Hellenism. Koromelas was convinced that it was only by the force of arms that the Bulgarian menace could be confronted. More specifically, in his very first report to the Greek government, insisted on the need for a well-organized armed defence for Macedonian Hellenism and an intensive enlightenment campaign, with the objective of promoting the patriotism of the Greeks in the area. His reports brought immediate results. Under additional pressure by the public opinion, the government accepted the plan of operations he proposed and assigned him the direction of the struggle in Thessaloniki. At the same time, he was further authorized to employ the officers specially trained since February 1904, as he saw fit.¹⁴ Coordination between the bands controlled by the Monastir Consulate and those controlled by the Thessaloniki Consulate was a vital issue. It was fundamental that all bands should obey the orders and instructions, avoid extreme actions and not burden the local population. Koromelas did not approve the formation of local bands, led by guerrilla leaders. He favoured mixed bands of locals and men from free Greece, under officers previously trained. Within a short period of time, guerrilla bands were formed from different parts of Greece, and thus the struggle was extended to Central and Eastern Macedonia, thanks mainly to him. The remaining Macedonian regions followed the example of Western Macedonia and officers were installed as heads of the guerrilla bands, while centres were set up along the border for the purpose of promoting groups and weapons to Macedonia. The Consulate in Thessaloniki extended its organisation with the creation of centres for the struggle in other cities in Central Macedonia¹⁵. At the same time, the armed struggle in the countryside was accompanied by the organization of the urban Hellenic population, with Thessaloniki comprising the first example of a systematically organised city.

14 HAGS/AHD, *The Struggle...*, o.c., pp. 161-2.

15 Laourdas Vasileios, *To Ellenikon Genikon Proxeneion Thessalonikes 1903-1908*, Institute of Balkan Studies, Thessaloniki 1961.

Greeks throughout Macedonia moved towards an organization in 1904, with a fervent desire for active resistance. The population understood that this was the only way they could confront the Bulgarian Committees. The spirit was ready; all that was lacking was the formation of a central authority that would be necessary for the coordination and direction of the isolated and uncoordinated actions. This authority only could be provided by the independent Greek state, and it was there that the Macedonians turned their sights. However, from the beginning of 1904 the Hellenic Government decided to abandon its moderate attitude and apply a more realistic policy, in conjunction with the contribution of the Army for the better organisation and preparation for the armed struggle. In fact, in August 1904, a group led by Second Artillery Lieutenant Paulos Melas¹⁶, crossed the Greco-Ottoman border, signalling with this action the intervention of the Hellenic State into the Macedonian issue. The beginning of the armed struggle by Greek officers and Macedonian guerrilla leaders in Western Macedonia in 1904, expanded into the central and eastern parts of the region in 1905.¹⁷ At the beginning of 1906, despite the unpleasant situation that had been created by the bipolar character that the struggle took on – centred in the Hellenic Consulate in Monastir and the Macedonian revolutionary Committee in Athens – the actions of the Hellenic groups continued unceasingly.¹⁸

During 1907, the struggle continued with unflagging intensity throughout Macedonia. The Hellenic groups were further reinforced with the deployment of new units. In Thrace, there had not been a Greek organization until the spring of 1907. The Greek consuls conducted their usual official work and the metropolitans performed their purely religious duties. The Greek population of Thrace, clearly outnumbered the Bulgarian. The Bulgarians had not assumed any armed activity since 1903 and thus the Greeks essentially remained nationally inert, as they had not been molested. Bulgarian religious propaganda and proselytism to the Exarchy continued, and the Greek government therefore decided in early 1907 to dispatch two officers to the Thrace consulate as well, in order to organize the Greek population of Thrace. They developed significant activity and managed in a very short while to establish athletic and educational societies in the main cities of the region, thus organizing the Greek populations and boosting the national feeling. They found supporters and valuable assistants

16 Paulos Melas (nickname Mikes Zezas) was born in Marseilles in 1870. In 1876 his family settled in Athens, where his father was active as treasurer of the National Defense in 1878. This organization instigated and supported the insurrections in Crete, Epirus and Macedonia. He was nurtured since childhood by the principles of the Megale Idea. He opted for the military profession, entered the military academy and graduated as a Second Lieutenant. He participated actively in the organization of the National Society and became one of its Board members. He participated in the War of 1897. He was one of the forerunners of the Greek Struggle in Macedonia and was killed by a Turkish detachment in the village of Statista (Mela) in the area of Korestia in 13 October 1904.

See, Maraveleas G., Paulos Melas, Thessaloniki 1959, Mela Natalia, Paulos Melas, Athens 1963, Papakyriakides Petros, O Makedonikos Agonas-O Paulos Melas, e thysia kai oi pente taphoi tou, Thessaloniki 1992, Romoudis Vassilis, Paulos Melas, To symvolo tou ethnous ston Makedoniko Agona, Malliaries Paideia, Athens 2003.

17 Description of military and political developments during 1904-1905, HAGS/AHD, The Struggle..., o.c., pp. 122-198.

18 Description of military and political developments during 1906, HAGS/AHD, The Struggle..., o.c., pp. 201-231.

of their work in the clergy, the teachers and the rest of their fervent patriots.¹⁹

In 1908, new Hellenic and Bulgarian groups entered the struggle and managed to stabilise themselves almost throughout the Macedonian region. The promises however of the Young Turks Coup²⁰, expressed in July 1908, brought an end to the age-long and exhausting Macedonian Struggle. Soon, the obvious anti-Greek stance of the Young Turks, led the Government to the formation of the Panhellenic Organization under Panagiotis Danglis, in order to maintain and to reinforce most of the Greek footholds in areas of Macedonia. With the dissolution of the Panhellenic Organization in the first days of August 1909, an end was put to the year-long Macedonian Struggle, which despite the sacrifices in blood and money proved useful to Hellenism and paved the way for the Hellenic Army's triumphs during the Balkan Wars of 1912-1913.²¹

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19 Description of military and political developments during 1907, HAGS/AHD, *The Struggle...*, o.c., pp. 236-267.

20 Dakin Douglas, *The Greek Struggle...* o.c., pp.397-402.

21 The end of the Macedonian Struggle, in HAGS/AHD, *The Struggle...*, o.c., pp. 269-303.

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The Employment of the Austro-Hungarian Army in the Suppression of Uprising in the Civil and Military Fields

M. CHRISTIAN ORTNER

When in the war year of 1918 the political leadership intended to use also military formation to suppress and turn down strike movements, this was no new ground at all. It was similar in all European countries that the armed forces were employed not only for outward defence but also for the maintenance of law and order within a country, a development to be found already in the 18th and 19th centuries. Although internal security tasks were reduced due to the establishment of the gendarmerie in the middle of the 19th century, the so-called “ordinary security service” was maintained in Austria and Austria-Hungary. It comprised above all guard duties in the garrisons, which included the protection of military buildings and real estates in garrison towns. Moreover, due to agreements with the responsible civil administration authorities also the protection of state and public buildings could be taken over. This implied above all the supervision of prisons, detention houses or state treasuries. In bigger garrison towns the armed forces were used for the routine guard duties of the towns, which meant the provision of permanent guards and the sending out of night patrols. Furthermore, in big cities even so-called “main guards” were installed. In this “routine” guard service the military had the function of a civil-security corps, a function which also linked to the right of imprisonment of suspects and the use of arms.

Of special interest, however, was the so-called “extraordinary” security service, which should be carried out only when there were not enough police and gendarmerie forces to meet extraordinary dangers for the proper functioning of state institutions. For the civil authorities this was the case, when not only individual persons but also so-called “mass movements” started to offend the existing law regulations. The armed forces were to be employed to strengthen the civil security corps and to form so-called “assurances” then. In the case of “recalcitrance” and “revolts” of whole villages or a greater number of persons, who opposed the orders of the political authorities or refused to perform duties imposed on them like e.g. taxes, they had to interfere. When employed these assistance were, however, not subject to the territorial military hierarchy but served as a support of the civil administration authorities.

The first legal ground: for such employments are found in 1875 and 1876, when the terms “military executions” and “military assistance” were legally defined. The first comprised the use of military means of power to bring in state duties like e.g. taxes or natural duties, whereas the term “military assistance” was very widely defined and comprised all military measures in the security service.

What remained especially controversial was the use of weapons, which could not be exactly defined. In a legal decision of the War Council of 1844 the field of “military assistance” including the use of weapons was defined more precisely, as the use of weapon had either to be ordered by the political authority requiring the assistance or was to be allowed for self-defence purposes in the case of a direct attack on the assistance body.

To give the armed forces more exact guidelines, respective regulations on the “assist-

ances” as such as well as on the basic behaviour and the use of weapons were included in the drill regulations for the imperial and royal infantry troops of 1873.

Only in 1908 the binding regulation “Instruction concerning the demand, provision and use of military assistances” was finally published, which remained more or less valid until the end of the war in 1918. In this regulation a reserved position was taken as to the use of weapons to bring about tint of all a de-escalation or dissolution of uprisings. The troops of the military assistance should in no way have themselves provoked to use their weapons in a careless way. Contrary to these regulations for the civil field the regulations on uprisings within the army comprised restrictive rules, which in the case of “mutinies” or “uprisings” demanded martial law and the use of weapon .

The provision of “military assistances” naturally depended on the available contingents during World War I. With regard to assistance tasks during civilian uprisings, demonstrations and strikes it became necessary to employ troops deployed in the hinterland. These troops comprised above all the reinforcement troops of the field regiments, which had the task to gather new recruits, convalesced as well as repatriated prisoners of war (POWs) in so-called “march formation” - the reinforcement of the front units. Especially at the beginning of the war the reinforcement troops of the regiments were deployed in the respective regiment reinforcement district. During the war, however, units of Czech, Italian , Romanian or Serb nationality were deployed outside their original garrison towns because of strong nationalist concerns. It was thought that when “military assistances” were formed to fight unrests there, unreliability based on nationalist reasons could be prevented therewith. Therefore, Czech reinforcement troop were deployed above all in Hungary, German or Hungarian one in Bohemia. The first great test of the “military assistances” came in January 1918 when measures had to be taken to suppress and turn down the so- called “January strike”. The reason for this enormous strike movement was the miserable food situation, which had reached a catastrophic stage, especially in the industrialized areas of the Austrian part of the Empire. The daily flour rations for the population in the hinterland had partly sunk to 165 g of flour per day. Strikes continued to spread to all industrial centres of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy so that about 700,000 workers were on strike. The sudden strike wave completely surprised both, the civil administration authorities as well as the military territorial command. With the police and gendarmerie forces available in the hinterland the situation could not be handled so that already in the first days of the strike hinterland formations of the armed forces were demanded for military assistance. It became clear that in January 1918 out of the army, the Austrian *Landwehr* and the Hungarian *Honvéd* only about 330 companies were ready for assistance purposes, as the soldiers to be recruited for that n purpose were to have completed a basic education of at least nine weeks. Via the territorial commands more and more and assistance companies were demanded by the political administration authorities. As the garrison towns of the reinforcement troops were mostly not directly situated near the strike centres, numerous movements of troops had to be carried out. In the course of the strike it became clear that the forces present - around 700,000 workers on the one side, and about 35 to 40,000 “assistances” on the other - were barely enough. The Ministry of War considered it especially dangerous that most of the strikes were organized ones and could not so easily be dispersed mostly because of party-political influences. Therefore, the Ministry of War turned to the army high command with the request to strengthen the assistance forces by employ-

ing front troops. The army high command, which was fully aware of the danger of the strike movement, placed about 39 battalions, which were employed in the conurbations of Vienna and Budapest, at the disposal of the hinterland. Thus the strength of the assistance troops had almost doubled. The appearance of front troops, with all their equipment, machine guns and hand grenades, was of special importance because of the psychological effect. In some places only their appearance led to the quick containment of the unrest. Nevertheless, the hinterland demanded even more front troops. The army high command could understandably not meet the requests but promise that, if necessary, troops being transported via the hinterland would be employed as assistance forces.

The end of the "January strikes" was finally brought about because of the interference of the Social Democrat Workers Party, even if only the appearance of the assistances worked in certain places as well. Thus the question now arose how due to these finding the question of military - assistances could further be handled or how an efficient organization could be found in the future. As the troops employed for assistance purposes were not to affect the reinforcement of the front troops, another solution had to be found. In agreement with the Ministry of War the army high command decided to withdraw especially battle-weary divisions from the front and refresh them in the hinterland. At the same time these troops were to undergo an intensive education and if necessary - were to serve as assistance units. Due to this measure a total of four field division use came to the Austrian part of the monarchy, three to Hungary or Croatia-Slavonia.

While the first big employment of assistance troops in January was aimed at suppressing strike movements, the task spectre changed from mid-1918 onwards. Not only social problems led to uprisings and revolts, but also nationalist tensions had their share in it. Moreover, due to the precarious food situation military assistances were also called for to help with grain requisitions in agriculture. This had especially negative effects on the internal bond of the assistance troops, as they were now directly confronted with the misery of the population.

The Austro-Hungarian POWs coming home from Russian war imprisonment proved to be an additional destabilizing factor. In Russia many of them had come in touch with the social upheavals of the Russian Revolution and transferred their thoughts into the Austro-Hungarian armed forces. Due to the permanent shortage of staff at the front most of the repatriated soldiers had to join the ranks of the reinforcement troops and to return to the front after a short vacation only. It was the prospect of having to go back to the front again after having suffered innumerable privations during war imprisonment as well as the precarious food situation that considerably worsened the mood of the repatriated soldiers. Together with nationalist tensions the feeling of dissatisfaction began to spread to the rest of the reinforcement troops. The consequences were numerous uprisings and mutinies, which affected those units actually designated to suppress such movements by means of a assistance operations.

The military authorities reacted by mean of a renewed change of garrisons, as the repatriated ranks much too often took up the mood of the people living there-be it in a social or nationalist respect - and became unreliable. Moreover, drastic measures were taken which classified all revolts as mutiny or "uprising" and punished them according to martial law. Thus, the reliability of the "assistance troops" as shown during the strike. in January was heavily impaired and prevented their employment during the overthrow situation in October/November 1918.

Military Troops Deployed to Carry Out Policing Duties in Hungary during the Last Year of the First World War

TIBOR BALLA

On 1 January 1918, the land forces of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy consisted of the Imperial and Royal Army, the Royal Hungarian *Honvéd* Army and the Imperial Royal *Landwehr*, altogether 4,410,000 soldiers, organised into 72 infantry and 12 cavalry divisions. 2,850,000 of them comprised the field army, whereas 1,560,000 soldiers served in the reserve units, the military authorities and the headquarters in the hinterland.¹ The Imperial and Royal (so-called “common”) Army had 16 military headquarters in the territory of the Empire, 6 out of which were located in Hungary, whereas the 1st General Headquarters was set up in Nagyszeben (Sibiu) in the spring of 1918. As an addition to that, the Royal Hungarian Army had 6 recruiting districts.

In the last year of the war, more than half of the strength of the army did not fight at the fronts anymore, but was deployed in the hinterland to control the population and the reserve troops.²

The legal conditions of the deployment of Austro-Hungarian military troops to carry out policing duties, and the rules of their use of firearms were settled by the regulation for the military authorities published in 1908³ and the Regulations of the “common” army,⁴ both of which were still in force in 1918 with certain amendments. Policing duties were primarily carried out by the infantry and the cavalry, but artillery batteries and armoured trains too could be deployed along with them.⁵

Reserve battalions, which had been set up to replace the fallen and those taken prisoner from field units, were garrisoned in regions inhabited by nationalities other than those of the battalions, out of political considerations. For instance, reserve units consisting of mostly Hungarian soldiers were stationed in Czech territory, whereas battalions comprising Serbian, Croatian and Czech soldiers were positioned in Hungarian and Austrian provinces. The aim was to keep the troops from civilian influence, which was secured by foreign-language surroundings, so that they could be deployed to perform policing duties. Czech and Hungarian soldiers were deployable against each other’s nationalities; Germans against Slovenians, Poles and Czechs; Hungarians and Bosnians against Germans; Poles against the Ukraini-

1 Plaschka, Richard Georg, Haselsteiner, Horst, and Suppan, Arnold. *Innere Front. Militärassistentz, Wieders-tand und Umsturz in der Donaumonarchie 1918*. Vol. I. (Verlag für Geschichte und Politik, Vienna, 1974): 44.

2 Deák, István. *Volt egyszer egy tisztikar. A Habsburg-monarchia tisztjeinek társadalmi és politikai története 1848-1918*. (Gondolat, Budapest, 1993): 253-254.

3 *Entwurf. Instruktion bezüglich Anforderung, Beistellung und Verwendung militärischer Assistenten*. Nachdruckausgabe mit Berücksichtigung der bis Ende 1908 ergangenen, ergänzenden Erlässe. (Vienna, 1908)

4 *Dienstreglement für das kaiserliche und königliche Heer*. Vol. I. (Vienna, 1909)

5 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 33-35.

ans.⁶

TROOPS AVAILABLE TO CARRY OUT POLICING DUTIES

On 1 January 1918, there were 60 companies available for such purposes in Hungary, each 100 strong, recruited from Czech, Moravian and Bosnian territories. In the whole Empire, the number of those troops totalled 41,181.

In addition to reserve units in the hinterland, field units were also deployed to carry out policing duties. At the beginning of February, 15 “common” as well as Hungarian *Honvéd* battalions and 6 cavalry half-regiments were available for such purposes in the country, and there were policing artillery batteries stationed in the towns of Sopron, Pozsony (Bratislava), Budapest, Kassa (Košice), Nagyszeben (Sibiu), Temesvár (Timi oara) and Eszék (Osijek), too.⁷ At the same time, the total number of troops available to perform policing tasks in the Empire was 46,200.⁸

At the beginning of March 1918, Major General Géza Lukachich, commander of the mobile troops in Hungary had at his disposal the following units of the field army: the Imperial and Royal 2nd and 16th Infantry Regiments; one battalion each of the 29th, 101st and 131st “common” Infantry Regiments, the Royal Hungarian 6th, 11th and 14th Infantry Regiments, and the 5th and 17th Territorial Infantry Regiments; the Imperial and Royal 7th Hussar Regiment; and parts of the 6th “common”, the 3rd and 8th *Honvéd*, and the 1st Territorial Hussar Regiments.⁹

On 20 May, there were altogether 1,224 companies deployable to carry out policing duties at the reserve units in the hinterland, which was the highest number they reached between February and October 1918.¹⁰ At the end of May, there were 37 field battalions stationed in Hungary.¹¹ From June, regular military police battalions were being set up, and in September, there were 70 companies garrisoned in Hungary, 12 in Transylvania and 22 in Croatia, altogether 208 in the whole Empire.¹²

By autumn, their number had dropped, and on 21 October, only 20 military police companies were ready to be deployed in Croatia and 65 in the rest of the country. Their troops had been recruited from Hungary and Bosnia-Herzegovina.¹³ Another 56 companies were available to perform policing tasks in the territories of the military headquarters, while military schools too set up 52 companies. About half of those troops were stationed in Budapest and its environs.¹⁴

THE DEPLOYMENT OF POLICING TROOPS AGAINST THE CIVILIAN POPULATION

6 Ibid: 40-42.

7 Ibid: 175-176.

8 Ibid: 166.

9 Ibid: 178.

10 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 10.

11 Ibid: 14.

12 Ibid: 27-30.

13 Ibid: 118-120.

14 Ibid: 251-253.

The year 1918 started with a great wave of industrial strikes in the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. On 3 January, a partial strike was launched in the Wlaslovits and Komporday cutlery factory in the town of Stósz (Štós). 50 soldiers of the Imperial and Royal 34th Infantry Regiment were detailed to carry out policing duties there. On 14 January, a company of the same regiment marched in the village of Máriahuta-Zakárfalva (Žakarovce), where the workers of the Austrian Mining and Ironworks Company were out on strike. On the same day, a 100-strong company of the reserve battalion of the Imperial and Royal 82nd Infantry Regiment was sent to a coal mine near Petrozsény (Petro ani) in Transylvania.¹⁵

On 18 January, a five-day long general workers' strike started in Budapest, organised by the social democrats. It spread over to several small towns in the country, and involved about 200,000 participants.¹⁶ It was the first time that the state deployed policing troops in large numbers. On 18 January, 17 police companies, set up by the reserve units of the infantry regiments garrisoned in the capital, i.e. the Imperial and Royal 32nd, 38th and 52nd; the Bosnian 1st and 3rd; as well as the Royal Hungarian 1st, 29th and 30th, were detailed to maintain security. Two days later their number reached 42. Companies of Imperial and Royal, Bosnian, and Royal Hungarian infantry regiments were also deployed in the country, in Pozsony (Bratislava), Nagykanizsa, Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky), Szombathely, Magyaróvár and Selmecbánya (Banská Štiavnica).¹⁷ During the strike, several infantry battalions and cavalry units of the field army were also sent to the Hungarian capital.¹⁸

Radicalisation and the shortages of supplies led to strikes primarily in the industrial areas throughout the year. On 5 March, factory workers in Budapest unilaterally decided on introducing the eight-hour working day. That evening, 15,500 infantrymen, 145 machine guns, 200 cavalrymen and 18 guns were available to be deployed for policing tasks in the capital. On 9 March, the troops that General Lukachich had ordered to Budapest from the country occupied public buildings and factories, and patrolled the main streets. The management of the factories were able to keep their positions with the backing of the troops, and the strike was broken.

On 18 March, a few hundred coal miners and volunteer workers stopped working in Lupény (Lupeni) and the valley of the Zsil (Jiu) River in Transylvania, due to the shortage of supplies and clothing. The military headquarters in Nagyszeben (Sibiu) detailed 2,000 soldiers to the mining district. As a result of negotiations with the trade unions, the strike came to an end on 22.

On 7 April, 6,500 people went on strike in the rolling mill of Resicabánya (Re i a) because of their low wages. Owing to the presence of military troops, the negotiations with the workers were successful.

In the coal mine of Somsály near the town of Miskolc two people died and many were injured in a volley of the gendarmerie, which took place on 7 April as a consequence of the planned one-day strike. The workers were forced to take up work again by five companies of policing troops.

On 9 June, 2,000 miners started a strike in Fels galla and Tatabánya. Although 350 German and Czech soldiers of the 11th Rifle Regiment's reserve battalion took action, the strike

15 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 59.

16 Ibid: 68-73.

17 Ibid: 77-80.

18 Ibid: 87-88.

had not come to an end before 24 June.¹⁹

Troops in the Budapest garrisons were on standby on 1 May, but they were not deployed.²⁰

On 17 June, workers launched a strike in the Carriage, Wagon and Machine Works in Budapest, a factory under military control. On 20, they clashed with the gendarmerie and four people were killed. That event generated strikes all over the capital and in the big towns of the country, as well. The key locations of the capital were reinforced by military troops, the gendarmerie and the police.

On 18 June, 800 workers started a strike in the salt mine of Marosújvár (Ocna Mure). The arrival of the police company of the Imperial and Royal 82nd Infantry Regiment brought them round.

On 22 June, the workers' wives demonstrated against food shortage in front of the coal mine in Nyitrabánya (Handlová). In the course of their clash with the gendarmerie, eight of them were injured. As a result, a crowd attacked the local gendarme post. Two people were killed, another two severely injured. 80 soldiers of the Royal Hungarian 14th Infantry Regiment's reserve battalion; 70 people from the headquarters of the garrison in Érsekújvár (Nové Zámky); a machine gun platoon of 50; and a police company of the Imperial and Royal 26th Infantry Regiment were sent to Nyitrabánya (Handlová). Consequently, miners took up work in the evening of 23.

At the end of July, the military headquarters in Pozsony (Bratislava) detailed the police company of the 13th Reserve Battalion to Turócszentmárton (Martin), where riots started because of the Parliament refusal to authorise some assemblies, claiming that those were pan-Slavic.²¹

THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE POLICING TROOPS TO REQUISITION

The increasing difficulties with supplies made the military supreme command get to the root of food production. The Supreme Headquarters of the Army ordered the deployment of field army units to requisition as early as on 15 January. 17 battalions and 6 cavalry half-regiments of the 1st and 7th Armies were commanded to return to Hungary. On 11 March, the Royal Hungarian 39th (Budapest), the 40th (Zagreb) and the 51st (Temesvár [Timi oara]) Infantry Divisions were withdrawn from the front and were deployed to requisition in the hinterland, with the primary aim of improving the standard of army provisions.²² That made the peasantry distrustful, although they had been loyal to the Monarchy until then.

At the end of April, the Royal Hungarian 39th Infantry Division kept Transdanubia and the southern part of the Hungarian Plain under control, whereas the 51st controlled the regions of Kassa (Košice), Szeged, Nagyvárad (Oradea) and Temesvár (Timi oara), and the 40th had the Croatian territories under control. In addition to the above, the Imperial and Royal 2nd Infantry Regiment was stationed in Southern Transdanubia; two battalions of the

19 Ibid: 261-268.; Farkas, Márton. *Katonai összeomlás és forradalom 1918-ban. A hadsereg szerepe az Osztrák-Magyar Monarchia felbomlásában.* (Akadémiai Kiadó, Budapest, 1969): 94-95.

20 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 275-276.

21 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 32-37.

22 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 216-220.

16th “common” Infantry Regiment in Zombor; one battalion each of the 101st and 131st “common” Infantry Regiments in the environs of Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin); one battalion of the Royal Hungarian 5th Territorial Infantry Regiment in Szombathely; one battalion of the Royal Hungarian 1st Territorial Infantry Regiment south of Budapest; and one battalion of the Royal Hungarian 17th Territorial Infantry Regiment in Arad.²³

The results of the requisitions were disappointing. For example, the troops of the 40th Infantry Division collected only 1,541,800 kilograms of crops from the population in Croatia between 17 April and 10 June, contrary to all expectations.²⁴ In comparison with that figure, the summer’s crop in Hungary totalled 7.7 billions of kilograms in 1918, and 116,633 troops of the “common” Army, the Royal Hungarian Army and the Royal Hungarian Territorial Army took part in the harvest.²⁵

THE DEPLOYMENT OF THE POLICING TROOPS TO SUPPRESS MUTINIES

The first mutinies in the army took place as early as in January. On 19 January, in the course of their entrainment in the railway station of Szabadka (Subotica), the troops of the 86th “common” Infantry Regiment refused to be taken to the eastern front. The military police intervened; 400 troops escaped during the conflict, but were caught and escorted back to the station by the policing units of the garrison. During the train’s journey to Ugocsa County in the north-east of Hungary, further desertions took place.²⁶

As a result of the Treaty of Brest Litovsk, which was signed on 3 March 1918, hundreds of thousands of prisoners-of-war returned home from Russian captivity (671,000 people until 12 October 1918), and there were hardly any among them who would have been willing to go to the front once again. Most of them had become unreliable. The army had to quarantine them and made efforts to re-educate them. It took at least three months to post them to their new units and to re-educate them.²⁷ The revolts of soldiers who had returned from Russian captivity were usually spontaneous demonstrations against poor rations, the lack of freedom, the short period of leave that they were granted, or their selection to join combat units.²⁸

On 25 April, as lunch rations were being served out, 300 Slovakian soldiers of the reserve battalion of the Imperial and Royal 12th Infantry Regiment revolted against their officers in Nagybecskerek (Zrenjanin). All of the mutineers had returned from Russian captivity and the only way they could be brought round was pointing machine guns at them. Their leaders were arrested.²⁹

On 12 May, in Rimaszombat (Rimavská Sobota), 711 soldiers of the reserve battalion of the 80th “common” Infantry Regiment, which consisted of Rusyns to two thirds, as well as Poles, Czechs, Germans and Romanians, rose in revolt. As a result, four people died, another

23 Ibid: 183.

24 Ibid: 223.

25 Ibid: 229-230.

26 Ibid: 148; Farkas: 86.

27 Deák: 251; Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 45.

28 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 323.

29 Ibid: 290; Tóth, Sándor., ed. *Magyarország hadtörténete*. Vol. II. (Zrínyi Katonai Kiadó, Budapest, 1985): 103.

seven were seriously injured. Due to poor rations and a prohibition on leaves, the soldiers who had returned from Russian captivity set their barracks on fire, and then went into town, where they pillaged and consumed considerable quantities of alcohol. In the camp four soldiers died and four were injured in the course of a clash between the mutineers and loyal troops. Order was restored by combat troops and the gendarmerie that arrived in the early hours of 13. By 15, all the rebels were collected from the environs, and three of the leaders were court-martialled.³⁰

On 21 May, the reserve battalion of the Royal Hungarian 15th Infantry Regiment, almost entirely composed of Slovaks, revolted in Trencsén (Trenín). The 2nd company, comprising soldiers who had just returned from captivity, refused the provisions of sour carrots and cottage-cheese dumplings. The mutineers struck down the company commander by the stock of a rifle, as he was passing the troops in review. Order was finally restored by the commander of the reserve battalion.

On 28 May, the reserve company of the Imperial and Royal 29th Field Rifle Battalion also demonstrated against starvation in Losonc (Lučenec). At the issuing of the morning orders, the leaders of those who had returned from Russian captivity told their 2nd lieutenant that they would disobey all orders until the standard of provisions would be increased. With the help of the unit's two combat companies the entire unit was locked up in a camp. Seven soldiers were court-martialled.

On 5 June, after their return from captivity, 307 Slovakian soldiers of the 72nd "common" Infantry Regiment's reserve battalion revolted in Pozsony (Bratislava) and they beat their sergeant. The commanders, together with the Hungarian and German troops of the battalion, restored order. Six leaders were court-martialled, two of them were hanged.³¹

In the evening of 29 May, in Sajócség, near Miskolc, 150 soldiers of the 5th Requisition Company of the Royal Hungarian 305th Infantry Regiment's 2nd Battalion incited others to protest against war and they refused to go to the front. They shot in the air using live ammunition, set prisoners free from the jail, and then returned to their barracks. On the following day, five combat companies of the Royal Hungarian 10th Infantry Regiment arrived from Miskolc and disarmed the entire battalion. The court-martial sentenced two soldiers to death, but one of the verdicts was later amended to eight years' imprisonment. 50 accused soldiers were handed over to the court-martial of the Royal Hungarian 51st Infantry Division. Until October, the above was the only mutiny performed by a field unit on a hinterland mission.³²

On 20 May, one of the greatest mutinies broke out in Pécs. 500 former prisoners-of-war and 70 recruits of the 3rd Company of the 6th "common" Infantry Regiment's reserve battalion, which was mainly composed of Serbians, refused to line up in the morning and hailed peace. The soldiers ravaged the barracks and obtained weapons. A military police

30 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 315-319; Farkas: 138-139; Tóth: 103; Wassermair, Otto. *Die Meutereien der Heimkehrer aus russischen Kriegsgefangenschaft bei den Ersatzkörpern der k. u. k. Armee im Jahre 1918*. A Dissertation. (Vienna, 1968): 142-150.

31 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 320-322; Farkas: 144-145, 149; Tóth: 103-104; Wassermair: 151-154.

32 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 323; Farkas: 147-148; Tóth: 104.

company also took their side, and together they laid siege to the Frederick Barracks in town. After breaking the resistance of the 1st and 2nd Reserve Companies that were garrisoned there, they took the barracks and were joined by the former defenders. Two captured officers were killed. The mutineers also took and pillaged the Fehérvár Barracks, and then they occupied the railway station. In the morning, a field battalion of the Royal Hungarian 9th Infantry Regiment, the reserve battalion of the Royal Hungarian 19th Infantry Regiment, the reserve company of the Royal Hungarian 8th Hussar Regiment, as well as the Bosnian military police rifle units stationed in Siklós and Villány were placed under the command of Major General Rudolf Pillepi, military commandant of the town. The Royal Hungarian 9th Infantry Regiment, which had carried out requisitioning tasks in western Hungary, was also directed to Pécs. By noon, the infantry had captured the two barracks from the mutineers, and later the railway station, too. Consequently, the mutineers, whose number totalled about 1,500, barricaded themselves into the cemetery, and got in touch with those 150 miners who had been on strike in Pécsbányatelep since 19 May. The miners acquired guns from the mutineers and with those they disarmed the officers, and killed two of them. By the evening of 20, in an actual clash, the 9th Infantry had dispersed the rebels, who withdrew in three groups in the directions of Pécsbányatelep, Mohács and Némethboly. Until the morning of 21, 1,500 out of the 2,000 mutineers were caught. 3 officers and 11 soldiers of the policing troops of the Royal Hungarian 19th Infantry Regiment and the 6th "common" Infantry Regiment were killed and 21 injured, whereas 9 of the mutineers were killed and the number of those injured is unknown. On 5 June, another 169 soldiers of the 6th Infantry Regiment's reserve battalion were still hiding in Slavonia. The court-martial, which started its activity on 21 May, established that the leaders of the mutiny were mainly Serbian soldiers, many of whom considered themselves Bolsheviks. 13 soldiers and 2 miners of the 6th Infantry Regiment's reserve battalion were sentenced to death, 22 soldiers and 14 miners to 5-10 years' imprisonment. Until the middle of September, the court-martial sentenced another 2 soldiers and 2 miners to death, 23 soldiers and 6 miners to imprisonment. 2 officers and one NCO, as well as 5 guards of Pécsbányatelep were also found guilty.³³

On 24 August, the Royal Hungarian 15th Infantry Regiment's 7th Combat Company revolted while marching from Dombóvár to Kaposvár. At the station of Hidas-Bonyhád, the soldiers prevented the arrestment and tying up of two drunken NCOs by force of arms, and fired at one of the officers. By the time the 300 mutineers reached Kaposvár at 3 p.m., two and a half combat companies of the 44th "common" Infantry Regiment and a machine gun platoon had already been waiting for them at the emptied railway station. The mutineers were arrested and disarmed by the arriving military police troops, 11 leaders were taken into custody. The transport continued its journey in the evening of the same day under the supervision of a military police company of the 44th Infantry.³⁴

DEPLOYMENT AGAINST DESERTERS

The forests of Croatia and Slavonia had been a centre of deserters since March 1918.

33 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. I: 370-384; Farkas: 141-142; Tóth: 103; Wassermair: 232-252; Military Archives, Vienna: Estate B/201. No. 61.

34 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 61-62.

Deserters, who called themselves “The Green Cadre”, were organised in gangs and obtained their weapons from the military units that were sent to confront them. Their supplies were provided by the local population, whom they defended against requisition in several places.³⁵ There were lots of deserters hiding in Budapest, in Debrecen, in the Hungarian Plain, and in the regions of Szeged and Szabadka (Subotica), too. In the capital and its environs, the number of deserters was an estimated 50,000 from March 1918 to the end of the war.³⁶

During the first three months of 1918, 45,000 deserters were arrested in Hungary. At the end of the summer of 1918, their number reached 70,000 in Croatia and Bosnia; 60,000 in Hungary; and totalled 230,000 in the entire Monarchy. In accordance with the martial law, which came into force on 1 June, deserters had to be severely punished, as well as those civilians that hid them.³⁷

In August 1918, 49,921 soldiers were missing from the body of the infantry, 28,787 of whom were deserters; 16,162 were former prisoners-of-war who had not joined the army again; and 4,972 were arbitrarily absent.³⁸

In the early autumn of 1918, the number of deserters hiding in the hinterland was estimated at 600-800,000.³⁹ To reduce that number, the supreme command deployed the policing troops to carry out raids against the deserters. After the mutiny in Pécs, policing troops were reinforced in the region of Újvidék (Novi Sad) in particular. In the course of a major raid, which was carried out together with the gendarmerie between 10 and 20 June, 4,200 soldiers (most of them serving in the units of the field army) were deployed between the Danube and Tisza rivers. Altogether 11,016 people were arrested in the Ba ka, 5,070 of whom were deserters; 9 people were killed and another five seriously injured.⁴⁰

The Royal Hungarian 40th Infantry Division, which was under the command of Lieutenant General Pál Nagy and had carried out requisitioning tasks in Croatia since March, was primarily deployed to patrol and carry out raids against deserters from June. On the first occasion on 22 June, the battalions only combed the vicinity of their garrisons. 30 companies took part in the action and arrested 268 people. (134 of those arrested were former soldiers of the “common” army, 69 used to serve in the Royal Hungarian Army, 54 were of military age, and 11 had escaped from Russian captivity.) One man was killed and another injured. In the course of the second patrol between 23 and 30 June, 21 companies were deployed and 311 people were arrested in Szerém County. On the occasion of a minor raid on 27 June, seven companies caught 93 people. At the same time the number of deserters hiding in Croatia was estimated at 100,000 people.⁴¹ During the summer raids carried out against deserters and “The Green Cadre”, more than 10,000 people were arrested in the territory of Hungary.⁴²

At the end of July, the 22nd Infantry Regiment of the Royal Hungarian 38th Infantry Divi-

35 Farkas: 97.

36 Farkas: 98; Tóth: 102.

37 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 100-101.

38 Ibid: 70.

39 Tóth: 104.

40 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 95-97.

41 Ibid: 72-74.

42 Ibid: 95-97.

sion, which had been withdrawn from the Italian front, was placed in the region of Ruma in Syrmia. One of the regiment's battalions, reinforced by 50 gendarmes, caught 56 people in the vicinity of Ruma between 29 and 31 August. During the last great raid between mid-September and early October, only a few deserters were arrested. According to official sources, in September, there were 25,000 soldiers missing from the reserve units stationed in Croatia.⁴³

In the region of Temesvár (Timi oara), "The Green Cadre" beset the troops of the Arad garrison and the 8th (Lugos [Lugoj]) Reserve Battalion, which were sent to confront them. In Croatia, namely the regions of Károlyváros (Karlovac), Petrova, Gora and Ruma, deserters put the policing troops of the 70th Infantry Division to flight several times and kept the forests of the Fruska-Gora under their control.⁴⁴

THE ROLE OF THE POLICING TROOPS IN THE COURSE OF THE DISINTEGRATION OF THE AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN MONARCHY

On 23 October, in Fiume (Rijeka), the soldiers of a company of the Imperial and Royal 79th Infantry Regiment, 90% of whom were former prisoners-of-war, wanted to put out a Croatian flag on their barracks. The local police, joined by the Styrian 153rd *Landsturm* Infantry Battalion as policing troops, were deployed against them. They were disarmed by the rebels. The revolting soldiers, who were pillaging in town, could only be stopped by a volley of fire by further detailed policing units of the 153-ers, who barricaded themselves into their barracks. Pillage took place throughout the night. In the morning of 24, after the arrival of a 250 strong reinforcement group, the revolting combat company of 79-ers was disarmed, and the unit was shipped to Pola (Pula) the following day.⁴⁵ The Fiume (Rijeka) events stimulated mass desertion and pillage in Croatia. On 25 October, the participants of the Royal Hungarian Army's machine gun course in Pozsega (Slavonska Požega) armed themselves with weapons, left the barracks and started to pillage. By noon of 29 October, the military police battalions of the 65th and 26th "common" Infantry Regiments, together with two battalions of the 32nd Infantry Division had expelled from the town of Pozsega (Slavonska Požega) the rebels, deserters and the pillaging peasants that had joined them. On 28 October, the 65th "common" Infantry Regiment's military police battalion was deployed against rebels in a place called Nova Kapela. Order was only restored on 29, at a loss of 4 people, after the arrival of three companies of the 32nd Infantry Division. In Nova Gradiska, too, order was restored by three companies of the 65th Infantry Regiment. On 29 October, in Eszék (Osijek), the 26th "common" Infantry Regiment's military police battalion was deployed against the 23rd Rifle Regiment's revolting soldiers who mingled with the crowd. Six people were killed and many more were injured during the incident. The reserve battalions of the 78th "common" and 28th *Honvéd* Infantry Regiments, which were stationed in the same town, refused to obey orders.⁴⁶ On the following day, 150 soldiers pillaged and ravaged at the railway station of Brod, a place located on the Sava River.

At the end of October, a revolutionary movement started in Budapest. As a consequence

43 Ibid: 76-78.

44 Farkas: 195.

45 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 187-189; Farkas: 267-268; Tóth: 121.

46 Plaschka, Haselsteiner and Suppan. Vol. II: 190-196.

of the so-called “Chrysanthemum Revolution”, which caused reasonably few casualties, Count Mihály Károlyi formed his government on 1 November, which marked the beginning of a new political era. By the morning of 26 October, a Military Council had been set up, mostly comprising officers closely related to Károlyi’s party, and headed by Aviation Captain Imre Csernyák.

On 27 October, a crowd of 30,000 gathered outside the Parliament building to attend a meeting organised by the Hungarian National Council, which was established on 25 October. Eight military police companies were on alert.⁴⁷

More than 60% of the policing troops of the capital (the standing military police battalions of the 23rd and 32nd “common”, and the 5th and 29th *Honvéd* Infantry Regiments; two companies of the 3rd Bosnian Infantry Regiment; and a further 61 companies ready to be deployed) were composed of Hungarians. The policing troops in Budapest were commanded by Lieutenant General Géza Lukachich, the military and (from 25 October) the military police commandant of the capital, who made every effort to control the event and to maintain order.⁴⁸

The Hungarian National Council organised a demonstration to be held on the Chain Bridge on 28, in support of Mihály Károlyi’s election as prime minister. In the first of three lines of the security cordon formed on the bridge, the soldiers of the Royal Hungarian 5th Infantry Regiment were standing, who, despite their officers’ orders, were unable to stop the crowd. The policemen standing in the second line, however, opened fire and dispersed the crowd with the support of the gendarmerie.⁴⁹

In the afternoon of 29 October, by order of Lukachich, a military police company entered a meeting of the Military Council by force, and arrested 20 young officers and several soldiers who were present. They were court-martialled. On the same day, the headquarters of the National Council in Hotel Astoria was also searched, two officers were arrested.

On 30 October, three companies of the Royal Hungarian 1st and the Imperial and Royal 32nd Infantry Regiments joined the demonstrators at the Eastern Railway Station. On the following day, they occupied the military garrison headquarters in the Lobkowitz Barracks. The military police company present at the incident did not intervene. On the contrary, 300 soldiers garrisoned in the barracks, as well as the standby troops of the 32nd “common” Infantry Regiment joined the demonstrators.⁵⁰

On the same day, two Bosnian military police companies that had been sent to recapture the Lobkowitz Barracks also revolted. Their action against the headquarters of the National Council earlier that day was also a failure.⁵¹

During the last days of October and the first days of November, there were clashes between the military police and soldiers, as well as civilians in several locations in the countryside, too. On 31 October, in Eperjes (Prešov), the soldiers of the 67th “common” Infantry Regiment’s reserve battalion joined a demonstrating crowd of 3,000, and went pillaging in

47 Ibid: 256.

48 Ibid: 251-253.

49 Ibid: 258-259.

50 Ibid: 268-269.

51 Ibid: 270-271.

the town. In the morning of 1 November, the reserve units of the Imperial and Royal 32nd Field Rifle Battalion and the Royal Hungarian 3rd Artillery Regiment set up officers' detachments comprising 5-10 people. By force of arms, the detachments stopped the soldiers from pillaging. A few soldiers were killed, hundreds of them arrested. The officer's court-martial sentenced over a hundred soldiers to death, 34 of whom were shot. That afternoon, two *Honvéd* companies marched into the town, and order was restored.⁵²

On 1 November, on the arrival of their train in Temesvár (Timi oara), the revolting Czech dragoons of the Imperial and Royal 4th Cavalry Division, together with Russian prisoners-of-war that they had armed, opened fire at the Central Railway Station and intended to march into the town. Lieutenant Colonel Albert Bartha, the military commissioner of the newly established Council of the People of the Banat, and former chief of staff of the Temesvár (Timi oara) military headquarters, detailed the boarders of the local military cadet school to drive back the revolting soldiers, which they did with success.⁵³

On 2 November, a Military Council was set up in Nagyszeben (Sibiu), too, and took an oath to the Hungarian National Council. That evening, the soldiers of the 82nd "common" and 23rd *Honvéd* Infantry Regiments were looting together with the crowd, and the military police unit of the 82-ers failed to bring the events to an end.⁵⁴

52 Ibid: 286-288.

53 Ibid: 284-285.

54 Ibid: 280-281.

Italian military occupation of the Slovene ethnic territory during World War One

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Slovene participation in the Great War (1914-1918) is a classical “case study” of how a nation or a community experienced and survived a war, since even the most superficial consideration of the roles played by the inhabitants of the Slovene provinces of Carniola, Styria, Carinthia and Littoral at the beginning of the World War provides firm evidence to support their complete involvement in various combat and non-combat situations.

On 23 May 1915 the Italian government and on behalf of the King declared to the Austrian ambassador in Rome that from the following day forward Italy would be in a state of war with Austria-Hungary. With the Italian declaration of war on its former ally, the Italian army began to realise the Italian political irredentistic and military plans that had been made in the Supreme Command of the Italian army from its creation in 1882 onwards. The north-eastern border of Italy had always presented a geographic and political- strategic problem, since in the search for the ideal border or in confirmation of historical choices, neither geographical nor political theory had confirmed or demonstrated its utility. Those who claimed that land borders between states are set to mark the end of the authority of one and the start of authority of another state, and so borders are not dependent on nature but on popular will and are thus as changeable and imperfect as is human nature, were for the most part right. So the north-eastern Italian border had shifted, because of physical and ethnic diversity, mainly in relation to the fortune of the states that it had to separate, and thus a series of remnants was left in So a (It. Isonzo) valley and Friuli.

When the Great War broke out on 3 August 1914 Italy had declared its neutrality (despite having signed an alliance treaty with Austria-Hungary and Germany), thus avoiding military engagement for a little less than a year. Both the central empires and the Entente Powers conducted secret diplomatic negotiations in an effort to swing Italy to their side. The Entente ultimately succeeded on 26 April by signing a secret agreement with Italy, the so-called Treaty of London, promising it Tyrol to the Brenner, Trieste, Gorizia (Slov. Gorica) and Gradisca, the Tarvisio basin, part of Carniola to the watershed between the Sava river and the Adriatic (the Triglav–Snežnik direction), Istria to Kvarner (Volosko), the islands of Cres and Lošinj with their neighbouring islands, northern Dalmatia with its islands, the islands of Sasena and Valona, the Dodecanese archipelago near the coast of Asia Minor and an appropriate share of potential territorial gains in Asia Minor and Africa. On 4 May 1915 Italy withdrew from the Triple Alliance and started feverish preparations for the war. According to Italian strategic plans, the Italian army was to penetrate Carinthia through the Drava valley; seize the Upper Sava valley and the Ljubljana basin by crossing the So a; take control of Trieste; advance towards Zagreb through Postojna and to Rijeka through Istria; and complete the triumphant

march in Budapest. But, ultimately, the So a basin became the central battlefield of Italian campaign.

When Italy declared war on Austria-Hungary, the war had already been underway for almost a year and the Austro-Hungarian army was fighting on two battle fronts. The former ally now opened yet another European battlefield – the South Western or Italian-Austrian front. At a length of 600 km, it stretched from the Stelvio Pass on the Swiss-Italian-Austrian border, through Tyrol, Carnia, the So a basin, and down to the Adriatic Sea. The most important battlefield between Italy and Austria-Hungary was a 90 km long southern branch of the front that cut into Slovene ethnic territory, the so-called So a Front. This was the Austrian defensive line, that started at Mount Rombon (2208 m), whence it descended through the mountains along the left bank of the So a river, traversed the Banjšice Plateau and continued along the foot of the Kras Plateau to the Adriatic Sea at the mouth of the river Timavo (Slov. Timav). Austro-Hungarian units that engaged the Italian army served under Archduke Eugen, the commander of the South Western Front with his seat in Maribor, whose chief of staff was General Alfred Krauss. The Austro-Hungarian army on the So a was under the command of Svetozar Boroevič von Bojna, commander (finally promoted to Field Marshall) of the 5th Army, also known as the “Lion of the So a”. Count General Luigi Cadorna served as the Italian chief of staff, whereas the command on the So a Front was taken over by General Duca d’Aosta (3rd Army) and General Pietro Frugoni (2nd Army).

The So a Front was the stage of 12 offensives, of which eleven were unleashed by the Italian army and the last one by the Austrian and German forces, after which the front “withdrew” from the Slovenian territory. The eleven battles brought Italy no major triumph; with the only two exceptions being the 6th battle (6–17 August 1916), when the Italians seized control over Gorizia and the Doberdob Plateau and, even more so, the 11th battle (17 August – 15 September 1917), the last Italian offensive on the So a, when in an attempt to make a decisive breakthrough on the So a Front, the Italian army pounced upon it with all its military might. The Italian army penetrated some 10 km deep into the Austrian defence positions.

The Italian military success in the 11th battle of the So a on the Banjšice Plateau posed a real threat to completely obliterate the Austrian defence lines on the So a Front in the ensuing offensive. Therefore it was already during the 11th battle that the preparations started to launch an Austrian-German offensive or the 12th battle of the So a (24 October – 27 October 1917). Because the Austrian units were severely undermanned, Emperor Charles I sought succour from his war ally, German Emperor William II. The planned breakthrough, also known as Loyalty in Arms (Ger. *Waffentreue*), was prepared by the German General Kraft von Dellmensingen. The breakthrough was to be made in the Upper So a Valley, between Bovec and Tolmin. Its main trumps were the element of surprise, the use of gas and a swift action of combined infantry and artillery forces. The 12th battle of the So a was launched on 24 October 1917 at 2 a.m. by releasing a thick cloud of poisonous gas over the Italian trenches supported by a heavy barrage of artillery fire pounding from 2,000 cannons and 1,000 mortars. On 27 October, the commander of the Italian army ordered a withdrawal to the Tagliamento river, but in the ensuing days the Italian army retreated all the way to the Piave river. The battles on the So a took around 1.5 million casualties, 187,000 of whom were fallen.

In the spring of 1915, people of So a valley and Friuli, despite the whispering, the unrest in official institutions and numerous guesses, still hoped for peace, or simply didn't think at all, that war between Italy and Austro-Hungary was thinkable. The short, mild winter and the coming of spring had raised hopes that the war would be over by summer. Even the fortification works along the border with Italy did not convince the people of So a valley that Italy was prepared for war against Austro-Hungary. This could be explained by the ignorance and even self-deception of the population by their boundless faith in German and Austrian weapons, which self-evidently excluded the possibility of an Italian war with them. It was even more likely that people just didn't want to believe that the Alliance would fight. However, the numerous arrests and stricter control by the Austrian police, especially of Italian (and Slovene) citizens, strengthened the foreboding that links between allies were crumbling.

On 23 May 1915, the people who lived along the So a river awaited the war in their backyards. World War I met with a peculiar response from the population, which experienced it from the immediate vicinity of the front lines. It may be said to have been a local event of global repercussions; forced to move constantly, the inhabitants were filled with anxiety and compelled to make collective and individual decisions that shook the steadfast foundations of the world as they knew it. The totality of war unleashed its destructive potential most effectively on border areas, where the national identity of these territories came most to the fore. The Slovene population faced two types of emigration during World War I, one involved men aged between 18 and 50 were dispersed across numerous fronts, on the other hand, there were exiled families that were scattered across the Empire and the Kingdom of Italy respectively. Mobilisation and the militarization of everyday life were followed by expulsion and homelessness.

The beginning of hostilities on the So a Front unleashed a widespread civilian migration in retreat from the Italian advance towards the so-called "redeemed" provinces and the occupation of ethnic territories that did not belong to Italy but were nevertheless regarded as a crucial strategic and security asset. The direction of evacuation was determined by the front line. The Austrian government evacuated the Slovene population (approximately 80,000) from the left flank of the front to Carniola, Lower Styria and Carinthia, as well as to refugee camps in Lower Austria, while 10,000 – 12,000 Slovenes were transported to the Kingdom of Italy.¹ The next wave of refugees came in the wake of the Italian occupation of Gorizia in August 1916. In 1917 another two refugee waves followed the Italian victories on the Banjšice plateau in August and their breakthrough towards Bovec and Tolmin in October; however, in this case the refugees were Friulians. The end of the war triggered yet another wave of Slovene refugees who, after Italy had re-acquired the Slovene territories, fled to the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

At the dawn of 24 May 1915 the Italian Army made the first offensive move – *il primo balzo offensivo* and crossed the Italian-Austrian border. The Italian occupation of Friuli and the So a basin progressed smoothly, without much resistance from the Austro-Hungarian army – and also without much of the expected enthusiasm among the local population.²

1 Petra Svoljšak, La popolazione civile nella zona di guerra. In: Camillo Pavan, Caporetto. Storia, Testimonianze, itinerary. Camillo Pavan, Treviso 1997, pp. 242 – 263.

2 About the occupation and the administration see: Petra Svoljšak, So a, sveta reka. Italijanska zasedba slo-

The occupied Slovene territory (between Austro-Italian border and the So a) was part of the military territory that included also Italian provinces in a state of war, the Adriatic coastal municipalities and islands, and fortresses that Italian Ministry of War specified as defensive. The military territory was divided into territory of military operations, hinterland and provinces in a state of war which were not included in either the operational zone or hinterland areas. Fighting took place within the operational zone, and military units lived in it. The hinterland was land in which military units were accommodated that were not at the front and in which supply took place. The Slovene territory that the Italian army occupied belonged administratively within the County of Gorizia – gradisca, with a population according to the 1910 census of 260,749. According to that census, the occupied Slovene municipalities had a population of 27,834.

In the territories of the Kingdom of Italy where a state of war had been proclaimed and in those that were occupied by the Italian army, political and administrative authority was in the hands of the Supreme Command of the Italian army. Besides performing exclusively military operations, the Supreme Command was also charged with remedying the situation in the occupied areas, ensuring law and order and the safety of military routes, helping the civilian population and local authorities as well as facilitating or even enabling the normal functioning of public services. The Supreme Command assumed direct control and responsibility over the organisation of public services by establishing the General Secretariat for Civil Affairs (It. *Segretariato Generale per gli Affari Civili*) on 29 May 1915. The General Secretariat had its seat in Udine and was run by the prefect Agostino d' Adamo and his deputy Carlo Galli, a diplomat, former Consul General in Trieste and a great authority on conditions in Venezia Giulia. It employed a large number of irredentists who wanted to take an active part in solving the problem of the unredeemed provinces.

The instructions in principles of the Supreme Command complied with Article 43 of the Hague Conventions from 1907,³ which recognised the right of the occupying force to undertake to protect public order and the safety of public life by all possible means. The Hague Conventions lay down that all measures, as well as the state of military occupation, were to be provisional. The Hague Conventions determined that one of the basic conditions for the validity of occupation is actual authority of the occupying army over specific territory, which during World War I were simultaneously a right and an obligation. In spite of the right to exercise authority, it was undisputed in this period that occupied territories were foreign territories in which the occupant was not allowed to introduce his own legislation except in order to establish order and peace. The occupant was supposed to base his actions on the interests of the occupied territories. He was not allowed to collect taxes, introduce contributions and requisitions, and could encroach on state and not on private property. The inhabitants of the occupied territory during occupation were allowed to retain their citizenship, therefore the population was not required to swear allegiance to the occupier, but it was obliged to obey

venskega ozemlja 1915 – 1917 (So a, the Sacred River. Italian occupation of the Slovene territory 1915 – 1917). Nova revija, Ljubljana 2003; Petra Svoljšak, la popolazione civile nella Slovenia occupata. In: La violenza contro la popolazione civile nella Grande Guerra. (A cura di Bruna Bianchi), Edizioni Unicopli, Venezia 2006, pp. 147 – 164; Petra Svoljšak, L'occupazione italiana dell'Isontino dal maggio 1915 all'ottobre 1917 e gli Sloveni. In: Qualestoria, 1998, n.1-2, pp.33 – 63.

3 <http://www.yale.edu/lawweb/avalon/lawofwar/hague02.htm>

and adhere to the occupier's decrees. In certain articles, especially as concerns the relation of the civilian population to the occupant, the Hague rules were clear and unequivocal. Many articles, though, were open to various interpretations, which the Italian occupying authorities exploited to their own benefit on Slovene occupied territories. In deliberate violation of the basic rule of the Hague Conventions, that the occupation is temporary, the Italian government clearly shown through the occupying authorities that it intended to remain in the occupied territories after the end of the victorious war against Austria-Hungary.

However, these instructions could only apply to general, basic and (as it turned out in the case of the Italian occupation) theoretical conditions, since it was the opinion of the Italian authorities that they did not entirely meet the needs of the then state of war and the occupation.⁴ Precisely the intention that the occupied territories would remain under Italian authority led the later to the introduction of measures of a permanent character. The Italian Supreme Command concluded that public life had in its entirety (administration, public offices and public services) come to a halt. This situation resulted from the absence of the most distinguished personalities and a major part of the civilian population due to mobilisation and the Austrian and Italian internments, as well as to the voluntary or inevitable emigration of the Slovene (and Friulian) population. The public administration measures taken by the Italian authorities were also based on a belief that Venezia Giulia and Trent were not foreign territories to be strategically occupied during the war but part of Italian national territory in enemy hands which should be redeemed and returned to the nation once and for all. These were the so-called unredeemed provinces (*terre irredente*).

To comply with international rules, the Italians essentially retained the Austrian administrative system and Austrian public offices. Slovene territory was divided under two civilian commissariats. The sphere of the judiciary remained unchanged, which was due to the internal disagreement in relation to the competencies of the military and civilian judicial bodies and legislation.

A first decisive security measure taken by the Italian military authorities was the evacuation, mainly on security grounds, of the Slovene population living within 500 m of the operational zone of the So a Front. Ten to twelve thousand Slovenes were moved to Italian towns. The evacuation was most often made in great haste and without prior notice. The refugees usually arrived at rest stops in trains equipped with disinfection facilities, because they came from an area stricken by contagious epidemics which had broken out under the unhealthy conditions of occupation or through contact with Austrian soldiers retreating from the Eastern Front. The refugees were therefore vaccinated against cholera and dysentery in Udine and Palmanova. They were then divided into groups and taken to various Italian towns where they came under the responsibility of the Italian Ministry of the Interior.

The refugee experiences were diverse, multifaceted and so complex that they deserve treatment from various perspectives. One can surely draw some parallels between their accounts, such as their fear on the eve of the war, their chaotic plight, their arrival in unknown places, countless predicaments, their hope and despair, and the first families returning to their destroyed homes. The scattered population was under extreme pressure and duress as a

4 R. Esercito Italiano. Comando Supremo. Segretariato Generale per gli Affari Civili, La gestione dei servizi civili. Relazione, I, Longo, Treviso [1916], p.9

result of their tumultuous expulsion, without any material and organisational support. They had to adjust to hitherto unknown living conditions pulling them into economic and social dependency. The story of refugees became a story of social differences and relations and, by transplanting them into a foreign environment, also a story of national, cultural and linguistic differences. Refugees lived in constant uncertainty about what had happened and what still lay ahead; they were overwhelmed by anxiety, hope and constant thought about the times before the war and about what might lie in store afterwards. They had to grow accustomed to a new environment, confront a “new” life strewn with suffering, sacrifice and courage, embrace harsh living conditions and struggle to survive.

During the first days of the occupation the Italian administration focused primarily on security considerations, including the expatriation, arrest and internment of Slovene (and Friulian) officials and priests whose positions and influence might prove detrimental to the authorities and shift the population’s loyalty away from the occupying forces. The obvious suspects were usually men aged between 18 and 50. In the initial stage of the occupation the Italian army therefore arrested and interned 18 Slovene priests for security and political reasons on charges of “Faiduttianism”,⁵ “Austriacantism”⁶ and Slavophilism. The priests were taken to Cremona in Lombardy, from where they were deported to Italian towns and islands in September. The remaining suspects were driven to internment camps in Sardinia; by the end of 1917 2,226 Austro-Hungarian citizens were interned in Sardinia.

The Italian army was diligently executing the orders of its Supreme Commander that all violations be punished with exemplary severity. They took especially severe measures against the population living at the foot of Mt. Krn, where bitter fighting took place in late May and early June 1915. On 4 June 1915, in (unjust) retaliation for its military failures and perhaps also as a warning against collaboration with the enemy, it decimated the civilian population from the Slovene villages under Mt. Krn. Therefore on 4 June 1915 the carabinieri searched all local houses from top to bottom and drove all 61 men from their homes. The farmers were then taken across the Soča, where the Italian soldiers had them placed in line and shot every tenth man. The remaining population was deported to Italy. On the Italian-Austrian Front, the Italian army also decimated the civilian population as early as 29 May 1915 at the Friulian village of Villesse.

Church affairs on the occupied territories were taken over by Italian army curates appointed by the Italian authorities. Some Slovene priests were allowed to remain in their parishes, but their work was carefully supervised.

The Italian authorities were very active in the sphere of social care. The Italian government adopted a decree by which it decided to continue payment support to families of Austro-Hungarian soldiers who lived on the occupied territory, as well as the families of those interned by the Austrian authorities, which also applied for refugee families. Support was also continued to the families of Austro-Hungarian soldiers who, because of invalidity and military incapacity, had been sent home to the Italian occupation zone, and the families of fallen or missing Austro-Hungarian soldiers. Thus, Italian occupational authorities pursued

5 The term derives from a pejorative name for a member or sympathiser of the Friuli Catholic People’s Party led by Mgr. Luigi Faidutti (1861 – 1931).

6 The term derives from a pejorative name for the loyalty of the Habsburg crown.

an active social policy that brought considerable benefits to the population, as were besides above mentioned, regular supplies of everyday necessities and food, an active health care network, which alleviated war-related afflictions.

In economy, agriculture and finance, the Italian administration soon progressed from provisional measures to introducing the same legislation and tax system that applied throughout Italian territory, thus clearly violating the international law of war. The Italian currency was introduced and it gradually took place of the old Austrian crown. Economic life was almost extinguished on the occupied Slovene territory because of the war, cultivated areas were abandoned and there was a lack of labour force. Thus the Italian authorities organised contracts workers and arranged the requisitions of facilities, machinery, draught animals and everything needed for agricultural activity.

In the areas of public life, where there was expression of ethnic affiliation of the occupied territory and the composition of its population was clearly non-Italian, the occupying authorities intervened with firm hand and entirely lost sight of the Hague principles. The underlying task of the Italian authorities, in addition to dealing with current administrative and public matters, was to prepare the occupied territory for the time when it would be included in the Kingdom of Italy. Thus language and its use in public life became the basic tool of a gradual but steady conjoining of public administrative life with that of Italy. The language used by public officials in the occupied Slovene territories was Italian. From the very start, orders of the Supreme Command and documents of the civilian authorities were written in Italian. The intention of the Italians to remain on the Slovene lands after the war did not appear only in the relation to Italian official business but mainly in renaming or adapting Slovene personal and family names and Slovene place names to Italian orthography and spelling. The later was the task of the so-called Toponymics Commission of the General Secretariat for Civil Affairs, which changed or adjusted Slovene place names, the names of Slovene rivers and mountains, even the names of public roads and streets. At the end of 1917, a draft book of 2500 place names of the entire province, also of the cisalpine part of Carniola, part of the Trieste district and the land of Istria.

Another extremely sensitive area dealt with by the Italian administration was education, as the aim of the occupation regime was to introduce Italian schools and the Italian educational system. Since educational facilities were state-run institutions, the language of instruction was Italian. The Italian administration made a complete break from the previous Austrian system and, besides completely reorganising the school system, introduced Italian curricula, Italian as the language of the state and of instruction (whereas in occupied Belgium the Walloon and Flemish parts retained their own languages, cultures and traditions) and Italian national holidays as part of everyday school life. In November 1916, a army chaplain Giovanni Semeria proposed the introduction of bilingual schools in Slovene places of the Venezia Giulia, but the authorities rejected his proposal. A specific wartime combination of kindergarten education and traditional elementary school instruction was created (education – recreation schools), guided by Italian soldier - teachers who were helped by the Slovene teachers - refugee. The education programme approximated to school studies, but particularly its socialisation mission, through games, women's and hand work, physical education, singing, walks, storytelling etc. was strengthened towards familiarisation with Italian tradi-

tion and culture and the Italian language. Study was enriched by abundant school meals, and occasionally gifts were distributed among children, mainly Italian books, clothes and shoes. During the days of war, such an approach met with satisfaction among the terrified and uncertain population, although it concealed a more devious aim, i.e. gradual preparation to Italian schools.

The 12th Soča offensive in October 1917, in which the joint Austro-German army pressed Italian army to the Piave, interrupted for a year the operation of the Italian administration in the occupied Slovene lands. The black and yellow Austrian and Slovene national flags again flew at the end of October. This event gave the opportunity to the people to return to their homes. Regardless that they had nothing left, that their villages were pillaged and burnt down, and their fields were trampled down, the people were nevertheless filled with relief.

The battles in the Soča area left in its trail indescribable devastation. Out of 107 Slovenian municipalities 33 were razed to the ground; 35 were severely destroyed; 50 were completely plundered; and 25 stood partly ravaged. 28,000 buildings were damaged: 8,994 were completely and 3,747 severely destroyed; another 14,736 buildings were looted. Industrial plants and facilities in the Trieste and Gorizia areas were destroyed; in Trieste the war left the heaviest toll on trade and port traffic. Already in 1919, immediately after the occupation, the Italian government issued a law on the compensation for war damages that was granted only to a fistful of Slovenes. The reparation of war damage, especially in agriculture, was a slow and never fully completed process.

On the 3rd November 1918 the Italian army returned to the Slovene (former Austro-Hungarian) territory and seized it in compliance with the Treaty of London's stipulations, pushing the border further eastwards. In the summer of 1919 the military administration gave way to a civil administration. And finally, when the Treaty of Rapallo concerning the border between the Kingdom of Italy and the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was signed on 12 November 1920, these territories were ultimately annexed to the Kingdom of Italy. The general enthusiasm over war's ending and the return home faded.

A particularly noteworthy fact is that the Italian occupation of Slovene territory during World War I showed that, even though international law held that an occupying state could not make any claims on the territories under direct occupation, the situation in practice spoke more in favour of those states which seized enemy territories either by themselves or with their allies' assistance.

Civili e militari italiani in Spagna durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale: i servizi d'informazione*

FERNANDO GARCÍA SANZ

Abbiamo già esposto schematicamente altrove le ragioni in base alle quali gli alleati si proposero di creare, in Spagna, alcune “strutture di informazione” che fossero in grado di rispondere efficacemente al ruolo che il Paese iberico stava assumendo a fronte delle nuove prospettive apertesi dagli sviluppi della guerra, soprattutto a partire dall'autunno del 1915, e cioè, dal prolungarsi indefinito del conflitto e dalla nuova strategia navale intrapresa dalla Germania¹. Come per altrettanti e diversi aspetti della Prima Guerra Mondiale, nasceva, infatti, la necessità, anche sul terreno dell'informazione, di dare una risposta rapida a un'esigenza che non era stata prevista, anzi, che non era stata nemmeno contemplata in via ipotetica. Risultava perciò tutto un po' improvvisato e si dovette aspettare qualche tempo prima di poter mettere a punto uno strumento capace di assicurare i fini proposti.

Si era stati talmente lontani anche solo dall'immaginare che la Spagna fosse potuta diventare un soggetto di rilievo nelle dinamiche del conflitto che, tra febbraio e giugno del 1915, il generale Cadorna si era impegnato a lasciare vacante, anzi addirittura a far scomparire del tutto, il posto di Addetto Militare dell'Ambasciata d'Italia a Madrid, a ragione – così motivava – dell'irrelevanza dell'incarico, cioè della stessa Spagna da un punto di vista strettamente militare. Aveva allora colto l'opportunità offerta dalla promozione dell'allora capitano Maurizio Marsengo, a capo di quell'ufficio, per farlo rientrare in Italia e lasciare il posto senza copertura. Solo in risposta alle richieste dell'Ambasciatore Lelio Bonin Longare, Cadorna concesse di conservare sul posto il Marsengo nonostante la promozione, seppur in maniera provvisoria e mettendo tuttavia ben in chiaro che lo si consentiva per ragioni esclusivamente diplomatiche, non militari, e che comunque alla prima occasione si sarebbe portato a termine il progetto di rimpatrio e di cessazione dell'incarico². É per questo motivo che Marsengo, dietro propria richiesta, lasciò Madrid nel mese di giugno per incorporarsi a un posto di combattimento, ed è per lo stesso motivo che non si ebbe troppa fretta di nominare un sostituto. Solo a settembre arrivò in Spagna con l'incarico di aggregato il Conte Giuseppe Sannazzaro, capitano di complemento dell'Arma di cavalleria³.

* Questo studio è parte del progetto di ricerca (MEC, HUM2006-01933/HIST) *Contraespionaje, seguridad y relaciones internacionales en España durante la Primera Guerra Mundial*.

1 Vid. García Sanz, Fernando, “Información, espionaje y contraespionaje en España durante la Primera Guerra Mundial: esquema del modelo italiano”, in *Revista de Historia Militar*, a. XLIX (2005, N° Extraordinario), pp. 147-178.

2 Bonin avvertì della ripercussione che questa misura avrebbe avuto in Spagna, dal momento che nemmeno i belligeranti avevano ritirato la propria rappresentanza militare presente a Madrid e, soprattutto, dell'effetto che avrebbe suscitato in Alfonso XIII. Vid. Archivio del Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (AUSSME), F-1 fondo *Comando Supremo-vari uffici*, b. 249, fasc. 4.

3 Giuseppe Sannazzaro Natta rivestì l'incarico di aggregato militare a Madrid dal settembre del 1915 a luglio del 1918. Promosso Maggiore per “meriti speciali” nel 1917, nel maggio 1918 richiese e gli fu concesso di entrare in una unità di combattimento al fronte. Sulle qualità che doveva possedere un aggregato militare a

D'altro canto, ciò che abbiamo chiamato "improvvisazione" trovava la sua ragion d'essere nella convinzione generalizzata che la guerra sarebbe stata breve e che, per il caso italiano, non sarebbe durata ancora molto dopo l'estate. Invece, durante il *funereo autunno* di quell'anno, svanirono le possibilità di una guerra *breve e vittoriosa*, come si era creduto in base ai calcoli e alle speranze del Presidente del Governo Antonio Salandra, un sentimento che per altro quest'ultimo aveva saputo trasmettere anche ad una parte importante della nazione⁴. Viceversa, si apriva lo scenario di una guerra senza un termine prevedibile, anzi, di una guerra lunga. Era quella, indubbiamente, una constatazione dolorosa, peraltro con implicazioni di gran rilevanza perché se l'Italia aveva voluto raffigurarsi come partecipe di una guerra esclusiva, di ambito "nazionale", doveva invece adesso sforzarsi di entrare nello stato mentale di una guerra "totale", nella quale, anzitutto, sarebbe stato assai difficile mantenere la neutralità con la Germania e dove invece si faceva oltremodo necessario stabilire una relazione più stretta con gli alleati sotto ogni aspetto, anche in Spagna.

In quel periodo, l'idea che la Spagna venisse utilizzata come base dai sottomarini tedeschi era ormai vecchia e si potrebbe persino affermare che si era trasformata in un luogo comune tra i paesi alleati e tra alcuni paesi neutrali, come era l'Italia ai primi di maggio del 1915. Il 9 di quel mese, il ministro degli Affari Esteri, Sidney Sonnino, su istanza del viceammiraglio Leone Viale, ministro di Marina, scriveva a Bonin affinché mettesse in atto una vigilanza speciale per il controllo delle acque prospicienti le Isole Baleari⁵:

"Ministero della Marina ritenendo che le Isole Baleari possano offrire buoni punti di rifornimenti ai sommergibili di gran tonnellaggio che dal Mare del Nord venissero nel Mediterraneo, rappresenta opportunità di assicurarsi mediante ispezione del Regio Consolato a Barcellona della attitudine e diligenza degli Agenti Consolari nelle Baleari ed avvertirci prontamente degli approdi o rifornimenti clandestini che colà avvenissero. Prego V.E. provvedere in questo senso ed autorizzo spese necessarie".

Il generico potenziamento della vigilanza sulle acque dell'arcipelago mediterraneo si tradusse, data la situazione già di stato di belligeranza dell'Italia, in misure concrete quali l'invio di un agente – il primo italiano che giunse in Spagna con tale incarico – durante il mese di luglio del 1915. Erano i primi tentativi, oltremodo candidi, visto che risulta piuttosto

Madrid e sulle ragioni dell'invio del Sannazzaro, vid. AUSSME, G-29 *Addetti Militari*, b. 11, rapporto n° 1091, Comando del Corpo di Stato Maggiore, Riparto Operazioni, al Comando Supremo, Roma, 5 giugno 1915, *Addetto Militare alla Regia Ambasciata di Madrid*.

4 Si veda al proposito Antonio Fiori, "Crisi e caduta del secondo governo Salandra", in *Rassegna Storica del Risorgimento*, a. XC, f. IV (ottobre-dicembre 2003), pp. 537-574. Dopo la III^a battaglia dell'Isonzo, alla fine di ottobre, le perdite accumulate dall'Esercito italiano dall'inizio della guerra, senza contare i prigionieri, ammontavano già a 62.000 morti e 170.000 feriti. In cambio, gli avanzamenti erano stati minimi. Questo dato era messo in rilievo dal quotidiano di Madrid *La Correspondencia de España*, del 7 novembre del 1915, nel suo articolo di fondo "Los italianos", laddove affermava: "Los italianos habían dado por terminada provisionalmente su campaña. No han tomado Riva, Rovereto, Trento, Tarvis, Tolmino ni Gorizia. No han ocupado Trieste ni desembarcado en la península de Istria. No han sitiado Cattaro (...) No han llevado la guerra a la Dalmacia occidental. No han hecho nada de lo que se creía".

5 Archivio Storico Diplomatico Ministero Affari Esteri (ASDMAE), Archivio Politico Ordinario e di Gabinetto (APOG), b. 96, Telegramma in partenza (Tp) n° 342 Riservato Speciale.

difficile immaginare che una sola persona potesse vigilare su di uno spazio geografico così vasto e dispersivo, senza mezzi idonei, per quanto potesse appoggiarsi sui servizi consolari francesi ed inglesi presenti sul territorio. Appare ad ogni modo interessante evidenziare che il primo uomo inviato in missione informativa fu un civile che, così come ordinava Sonnino a Riccardo Vittorio Motta, Console a Barcellona, avrebbe dovuto restare nella illusione di lavorare per il Ministero degli Esteri e non per la Marina, come invece era⁶:

“Le comunico che per indagare (barrato nell’originale: *organizzare servizio informazioni*) circa rifornimenti sommergibili avversari su coste o porti spagnuoli Ministero Marina ha disposto invio presso codesto Consolato agente segreto Federico Nonino (*sic*), ex capitano marittimo e detective privato il quale però ignora e deve ignorare trovarsi servizio Ministero Marina e ricevette incarico da Agenzia Informazioni Giusti. Bonino sarà alla dipendenza di V.I. cui comunicherà ogni notizia raccolta per la loro trasmissione a questo ministero”

Nonostante questi precedenti, non si può dire che alla fine del 1915 si fosse sviluppata una coscienza molto più chiara del panorama con il quale ci si doveva confrontare, a parte l’aver ben chiaro sia i limiti di un sistema d’informazione “tradizionale” che funzionasse attraverso i canali della rete consolare, sia la necessità di dotarsi di una struttura e di risorse che fossero all’altezza degli obiettivi postisi. L’operazione non sarebbe stata affatto semplice perché la creazione di un servizio d’informazione *ex-novo* avrebbe risentito per molti mesi della mancanza d’esperienza, della scarsa o del tutto assente conoscenza della realtà spagnola e, soprattutto dell’ignoranza del livello di organizzazione che da tempo avevano già raggiunto i nemici proprio nella penisola iberica. Il processo fu lungo, e furono necessari un paio di mesi solo per tracciare uno schema sommario del sistema di funzionamento, schema che in pratica finì trasformandosi, cambiando del tutto in modo pressoché improvviso e con successive variazioni in corso d’opera – in realtà adattamenti – per tutta la durata della Grande Guerra⁷.

Prendendo come esempio il modello che volevano introdurre i francesi, gli italiani decisero di creare la figura dell’Aggregato Navale presso l’ambasciata a Madrid in maniera che, insieme all’Aggregato Militare, si creasse un doppio profilo confluyente in un *Ufficio Militare* dal quale, all’interno della stessa Ambasciata, si coordinasse l’impegno del servizio d’informazione: l’Esercito restava incaricato del controspionaggio e della propaganda vera e propria, mentre la Marina avrebbe dovuto stabilire un “*servizio di informazioni e sorveglianza costiera*”⁸. Tra fine febbraio e l’inizio di marzo del 1916, il sistema fu dato per allestito. Per parte della Marina in Spagna si volle il capitano di corvetta Filippo Camperio, il quale, nel dicembre del 1915, aveva portato a termine una missione di coordinamento a Gibilterra

6 ASDMAE, APOG, conflitto europeo, b. 229, Tp, n° 489, Roma 5 de julio de 1915. Federico Maria Luigi Bonino (Milano, 1880) prese servizio al suo incarico quello stesso luglio, e rimase a Maiorca fino al gennaio 1917 quando fu trasferito ad Alicante, da dove fu rimpatriato nell’aprile di quell’anno perchè lo si giudicò un agente “bruciato”. Fino alla creazione del servizio d’informazione in Spagna rimase ufficialmente alle dipendenze del ministero degli Affari Esteri, con il quale manteneva i contatti sotto il nome in codice *Louis Thomas*.

7 Sul processo di costituzione del servizio d’informazione italiano in Spagna, si veda García Sanz, op. cit.

8 Archivio Ufficio Storico Stato Maggiore della Marina (AUSSMM), Cartella 650, fasc. 2, n° 036221, Roma 16 febbraio 1916, Ministro di Marina a Ministro degli Affari Esteri.

e si trovava in Andalusia con il compito di comprare il maggior numero di imbarcazioni possibile. Pur controvolgia, Camperio accettò l'incarico e prese parte alla iniziale messa a punto del nuovo servizio. A seguito di un viaggio a Roma, nel marzo, in occasione del quale si determinarono i dettagli del suo nuovo mandato, il 5 aprile del 1916 Camperio fu ricevuto da Alfonso XIII e dette così inizio ufficialmente alla sua missione. Ovviamente, era ancora tutto da fare e restavano molte questioni irrisolte, anche tra le più elementari. Non ci soffermeremo adesso su questi aspetti, se non per sottolineare un punto qui di particolare interesse, e cioè che assai presto i piani iniziali che abbiamo sommariamente delineati poco prima, si dimostrarono inutili: le necessità che si presentarono per il servizio in Spagna fecero cambiare radicalmente i compiti di ciascuna delle sezioni implicate, sia dell'Esercito che della Marina⁹.

Assai più di quanto avvenne con l'attività dell'Esercito, fu la Marina a convertirsi nell'autentica protagonista dell'operazione perché, a distanza di assai poco tempo, in appena alcuni mesi, l'obiettivo che l'aveva portata in Spagna e che era nato sotto presupposti tanto modesti, si andò sviluppando e ampliando fino ad assorbire una quantità ingente di incarichi, al punto da render concretamente palese fino a che punto un lavoro di informazione e controspionaggio fosse omnicomprendente e quanto risultasse complesso, date le presenti circostanze di guerra, poter dividere competenze e campi d'azione. Un esempio significativo è reperibile nella richiesta avanzata nel novembre del 1916 dal Comandante Camperio tesa ad ottenere maggiori risorse, così da poter portare avanti il proprio incarico. In quell'occasione, adducendo garanzie anche da parte della Propaganda, come gli ordinava lo Stato Maggiore da Roma, si allegava una sintesi delle missioni concrete che fino a quel momento gli erano state affidate col fine – evidentemente – di sostenere la propria richiesta¹⁰:

“Questo ufficio ha molti rami di lavoro e pochissimo personale al centro: sorveglianza sommergibili nemici, corrispondenza cifrata con tutti gli agenti e col Ministero, contrabbando e corrispondenza inglese per esso con Gibilterra e Londra, Collezioni di tutti i manifesti di carico delle Navi nazionali in partenza, loro studio e corrispondenza cifrata colle Commissioni di vigilanza nei porti nazionali, Controspionaggio, invenzioni, forniture per la R. Marina, Monografia di tutte le coste di Spagna, informatori e Vice Consoli, corrispondenza e rapporti al Ministero, Ministero dei Trasporti: telegrammi cifrati giorno e notte per regolare ed ordinare tutta la navigazione ed i carichi che le navi nazionali fanno in Spagna (minerale) per la nostra alleata Inghilterra.”

Si può immaginare come ciascuna delle missioni alle quali si faceva riferimento impli-

9 L'Archivio dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito non conserva materiale informativo sufficiente per poter ricostruire soddisfacentemente l'attività svolta in Spagna durante la Prima Guerra Mondiale. Nonostante ciò, grazie ai dati reperibili in AUSSUME e alla documentazione della Marina, si può affermare che il panorama di entrambi i settori del servizio d'informazione, così come qui si espone, risulta abbastanza vicino alla realtà dei fatti.

10 Saranno operazioni che, per altro verso, verranno messe in atto in forma analoga, seppur con mezzi maggiori, anche, per esempio, dai servizi segreti francesi. Il caso della Gran Bretagna fu invece differente, visto che fino al 1918 non ebbe un Aggregato Navale destinato in Spagna. Fino a quel momento, tutto lascia pensare che le attività connesse all'informazione ed al controspionaggio si dirigessero verso Gibilterra. Vid. USMM, b. 652, n° 4520, Addetto Navale a Madrid allo Stato Maggiore della Marina, Ufficio Speciale, Madrid, 16 novembre 1916, *Informazioni*. Nonostante che la lista delle missioni da svolgere appaia già lunga, eppure divenne ancora più ampia nei mesi successivi con l'aggiunta di nuove attribuzioni.

casce un'attività enorme e che si traduceva, a sua volta e conseguentemente, in una ingente quantità di documentazione, di lettere informative e di telegrammi che dovevano essere messi in cifra e poi decifrati. Questa mole di lavoro, che venne accumulandosi nel corso del tempo, fu sostenuta da un numero assai ridotto di persone, tutti uomini di differenti origini e qualificazioni, e con mezzi sempre assai inferiori rispetto a quelli a disposizione del resto dei servizi d'informazione alleati¹¹¹.

Chi erano gli agenti? In uno dei documenti dove si stabilivano le basi del servizio d'informazione che si voleva creare in Spagna (*"schema di programma per il servizio di informazioni e sorveglianza sulle coste spagnuole divise in zone speciali"*¹²¹²) si spiegava che il personale da impiegare a tali incarichi dovesse esser composto in maggior parte da *richiamati*, residenti in Spagna e, pertanto, con previa esperienza del Paese, della lingua, delle abitudini locali, etc. Erano questi, sempre seguendo l'esempio francese, coloro che si consideravano i più adatti a svolgere compiti d'informazione, perchè erano integrati nella società locale, conoscevano il luogo e dominavano lo spagnolo. All'inizio, la quasi totalità degli agenti non possedeva altra qualificazione speciale a parte quella che conferitagli dal livello degli studi fatti o dalla professione svolta durante la vita civile. A partire da questi dati, se la loro classe era richiamata, ottenevano un grado militare diverso e una paga differente. Uno dei grandi vantaggi di questo tipo di agenti era quello di essere perfettamente in regola per le autorità spagnole e quindi di non aver bisogno di utilizzare identità di copertura o di viaggiare con documenti falsi e professioni fittizie, tutti elementi che sarebbero dovuti essere creati espressamente per loro. Un'altra cosa erano invece gli agenti che si richiedevano dall'Italia. Nei mesi iniziali, Camperio disse di preferire i cittadini già arruolati e appartenenti alle classi sociali più alte perchè, a suo giudizio, garantivano migliori risultati in virtù del fatto che, per la loro educazione, avrebbero avuto più facile accesso a persone e autorità locali. Invece il livello di studio e l'estrazione sociale non sempre coincisero con i risultati ottenuti durante il servizio, trattandosi di una attività che richiedeva una serie di capacità particolari, molte delle quali erano ancora ignorate, per inesperienza, quando la rete informativa cominciò a funzionare, agli inizi del 1916. L'attività civile si convertì, alla luce della nuova prospettiva attraverso la quale i servizi d'informazione consideravano la Spagna, in una operazione di interesse militare.

È anche vero che il servizio nacque con prospettive assai modeste, ed era legittimo pensare che un piccolo manipolo di uomini senza esperienza poteva bastare per portare a termine gli obiettivi postisi, cioè di informare su avvistamenti e azioni di sommergibili nemici

11 Il lavoro fu ancora più complesso per la diversità dei compiti e la diversa provenienza dipartimentale di ciascun compito, si utilizzavano addirittura cifre diverse. Si arrivò ad usare sette codici differenti in uno stesso momento: *Mengarini*, dagli informatori; *Mengarini*, dal ministero; *CU*; *00*; *K 13*; *K 14* e un cifrato speciale per gli informatori distaccati dei consolati. Nei periodi di più intensa attività, la sede centrale raggiunse i 130 documenti da tradurre al giorno. Quando nell'ottobre del 1916 si creò presso lo Stato Maggiore della Marina a Roma un dipartimento specifico dedicato alla Propaganda, denominato *Ufficio Speciale*, e si inviarono ordini a Madrid perché si avviasse in Spagna detta attività, nonostante che il numero degli agenti e degli informatori fosse cresciuto considerevolmente durante l'anno, nel Centro – nome attribuito alla sede di Madrid – lavoravano soltanto tre persone.

12 AUSSMM, b. 650, fasc. 4, Ministero della Marina, Ufficio del Capo di Stato Maggiore, Ufficio IV° al Capitano di Corvetta Cav. Filippo Camperio, R. Consolato d'Italia, Gibilterra, Riservatissimo Personale, n° 031926, Roma, 16 gennaio 1916. *Servizio informazioni*.

nelle acque spagnole, col mero fine, nella misura del possibile, di seguirne i movimenti nel Mediterraneo. Peraltro per l'Italia, a differenza che per gli alleati, l'area prioritaria dove concentrare tutta l'attenzione era quasi esclusivamente quella del Levante spagnolo. Ben presto però si presentò la necessità di coprire anche altri fronti, e la Spagna è troppo vasta per poter portare a termine un'operazione di queste caratteristiche con limitate risorse, sia umane che finanziarie. Quindi, anche se la tipologia degli agenti fu piuttosto variegata, non tutti risposero alle stesse caratteristiche perchè le missioni alle quali dovettero far fronte furono di natura tra loro molto diversa.

Si creò una struttura gerarchica molto simile, per altro verso, a quella del servizio di spionaggio tedesco o ai servizi d'informazione e controspionaggio alleato. A questo proposito e in linea generale, l'organigramma italiano appariva capeggiato dall'Aggregato Navale, senza alcun dubbio e sotto tutti i punti di vista posto al vertice dell'intera struttura. Al secondo livello si trovavano gli *Informatori* o *agenti segreti*, un ridottissimo numero di uomini (durante l'intero periodo bellico non arrivarono a più di dieci unità) incaricati di zone/settori specifici e di missioni delicate o di fiducia. Si trattava solitamente di adepti del mondo dell'informazione – molto pochi – o di capitani della Marina mercantile reclutati appositamente in virtù di qualche loro merito specifico. Ricevevano un (buon) salario mensile fisso. I salari e le spese di questi agenti erano gli unici costi a carico diretto ed esclusivo dell'*Ufficio IV*¹³. Il terzo livello era composto dagli informatori reclutati tra gli uomini della Marina (*Corpo Reale Equipaggi*) o tra gli aggregati del *Regio Esercito*. Erano questi ultimi, a dire il vero, gli informatori di prima linea, quelli cioè sui quali ricadeva il peso maggiore delle attività connesse con quest'attività. Il loro numero era circa il doppio degli antecedenti, e ricevevano un salario commisurato al loro grado oltre al rimborso spese e agli eventuali supplementi che si stabilivano a seconda delle loro capacità. Per quanto possa apparire strano, a quell'epoca non si dava per scontato che si sapesse scrivere a macchina, utilizzare una macchina fotografica o guidare una motocicletta, tre abilità che furono invece tra le più richieste tra gli agenti segreti.

Il livello successivo era occupato dagli *informatori* o *agenti volontari*. Un numero piuttosto elevato di italiani residenti in Spagna, generalmente non militari, e che erano dotati di un'abitazione, di una professione, di contatti e di una posizione sociale sufficientemente rilevanti da poter aver accesso ad informazioni di un qualche interesse. Non ricevevano alcuna retribuzione per la loro collaborazione, al contrario, dovevano farsi carico delle spese delle loro attività e tentavano di compiere il loro lavoro nel miglior modo possibile, ed era anzi per lo più consueto che questi agenti assumessero degli informatori locali in cambio di modesti compensi che sborsavano di tasca propria.

Il nostro obiettivo principale è quello di soffermare l'analisi sulle attività condotte da questi uomini, di riscattarle dall'oblio, mettendo anzi in evidenza – seppur sommariamente – le loro azioni e il loro contributo, un contributo offerto dal mondo civile, allo sforzo bellico so-

13 Direttamente dipendente dal Capo di Stato Maggiore della Marina, è il dipartimento incaricato delle informazioni segrete con autonomia disciplinare ed amministrativa, sotto il comando del Capitano di Vascello Ugo Conz. Aveva il controllo sulle attività dei servizi d'informazione gestiti dagli Aggregati Navali. Nel maggio del 1918 il IV Reparto passò agli ordini del Capitano di Vascello Augusto Capon, giacché Conz fu mandato al comando della Cavour.

stenuto dall'Italia combattendo anche in Spagna seppur da un fronte silenzioso, eppur altrettanto duro e disseminato di sfide, e che costituì in una parola la guerra dei servizi segreti.

La necessità di fare affidamento con i cosiddetti agenti o informatori volontari si presentò e cominciò ad esser concreta nella primavera del 1916, quando divenne necessario organizzare un qualche tipo di presenza anche in tutti quei luoghi della costa e delle isole spagnole (principalmente la costa della Cantabria, le isole Canarie e dell'Andalusia occidentale) che non erano state considerate fin dall'inizio di importanza per gli interessi italiani, ma dove comunque non si sarebbe potuto sostenere l'aggravio e la spesa - in termini di uomini e mezzi specializzati - che avrebbe implicato un sistema così esteso. Il piano operativo, la creazione di una rete di volontari nel Nord della Spagna, cominciò a prendere forma nei mesi tra aprile e luglio. Per effettuare l'operazione, il comandante Camperio incaricò un giovane agente di sua massima fiducia: il soldato *richiamato* Domenico Cefalù, nome in chiave *Luce*¹⁴. Quest'ultimo ebbe l'incarico di contattare gli agenti e di spiegargli le modalità di funzionamento del servizio, come avrebbero dovuto muoversi e coordinarsi e con quale nome in chiave avrebbero dovuto, da quel momento in poi, firmare le loro comunicazioni.

La prima cosa che fece Cefalù fu il coinvolgimento nel servizio di tutta la sua famiglia, dedicata da tempo all'industria delle conserve alimentari, attività che avrebbe consentito l'accesso ad una informazione di prima mano sia sull'attività che si sviluppava quotidianamente nei porti del Nord, sia di tutti i movimenti insoliti che i pescatori avrebbero potuto osservare mentre svolgevano le loro occupazioni quotidiane¹⁵. Originari della Sicilia (Santa Flavia), i Cefalù avevano stabilito le loro basi in Guetaria (Giuseppe Cefalù, nome in codice *Alba* y Domenico Cefalù, *Stella*, padre di *Luce*), Lequeitio (Angelo Cefalù) e Santoña (Salvatore Cefalù, *Scu*). Oltre ai suoi familiari, *Luce* contattò altri industriali del settore della pesca e delle conserve, come nel caso dei due Sanfilippo de Bermeo y Ondárroa, cioè Lorenzo, noto come *Fonte*, e Ludovico, *Foss*. Lorenzo estese il proprio raggio di azione fino a Bilbao, dove disponeva di contatti sicuri¹⁶.

Il vero confidente dell'Addetto Navale a Bilbao fu però Emilio Gabbia Castanier, nome in codice *Net*. Di padre italiano e madre spagnola, era nato a Torino nel 1851. Nel 1884 si era trasferito in Spagna dove aveva saputo diventare ingegnere Capo della *Compañía de Fe-*

14 Su quest'aspetto e, in generale, sullo stato del servizio intorno a queste date, vid. AUSSMM, b. 650, fasc. 3, n° 1306, Addetto Navale a Madrid all'Ufficio del Capo di Stato Maggiore, Madrid, 28 aprile 1916, y n° 1373 del 3 maggio 1916.

15 Erano molto numerosi gli italiani residenti in Spagna dedicati all'industria delle conserve alimentari. Nel giugno del 1916, Guetaria contava 15 fabbriche di conserve delle quali 7 erano di proprietà di italiani; 6 di spagnoli e 2 di olandesi. Ad Ondárroa, c'erano 25 fabbriche delle quali 12 erano in mano di italiani, 10 di spagnoli e 3 di olandesi. A Bermeo, su 13 fabbriche 4 erano italiane; a Santoña, su 16, 8 erano italiane.

16 Coordinatore delle attività d'informazione degli agenti volontari, durante il mese di giugno del 1916, *Luce* condusse una missione di vigilanza nel Nord della Spagna, percorrendo tutta la costa da Pasajes a Santander. Oltre a segnalare le caratteristiche di ciascun villaggio costiero, determinare il numero e le caratteristiche delle imbarcazioni delle quali disponevano, di individuare la presenza di tedeschi, etc., riuscì a consolidare una rete di informatori più ampia di quella già presente. Infatti, a fianco dei personaggi già ricordati, riuscì a coinvolgere ad altri informatori di minor livello ma in grado di assicurare importanti risultati, come quando riuscì a coinvolgere nell'operazione, in cambio di un modestissimo compenso, di una ex- cuoca del Console tedesco di San Sebastián, residente a Zarauz. Nel suo primo incarico, questa signora passò a *Luce* una lista con i nomi e le attività di tutti i tedeschi residenti a Zarauz.

rrocarriles del Norte (10ª Sección, Vías y Obras). Seppur avesse già in precedenza elaborato rapporti informativi destinati all'Aggregato Militare, fu contattato da *Luce* e assunto per il servizio d'informazione della Marina solo nel giugno del 1916. Nella sua attività si mosse con disinvoltura e senza sollevare sospetti su un vasto territorio, anche se ebbe il suo centro a Bilbao, dove superò di gran lunga il Console onorario d'Italia, lo spagnolo Cirilo Vallejo. Grazie al lavoro svolto, Gabbia si meritò il riconoscimento di Roma e il conferimento del titolo di *Cavaliere dell'Ordine della Corona d'Italia*.

Il luogo d'azione di Camillo Sclaverani, che prima di mettersi al servizio esclusivo della Marina aveva già prestato servizio anche collaborando con l'Aggregato Militare, ebbe invece quale epicentro l'importante nucleo di comunicazioni di Castro Urdiales. Sclaverani, nome in codice *Slavo*, gestiva differenti attività connesse con il mondo della pesca e delle conserve alimentari, ma era – soprattutto – un personaggio ben noto e rispettato della società di Castro Urdiales. Una delle sue prime operazioni di successo, nel giugno 1916, fu quella di manomettere il funzionamento di una stazione radio installata dai tedeschi nella residenza di un ricco proprietario locale. Al pari degli altri agenti volontari del Nord, concentrò la sua attenzione anche nella stesura di relazioni sul funzionamento locale dello spionaggio nemico, stilando liste di agenti e dei loro collaboratori spagnoli. Richiamato al fronte nel 1917, fu deciso - su richiesta dell'Aggregato Navale - di farlo restare in Spagna con il grado di sergente. Messo a capo del coordinamento della propaganda e degli agenti italiani che operavano nel Nord della Spagna, fu titolare dal maggio del 1917 della rappresentanza consolare. Insistette ripetutamente sull'inadeguatezza dello spagnolo Miguel López Dóriga all'incarico che deteneva di rappresentante onorario del consolato d'Italia a Santander, un personaggio contro il quale Sclaverani mosse addirittura accuse di simpatizzare per la Germania, e ribadendo l'importanza strategica di quel porto e territorio per gli interessi italiani riuscì a far sì che il ministero degli Affari Esteri rimovesse lo spagnolo per nominare al suo posto un rappresentante consolare di carriera, il Conte Giuseppe Giacchi.

La frontiera con la Francia era una zona molto delicata che si prestava più di altre alle attività di spionaggio e al passaggio di soggetti dediti alle più varie tipologie di attività clandestine. A San Sebastián, per l'Italia, dal maggio del 1916 vi fu Edgardo Balbis, nome in codice *Back*. Comproprietario del famoso *Hotel María Cristina*, deteneva anche le funzioni di viceconsole onorario. Aveva i suoi agenti, tutti spagnoli, che pagava di tasca propria. Fu in grado di stabilire ottime relazioni con agenti francesi e inglesi dai quali otteneva informazioni e con i quali collaborò di tanto in tanto correndo gravi pericoli e coraggiosamente: nella notte del 17 maggio 1917, insieme a un agente inglese ed a un gruppo di spagnoli contrattati (tra loro si trovava anche uno dei suoi collaboratori occasionali, Demetrio Goñi), partecipò personalmente all'assalto ad una stazione radio che i tedeschi avevano installato in una casa sul monte San Marcos (Rentería). In quell'occasione riuscirono a rubare un radiotrasmettitore che rimase nascosto per oltre un mese al *María Cristina*. Quando poi i tedeschi riuscirono a scoprirlo e cominciarono a vigilare permanentemente l'Hotel, Balbis fece sparire il radiotrasmettitore riuscendo a trasportarlo clandestinamente in Francia¹⁷. Interessato anche

17 Uno dei suoi più importanti collaboratori fu Antonio Inurrieta, gran commerciante di generi alimentari residente a San Sebastián, il quale aveva al suo servizio tre informatori di provata esperienza. Si distinse per la localizzazione e il furto di stazioni radio tedesche stanziato sulle coste della Guipúzcoa.

alla lotta contro la propaganda tedesca, nel dicembre del 1917 creò, insieme ad altri agenti alleati, una società che acquisì la proprietà del periodico *La Crónica*, quotidiano pomeridiano di San Sebastián, visto che non esisteva un altro giornale vespertino che potesse competere con quelli che erano in mano dei tedeschi.

All'estremo opposto del limitare Nord della penisola, sulle coste della Galizia, le operazioni si concentrarono attorno a Guido Paganini, nome in codice *Violino*, un industriale residente a Vigo fin da anni prima che scoppiasse il conflitto. Fu incaricato della Agenzia Consolare e, in sintesi, del servizio d'informazione di Vigo, arrivando a mettere a sua disposizione una cifra *Minerva*, privilegio raggiungibile solo da pochissimi. Oltre al fatto che Vigo era uno dei porti commerciali più importanti della Spagna, aveva all'epoca anche un'altra caratteristica che rendeva la città davvero speciale per svolgervi attività di vigilanza e d'informazione: era lì che si trovavano nascoste dai tempi dell'inizio della guerra 11 imbarcazioni mercantili nemiche (7 tedesche e 4 austriache) e, come era noto, l'attività prevalente di quegli equipaggi era divenuta nella quasi totalità dei casi quella di utili appendici del servizio di spionaggio austro-germanico¹⁸.

Se nella maggior parte delle località sopradette la colonia italiana era numericamente ridotta, nelle Isole Canarie era praticamente inesistente. Eppure, l'Arcipelago, con il proseguire del conflitto venne poco a poco aumentando la sua importanza, così fu anche rispetto all'Italia, e soprattutto nella misura in cui andava incrementandosi il traffico con l'altro lato dell'Atlantico a partire dalla sconfitta di Caporetto¹⁹. Non potendo completare la rete con agenti volontari italiani, si fece ricorso alla buona volontà di quei soggetti che potevano considerarsi di maggior fiducia, nonostante non fossero connazionali.

Al fine di costituire una minima struttura organizzativa, nel mese di novembre del 1917 fu inviato nelle Isole Canarie Emilio Carandini, nome in codice *Emo*, colui che fu probabilmente l'agente più fidato dell'Aggregato Navale²⁰. Prima tappa: il porto de Las Palmas, dove si attivò con il Dottor Bellini, un dentista di origini italiane ma lì residente da molto tempo e che già in passato aveva collaborato per qualche servizio. Come copertura ufficiale e strumento per rendere più agili le comunicazioni, si convinse lo spagnolo Nicolás Massieu ad assumere l'incarico di Agente Consolare d'Italia, anche mettendo a sua disposizione un cifrario *Minerva*. Las Palmas aveva per altro il vantaggio di essere il principale nascondiglio su territorio spagnolo per i mercanti tedeschi ed austriaci: diciotto in tutto²¹. Carandini seppe convincere

18 Solo il porto di Las Palmas superava questa concentrazione di uomini e tonnellaggio. A Vigo si trovavano le imbarcazioni austriache *Buda*, *Kostrena*, *Mediterraneo*, *Nagi Layos*, e le tedesche *Goeben*, *Mimi Horn*, *Neidenfels*, *Neuenfels*, *Stefania*, *Stephan y Weert*.

19 Per il ruolo strategico ed economico giocato da questa importante regione, si veda Francisco Javier Ponce Marrero, *Canarias en la Gran Guerra 1914-1918: estrategia y diplomacia. Un estudio sobre la política exterior de España*, Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 2008.

20 Appartenente alla famiglia dei Marchesi Carandini di Cremona e Milano, risiedette in Argentina fino allo scoppio della guerra. Con il grado di caporale prestava servizio nella seconda Compagnia Automobilisti-Monza- del Reggimento di Batterie a Cavallo, Intendenza della Terza Armata con sede a Portogruaro. Fu il primo informatore, destinato al fronte, che Camperio richiese, ai primi di maggio del 1916, adducendo le sue speciali qualità: conoscenza della lingua spagnola e del carattere degli spagnoli. Uomo di mondo, colto, intelligente, abile, portò a termine molte, differenti, ma sempre delicate missioni fino alla fine della guerra.

21 A Las Palmas si concentrarono i bastimenti austriaci *Columbia* y *Onda* e i tedeschi *Arucas*, *Assuan*, *Duala*, *Elisabeth Brock*, *Elkab*, *Emmi Arp*, *Illiria*, *Ingo*, *Irmfried*, *Lulu Bohlen*, *Marie Arp*, *Menes*, *Octavi*, *Teneriffa*,

un marinaio del bastimento austriaco *Onda* di diventare un informatore volontario dei servizi italiani. Carlo Covi, nome in codice *Ci*, primo macchinista del mercantile, seppur austriaco, era originario dei territori irridentisti ed accettò l'incarico propostogli a patto che, a suo tempo, gli fosse concesso di rientrare in Italia e acquisirne la nazionalità. Assai presto Covi cominciò a portare i primi risultati e nella prima operazione portata a termine con successo riuscì a sottrarre una delle bombe fatte installare sullo scafo dal capitano dell'*Onda* (per farla saltare in caso di necessità) e sostituirla con un'altra di identica foggia, fornitagli da Carandini, ma piena solo di terra. A Santa Cruz di Tenerife la scelta cadde invece sull'ingegnere belga Ferdinando de Masy, nome in codice *Nan*, al quale si affidò l'Agenzia Consolare d'Italia, sempre mettendo a sua disposizione un cifrario *Minerva*²².

Inoltre, in occasione di quel viaggio di Carandini, si stabilì anche che l'uomo responsabile dei servizi di informazione a Santa Cruz de La Palma fosse lo spagnolo José Duque Méndez, nome in codice *Bep*, procuratore presso la Banca *Hijos de Nicolás Dehesa*, proprietà di Ricardo Dehesa, a sua volta Agente consolare di Francia. Duque accettò di diventare un informatore volontario, avvalendosi dei suoi contatti con i commercianti ed i pescatori dell'isola, e di canalizzare l'informazione degli agenti al servizio della Francia, creando un sistema di frasi commerciali per comunicare l'avvistamento di sottomarini. Il suo lavoro fu molto apprezzato, al punto che nel settembre del 1918 il Ministero degli Affari Esteri italiano lo nominò titolare della recentemente creata Agenzia Consolare a La Palma, dietro proposta dell'Aggregato Navale, e a seguito delle informazioni e raccomandazioni dell'agente Carandini²³.

Infine, anche nell'isola di La Gomera, Carandini riuscì a stabilire un contatto volontario. Si trattò in questo caso di un italiano, residente nell'isola dall'inizio del secolo, Mario Novaro, nome in codice *María*. Novaro possedeva un'industria conserviera specializzata nel tonno e 20 velieri per la pesca. Accettò di collaborare come informatore volontario servendosi dei suoi pescatori e agendo anche sul terreno della propaganda. Analogamente a quanto effettuato in casi simili, l'avvistamento di sottomarini nemici sarebbe stato immediatamente comunicato via telegrafo ed utilizzando frasi commerciali.

Per quanto possa sembrare sorprendente da un certo punto di vista, i servizi italiani rimasero carenti di una struttura d'informazione nell'Andalusia occidentale. Fin dal momento della creazione dei servizi d'informazione, Madrid aveva ricevuto ragguagli che erano stati trasmessi volontariamente da un ingegnere minerario italiano residente a Siviglia dal 1903: Luigi Castelli della Vinca, nome in codice *Berta*. Nell'agosto del 1916 Castelli tornò in Italia per unirsi all'esercito nel distretto di Livorno. Grazie alle sue cognizioni sulle miniere di Siviglia e di tutta l'Andalusia, oltre al fatto di fregiarsi di molti contatti personali e di conoscere quattro lingue, fu raccomandato da Camperio presso lo Stato Maggiore della Marina affinché fosse destinato in Spagna sotto il suo comando, senza alcuno stipendio. Così, fu inviato dal

Thekla Bohlen y Walhalla.

22 Sant Cruz de Tenerife era il terzo porto spagnolo per numero di bastimenti tedeschi lì rifugiatisi: *Caesar*, *Cap Ortegal*, *Creefeld*, *Irma Woermann*, *Kurt Woermann*, *Pamir*, *Prinz Regent*, *Telde* y *Usambara*.

23 Prima di questa data, l'Italia non aveva rappresentanza ufficiale, mentre invece ce l'avevano la Francia (Agente Consolare), Inghilterra (Viceconsole), Belgio (Console), Portogallo, Brasile, Argentina, Uruguay e Panama.

Comando Supremo per collaborare negli acquisti di minerale e per coordinare i rapporti con le società *Ilva* e *Brioschi*, vigilando principalmente sugli acquisti e sul traffico di Wolframio. Agevolato dalle sue conoscenze sulla Spagna e sugli spagnoli, Castelli redasse numerose relazioni nelle quali analizzava la situazione economica e politica, interna ed estera, spagnola. Tra le altre cose, considerava che l'impegno degli alleati nel Paese non corrispondesse minimamente alla realtà di quest'ultimo, criticando duramente l'attitudine di inglesi e francesi i quali, a suo giudizio, trattavano la Spagna come se fosse stata una colonia. Alla fine del 1917, i servizi di informazione italiani ottennero la volontaria collaborazione dell'italiano Bertona, nome in codice *Juan*, che lavorava come Direttore in uno dei migliori alberghi di Siviglia: il *Gran Hotel Madrid*. Tra tutte le collaborazioni per i servizi d'informazione, volontarie o a pagamento, una delle più apprezzate era generalmente quella che aveva a che fare con gli istituti alberghieri: la quantità d'informazioni che si potevano ottenere attraverso quel canale, di forma aperta o clandestina, era di massima importanza.

Nonostante tutto, la rete della parte atlantica dell'Andalusia continuò ad essere priva di una struttura vera e propria fino al gennaio 1918, quando si decise, sempre grazie all'impegno della collaborazione volontaria, di creare un *Ufficio dell'Addetto Navale* con identità e sede propria posta nel centro della città di Siviglia. E uno dei migliori agenti segreti che l'Italia ebbe in Spagna, Angelo Ghirelli, fu colui che ebbe l'incarico di dirigere temporaneamente quell'operazione. Entrano subito a far parte dell'ufficio: Castelli de la Vinca, il quale, presente in ufficio tutte le mattine, si sarebbe occupato di fare una sintesi della stampa e di raccogliere le indicazioni del lavoro da portare a termine; l'agente consolare d'Italia in città, Ferrazzano, insieme al figlio, assunto come informatore; Enrico Beati, un parmigiano residente a Siviglia fin da prima che scoppiasse la guerra, traduttore e professore di lingue (italiano, inglese, francese, tedesco e latino), che avrebbe collaborato come informatore occasionale e di certo un personaggio peculiare, membro di una setta di teosofia orientalista alla quale appartenevano numerosi tedeschi, considerato molto utile a patto di prendere tutte le debite precauzioni. Alcune settimane dopo la creazione dell'ufficio, accettò di collaborarvi in maniera volontaria anche Mario Colombo, nome in codice *Cristoforo*, un ingegnere di origini genovesi ma residente in Spagna dal 1902 e che svolgeva l'incarico di Direttore dell'impresa di prodotti chimici *Cros*, con sede a San Juan de Aznalfarache, rifornitrice dello Stato spagnolo per la fabbricazione di esplosivi. Grazie al suo impiego, Colombo aveva facilità di contatti con le fabbriche di esplosivo spagnole, delle quali si offrì di fornire dati, oltre a mettere qualcuno dei suoi impiegati a disposizione dei servizi italiani. Inoltre, conosceva ed aveva rapporti con buona parte della colonia tedesca di Siviglia e dei villaggi circostanti, così come con molti degli spagnoli che egli considerava filogermanici e sospettati di collaborare con i tedeschi. Quindi, in virtù di tutto ciò, Colombo era dotato ampie possibilità di indagare e di acquisire informazioni senza sollevare sospetti.

Un'altra utile adesione "volontaria" fu quella del salernitano Martuscelli, stabilito già da molti anni a Siviglia, proprietario di un negozio di antiquariato che gli garantiva buone relazioni con alberghi e ristoranti e che, col pretesto di vendere antichità, gli consentiva di muoversi ovunque senza suscitare sospetti. Infine, da Siviglia dipendeva anche Huelva, città nella quale l'Italia contava con un Agente Consolare interino, Alessandro Corsi, che introdusse nella rete dei volontari il cognato William Manito, nome in codice *Ito*, e quest'ultimo, a

sua volta, contrattò uno spagnolo con il compito di vigilare il porto in cambio di una modesta somma di denaro.

L'aver concentrato la nostra attenzione su queste regioni spagnole non significa che nel resto della comunità strettamente civile non vi sia stata una significativa partecipazione allo sforzo militare italiano. La differenza fondamentale consiste nel fatto che pressoché in tutto il Levante spagnolo la rete intessuta, fondamentalmente, dal servizio di informazione della Marina fu più vigorosa, più solida. E d'altro canto è superfluo dire che l'attività svolta a Barcellona, e in tutta la Catalogna in generale, fu superiore, e con differenza, a quella di qualunque altra città o regione spagnola e, oseremo dire, persino europea. Un numero significativo di italiani parteciparono allo sforzo bellico dalla Spagna contribuendo, anche volontariamente, con importanti quantità di denaro, senza il quale sarebbe stato assai più complicato di quanto non sia comunque stato sostenere tutto il sistema operativo connesso ai servizi d'informazione in Spagna. Fu ad esempio il caso dei Commendatori della Corona d'Italia, barcellonesi d'adozione, Avversari e Pietro Pegorari, i quali apportarono con regolarità – e certamente più il primo del secondo – importanti quantità di *pesetas* alla così detta “cassa speciale” che era destinata a finanziare le attività di controspionaggio e le operazioni di propaganda; oppure il caso di Giuseppe Pessenda, Presidente del Comitato di Assistenza alle famiglie dei combattenti e della Croce Rossa italiana, con sede nella *Casa degli Italiani* di Barcellona; o quello dell'avvocato “madrileno” Pietro Ramognino, un alto funzionario della *Navigazione Generale Italiana*, Direttore per la Spagna della *Cassa Navale e d'Assicurazioni* e proprietario dell'impresa *La Comercial S.A.*; o dei contributi di numerosi commercianti i quali, oltre a rifornire di diverse mercanzie per l'approvvigionamento, legale od illegale, dell'Italia, concorsero a loro volta allo sforzo finanziario, come nel caso del polemico Enrico Maggio – anch'egli informatore volontario – e di Giulio Bertoldi, entrambi residenti a Malaga, e di Bussone Maffioli, proprietario del *Gran Hotel Cuatro Naciones* di Barcellona; o, infine, nel clamoroso caso, unico nel suo genere in Spagna, dei fratelli Antonio e Riccardo Tayá, proprietari della compagnia di navigazione *Hijos de José Tayá*, che misero la loro flotta a completa disposizione del Governo di Roma, realizzando un vero e proprio ponte marittimo Barcellona-Genova a prezzi sempre inferiori a quelli di mercato, oltre a donare grandi quantità di denaro per ospedali da accampamento, acquisto di letti, strumentazione medica, contribuendo al sostegno dei ricoveri per gli orfani di guerra, fino addirittura – se tutto ciò non bastasse – a mettere a disposizione della propaganda italiana il loro giornale *La Publicidad*. Quindi non dovrà certo apparir insolito che entrambi i fratelli siano stati nominati *Commendatori della Corona d'Italia*.

In conclusione, fu efficace e utile l'azione dei volontari? Lo fu, e anche molto, nella misura in cui le loro attività portarono a termine anzitutto le direttive impartite, di volta in volta, a Filippo Camperio dal Capitano di Vascello Ugo Conz, capo dell'*Ufficio IV* dello Stato maggiore della Marina²⁴:

“L'interesse italiano in Spagna si sintetizza nella frase seguente (per quanto riguarda il servizio informazioni) *Mettere il nemico nella impossibilità di nuocere*. Credo che come in altri paesi neu-

24 Vid. AUSSMM, b. 1277, n° 3746, Stato Maggiore della Marina, Capo del IV Reparto, all'Addetto Navale a Madrid, Roma, 11 marzo 1918.

trali, così anche in Spagna, le difficoltà della lotta contro i tedeschi non siano lievi, ma ritengo che un mezzo efficace sia quello di far ben comprendere ad essi che ogni loro atto è spiato, ogni loro persona é vigilata. Tutto ciò che può giovare a produrre al nemico questa impressione deve essere con ogni mezzo curato, perchè ciò paralizzerà la sua libertà di azione e la sicurezza della propria immunità. Certamente, se vi è la possibilità di agire direttamente contro le persone, bisogna prendere la palla al balzo, ma l'esperienza dimostra che ciò nella maggioranza dei casi è impossibile, per cui più che tentare di raggiungere risultati eccezionali, conviene limitarsi al costante infaticabile quotidiano disturbo della attività nemica e in pari tempo alla ricerca per quanto possibile, della loro organizzazione, per metterci eventualmente in grado di capire documenti”.

Gli alleati, nonostante le gravi difficoltà incontrate, ebbero la meglio sugli imperi centrali anche sul segreto fronte di Spagna e, nella misura in cui vi presero parte gli uomini dei quali abbiamo trattato in queste pagine, la vittoria finale fu anche la loro.

Il ruolo delle Navi Ospedale nei conflitti

VINCENZO MARTINES

La battaglia di Trafalgar segna la vittoria delle armi inglesi sulla flotta franco-spagnola comandata da Villeneuve, ma l'Ammiraglio Nelson è colpito da una pallottola che trapassa la spallina, frattura la scapola, entra nel polmone recidendo l'arteria polmonare e finisce nella 12^a vertebra dorsale tanto che l'ammiraglio non "sente" più la gamba: il midollo spinale è leso.

Passeranno circa tre ore prima della morte e nulla possono fare i due chirurghi di bordo.

La notizia della morte di Nelson fa il giro del mondo e tutte le potenze marittime si chiedono se non valga la pena di attrezzare delle unità dedicate al supporto Sanitario: nascono così le *navi ospedale*.

Il giovane Regno d'Italia è tra i primi a dotarsi di una nave ospedale la Washington che partecipa alla sfortunata battaglia di Lissa del 20 luglio 1866: ha dodici medici, un farmacista e 100 posti letto.

Un'altra utilizzazione delle unità ospedaliere sarà quella di supporto nelle guerre coloniali, mancando sulla terraferma strutture sanitarie adeguate; così dopo la battaglia di Adua del 1 marzo 1896 la Nave Ospedale SAATI ormeggiata davanti a Massaua sarà il punto di riferimento qualificato per soccorrere e curare i nostri feriti.

Ma sarà un terribile evento il terremoto di Messina del 28 dicembre 1908 a mettere in risalto le particolari capacità delle navi ospedale e in quella occasione la divisione navale inviata per soccorrere le popolazioni di Messina e Reggio fu affiancata dal *Campania* una nave passeggeri trasformata velocemente in ospedaliera con a bordo 10 Ufficiali medici, una trentina di infermieri e una equipe di "chirurghi civili": il loro lavoro fu imponente, le camere operatorie funzionarono ininterrottamente e a bordo furono ricoverati 2000 profughi che avevano bisogno di continua assistenza oltre che per i traumi riportati per la prostrazione psicologica dovuta alla perdita delle loro case e dei loro cari.

Nella guerra italo-turca del 1911/12 davanti alle coste libiche furono impiegate 4 navi ospedale dotata anche di apparecchiature radiologiche che consentiranno ai chirurghi e agli ortopedici militari di estrarre con precisione le pallottole localizzate con i raggi X, evitando in questo modo le facili cancrene che a quel tempo in mancanza degli antibiotici obbligavano sovente a dolorose e gravi amputazioni.

Anche nella 1^a guerra mondiale l'Italia si dotò di 8 navi ospedale, ma fu l'ultimo conflitto a creare una vera e propria *flotta bianca* che trasportò un numero imponente di feriti e ammalati dai teatri operativi dalla Libia e dall'Albania agli stabilimenti sanitari della madrepatria.

Dopo l'ultimo conflitto mondiale solo poche nazioni mantennero alcune navi ospedale, ma alcuni eventi come la guerra in Corea, in Vietnam, la guerra del Golfo, ma anche i grandi disastri naturali come lo tsunami e l'alluvione a New Orleans hanno riproposto l'utilizzo di queste preziosi ausili sanitari.

L'assistance sanitaire dans l'armée de terre et dans la marine espagnoles, vue à travers le portrait de deux grands chirurgiens

MANUEL GRACIA RIVAS

L'armée de terre et la marine espagnoles possèdent une longue tradition en matière d'assistance sanitaire, puisque ses origines remontent au moyen âge. Avant leur unification, les royaumes de la péninsule, et notamment le royaume d'Aragon, disposaient déjà de moyens pour soigner les soldats blessés au combat. Lors des campagnes militaires qui ont permis l'expansion des Aragonais en Méditerranée, il y a eu, à la tête des services sanitaires rattachés aux forces engagées dans chaque campagne, des médecins et des chirurgiens de grand prestige, généralement liés à l'entourage du monarque. Nous citerons parmi eux Arnaud de Villeneuve¹, chargé par Jacques II d'Aragon de coordonner l'ensemble des services nécessaires pour assurer une assistance médicale dans la marine, et qui, en 1310, participait au siège d'Almeria, place alors encore aux mains des musulmans.

Arnaud de Villeneuve n'est ni le premier ni le dernier d'une longue liste de professionnels hautement qualifiés à avoir prêté service au sein des forces armées espagnoles. J'ai souhaité souligner l'importance de leur contribution au travers de deux personnalités qui n'ont peut-être pas obtenu toute la reconnaissance qu'elles méritaient.

C'est délibérément que j'ai choisi deux chirurgiens plutôt que deux médecins, deux métiers qui, à l'époque, ne méritaient pas du tout la même considération². L'intérêt qu'ils présentent réside tout autant dans la valeur de leur contribution que dans leur valeur symbolique lors de deux époques bien différenciées du point de vue des caractéristiques de l'assistance sanitaire en milieu militaire.

DIONISIO DAZA CHACÓN, UN CHIRURGIEN NOVATEUR DE LA RENAISSANCE

Aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles, l'assistance sanitaire était confiée à des professionnels qui

- 1 Arnaud de Villeneuve (1238-1311) a étudié la médecine à Montpellier, à Naples et à Salerne. Vers 1280, il entre au service des rois d'Aragon. Dix ans plus tard, il est lui-même professeur à Montpellier. Homme d'un grand prestige, il abandonnera la médecine au cours des dernières années de sa vie pour se consacrer à la philosophie et à la théologie, ce qui lui causa quelques problèmes puisqu'il fut accusé d'hétérodoxie. Ce sont néanmoins ses propos sur le rôle que, d'après lui, Jacques II d'Aragon et son frère Frédéric III de Sicile allaient jouer au sein de l'Église qui entraînèrent sa rupture avec le monarque aragonais et son exil en Sicile.
- 2 On le sait, les métiers liés à l'assistance sanitaire étaient ceux de médecin, de chirurgien et de barbier. Le plus haut niveau dans la hiérarchie était celui des médecins, formés dans les universités de l'époque. Loin derrière venaient les chirurgiens, dont quelques-uns avaient fait des études universitaires (les « chirurgiens de langue latine ») mais dont la plupart n'avaient d'autre bagage que la pratique quotidienne aux côtés d'un autre professionnel. On les appelait alors « chirurgiens de langue romane ». Tout en bas de l'échelle, on trouvait les modestes barbiers qui, en plus de leur travail habituel, appliquaient certains remèdes thérapeutiques.

n'étaient pas affectés en permanence au service, mais seulement embauchés lorsqu'il devenait nécessaire d'organiser des hôpitaux de campagne. La situation était à peu près la même dans la marine, à ceci près que les candidats étaient sélectionnés en fonction des services qu'ils avaient prêtés dans le passé, à cause de la spécificité du milieu où ils allaient devoir exercer leur profession.

Par ailleurs, le cas des barbiers et des chirurgiens affectés à chaque unité n'était pas comparable à celui des professionnels de haut niveau à qui on faisait appel à l'occasion des grandes campagnes entreprises par la monarchie, lorsque le grand nombre de forces mobilisées exigeait un soutien sanitaire particulièrement efficace.

Dionisio Daza Chacón était l'un de ces chirurgiens spécialement qualifiés dont la trajectoire s'est déroulée à une époque passionnante, qui lui a permis d'assister ou de participer à des événements remarquables.

Il était né à Valladolid, on ignore précisément en quelle année, plusieurs – entre 1503 et 1510 – ayant été évoquées. Dans la préface au lecteur par laquelle débute son livre³, il affirme qu'il « entre dans la soixantaine » cette année-là. Le livre était prêt à être mis sous presse en 1580, mais il a probablement été écrit avant. On peut donc penser que sa naissance s'est produite avant 1510. Cependant, toutes les données ne concordent pas. Lorsqu'il parle de sa première affectation militaire, il affirme que, en 1543, il était encore « un tout jeune homme »⁴, une précision qui ne peut qualifier un homme de 33 ans, et encore moins un de 40. Il signale par ailleurs qu'il a entamé sa carrière professionnelle à 20 ans, « après avoir suivi les études nécessaires ». J'en conclus, avec d'autres auteurs, qu'il convient de repousser la date de sa naissance.

Son père, Bernardino Daza Chacón, était médecin et sa famille avait été anoblie par un privilège octroyé par les Rois Catholiques, le 30 juillet 1492, à son grand-père, Arnalte Chacón⁵, habitant d'Avila. Ceci étant, ses ascendances juives ont été signalées à maintes occasions. Le professeur Domínguez Ortiz compte Dionisio Daza parmi les juifs convertis qui ont occupé des postes importants au XVI^e siècle⁶.

Il avait un frère cadet, né le 19 décembre 1528, lui aussi à Valladolid. Il s'appelait Bernardino, comme son père et avait suivi des études de droit à l'université de sa ville natale avant d'aller compléter sa formation en France. Plus tard devenu professeur d'université, il fut avocat à la Chancellerie Royale de Valladolid, et écrivit plusieurs ouvrages importants⁷.

Dionisio, lui, suit des études de chirurgie à Valladolid. Ses premiers maîtres sont le chirurgien Arias et le licencié Torres. Il poursuit sa formation à Salamanque, avec Ponte le Jeune. Il est donc ce que l'on appelait un « chirurgien de langue latine », ayant obtenu son diplôme

3 Il s'agit de *Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romance y en latin*, ouvrage auquel je reviendrai par la suite.

4 Daza Chacón, Diego. *Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romance y en latin*. Valladolid, 1609. Prologue au lecteur.

5 Fait signalé par le P^r Anastasio Rojo Vega, de l'université de Valladolid, dans un court article publié dans *El Norte de Castilla*, en 2006. La correspondance entre le nom du père et du fils peut paraître surprenante, mais elle n'avait rien d'étrange à l'époque.

6 Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. « Los judeo conversos en España y América ». Éditions Istmo. Madrid, 1971.

7 Fernández Rivera, Enrique. « La autoría y el género de Celestina comentada ». *Revista de Filología Española*, LXXXVI, 2006, p. 259-276.

de « licencié, médecin et chirurgien »⁸.

En 1543, comme je l'ai indiqué, il embarque à bord de l'un des navires de l'Armada⁹ qui, de Laredo, devait emmener en Flandres le maître de camp Pedro de Guzmán et 3 000 hommes, pour prendre part à l'une des campagnes militaires de l'empereur. Il s'agissait de la quatrième guerre qui l'opposait à son éternel rival, François I^{er}. Dionisio assiste au siège de Landrecies, dans le nord de la France, où est rassemblée une importante force, bientôt rejointe par Charles Quint en personne, qui vient de conquérir Düren¹⁰. L'empereur n'obtient pas le même succès à Landrecies, où ses tentatives de prendre la place échouent. Les forces doivent se replier à Valenciennes, le 12 décembre 1543.

C'est là qu'un hôpital est créé pour soigner les blessés. Sur l'ordre exprès de Charles Quint, Dionisio Daza reste sur place pour accomplir sa mission de chirurgien. L'empereur avait eu vent de son bon comportement lors de la campagne, ce qui n'est sans doute pas étranger au fait que, trois mois plus tard, il l'appelle à Bruxelles et le prend à son service.

La guerre continue et, l'année suivante, une puissante armée est rassemblée après la tenue de la Diète à Spire. Les forces qui attaquent Saint-Dizier sont composées de rien moins que 100 000 hommes. La place est conquise au bout d'un mois d'une résistance acharnée, qui cause de nombreuses pertes dans les troupes impériales. Daza raconte que, à l'occasion d'une attaque désordonnée, les Français tuèrent et blessèrent 1 400 hommes en à peine plus qu'un quart d'heure. Après la chute de la ville, un hôpital est établi sur place. Daza est nommé chirurgien-major et, à l'aide de huit chirurgiens, il s'occupe de 500 blessés. Il pourra s'enorgueillir d'en avoir sauvé plus de trois cents « en dépit d'une très grande pénurie d'eau et de ressources ».

En 1545, à la fin des affrontements, marquée par la paix de Crépy, il est envoyé à Madrid, où il traite le secrétaire Juan Vázquez de Molina.

Il rejoint l'armée en 1547. Il part de Valladolid et se rend à Augusta, où se trouve l'empereur, engagé dans une autre campagne, contre les protestants, cette fois. Dans cette ville se trouvent aussi son frère Ferdinand, roi des Romains, et ses neveux Maximilien et Ferdinand, entre autres personnages d'importance.

La concentration des forces déclenche une épidémie qui oblige à établir deux hôpitaux dans les faubourgs de la ville, l'un pour les soldats allemands, l'autre pour les soldats espagnols. Le risque de contagion est élevé et plusieurs chirurgiens refusent de s'en occuper, tel le chirurgien royal Vicente Sierras, « un bon chirurgien de Saragosse »¹¹ alors au service de l'empereur. C'est Dionisio Daza qui, à la demande de l'empereur, doit prendre l'hôpital en charge. Il restera isolé pendant plus de trois mois, au cours desquels il parvient à guérir la plupart des malades.

Son prestige, qui avait déjà grandi au cours des années précédentes, augmente encore

8 Pérez Tierra, Jesus. « La hermosa, la bellísima, la cruel galera ¿Por qué hermosa?...¿Por qué cruel? ». Conférence d'entrée à l'Association espagnole des médecins écrivains et artistes. Vous trouverez le texte dans son intégralité sur www.medicosescritoresyartistas.com.

9 Flotte commandée par Álvaro de Bazán.

10 L'assaut de Düren fut mené par deux anciens corps de régiment d'infanterie espagnols, qui parvinrent à contrôler la place en quelques heures. Une terrible mise à sac s'ensuivit et causa de nombreuses pertes parmi les défenseurs.

11 Ainsi qualifié par Dionisio Daza lui-même.

davantage. Le duc d'Albe, alors capitaine général de l'armée, vante à l'empereur les mérites du chirurgien. Rien d'étonnant, donc, à ce que, en 1548, Dionisio Daza soit nommé auprès du neveu de Charles Quint, Maximilien, lorsque ce dernier se rend en Espagne pour y épouser sa cousine germaine, l'infante Marie, fille de l'empereur.

Daza, désormais homme de confiance de la Cour, est peu après nommé chirurgien personnel d'une autre des filles de l'empereur, la princesse Jeanne, lorsque celle-ci part pour Lisbonne pour y épouser le prince Jean Manuel de Portugal.

Malheureusement, le prince décède prématurément, et c'est accompagnée de Dionisio Daza que Jeanne d'Espagne rentre à Valladolid. Pendant son séjour dans sa ville natale, le chirurgien habite au Corral de la Copera, une propriété proche de Notre-Dame du Val dont le nom pourrait être traduit par « Ferme de l'Échansonne ». C'est à cette époque qu'il prend pour épouse une veuve, Ana de Losada¹². Ses liens avec la Cour se resserrent encore : il est nommé chirurgien du prince Charles.

Alors qu'il habite Valladolid, une place de chirurgien de l'Hôpital Royal de la Cour se libère. La princesse la lui octroie d'office. Cette nomination allait être la cause de sérieux affrontements avec les députés de l'hôpital, qui s'y opposent. Il fallut organiser un concours, auquel quinze illustres chirurgiens venus de tout le royaume participèrent. Au bout du compte, le poste est attribué à Daza Chacón par six voix à quatre. Il l'occupera pendant six ans.

S'il finit par y renoncer, c'est, entre autres, parce que le prince Charles lui fait valoir que ce travail est incompatible avec celui de chirurgien royal, charge à laquelle Daza Chacón avait été nommé quelques années plus tôt, comme je l'ai dit. De fait, lorsque, en 1562, alors qu'il se trouve à Alcalá de Henares, le prince est victime d'un grave accident et d'un sérieux traumatisme crânio-encéphalique, Daza est immédiatement appelé à son chevet, ainsi que les docteurs Olivares et Vega. La situation est grave et d'autres médecins renommés sont appelés. Parmi eux se trouve le docteur Vesalio qui se trouvait alors à Madrid. Il conseille une trépanation que Daza et les médecins du roi ne jugent pas opportune. On le sait, la lenteur de l'évolution du malade donnera lieu à de curieux procédés, comme l'introduction, dans le lit du prince, de la momie de Frère Diego d'Alcala, un moine qui sera plus tard canonisé, ou encore la venue de Pinterete, célèbre guérisseur moresque, à la grande colère de notre chirurgien. De la blessure du prince Charles et de son évolution, nous conservons le témoignage de Daza¹³, qui fait partie de la seconde partie de sa *Pratica y teórica de cirugía*.

À la Cour, il continue à s'occuper du prince, mais aussi de Philippe II et de la « Sérénissime Princesse ». Les rétributions qu'il perçoit pour ses fonctions sont la preuve évidente du prestige qu'il a acquis. En tant que chirurgien du roi, il perçoit 80 000 maravédís, une somme équivalente à la rémunération des médecins. Mais il touche en outre un salaire de 20 000 maravédís pour les soins de la princesse, auquel il convient d'ajouter « les nombreuses grâces dont m'honorait » le prince Charles.

Sa vie prend un nouveau tournant lorsque Philippe II l'envoie au service du prince don Juan d'Autriche. Dans le prologue de son livre, Daza affirme que ce fut en 1569, « première

12 Rojo Vega, Anastasio. *Ibid.* Il affirme dans cet article que le nom de la propriété était dû au fait qu'elle appartenait à la veuve de Juan Osorio, qui avait été échanson de l'infant et sommelier du prince.

13 *Relación verdadera de la herida de la cabeza del Serenísimo Príncipe D. Carlos, nuestro Señor, la cual se acabó en fin de julio de 1562.*

année où son Altesse est entrée aux galères ». Mais il se trompe sur ce point. En effet, c'est le 2 juin 1568 que don Juan embarque à Carthagène, puis sillonne la Méditerranée tout l'été. Nul doute que Daza était lui aussi à bord¹⁴, car les lieux qu'il cite sont ceux où l'escadre a fait escale avant de retourner à Puerto de Santa María. De là, elle poursuivra jusqu'à Barcelone, en longeant les côtes de la péninsule.

Lorsque, l'année suivante, don Juan prend le commandement des forces chargées de réprimer la révolte des Moresques pendant la Guerre des Alpujarras, Daza est toujours à ses côtés. En 1571, Philippe II le nomme chirurgien-major de l'hôpital créé à l'occasion de la bataille de Lépante. De son côté, le docteur Gregorio López Caldera, qui était lui aussi présent lors de la Guerre des Alpujarras, est désigné « premier médecin ».

Le docteur López Caldera, qui naviguait à bord de la galère royale, était un personnage très proche de Don Juan d'Autriche, dont il fut le médecin et le conseiller personnel. Don Juan devait le récompenser d'un cadeau extrêmement précieux, rien moins que la somme qu'il avait lui-même reçue du pape Pie V lorsqu'il avait été nommé Généralissime de la Ligue.

De son côté, Dionisio Daza a très bien pu être le chirurgien qui a soigné les blessures reçues par Cervantès au combat. Les avis divergent sur ce point¹⁵, mais les tenants d'une intervention directe de Daza signalent que l'auteur de *Don Quichotte* fait l'éloge du chirurgien dans le « Chant de Calliope » de *Galatée*, où il souligne « son intelligence » et « sa science ». Il possédait de plus dans sa bibliothèque l'un des ouvrages du chirurgien¹⁶, comme l'a signalé le professeur Eisenberg¹⁷.

Daza retourne en Espagne en 1573, et endure « de nombreuses et grandes épreuves pendant la navigation ». Il débarque à Peñíscola, et, de là, rejoint la Cour. Philippe II lui demande alors de l'accompagner au monastère de Guadalupe, où il doit rencontrer son neveu, le roi Sébastien I^{er} de Portugal.

Dans son récit autobiographique, il explique la façon dont « sa Majesté ayant considéré que cela faisait trente-sept ans que je servais, et tenant compte de toutes les épreuves et pérégrinations que j'avais traversées », lui permit de prendre sa retraite en conservant son salaire, à l'endroit de son choix. La décision du roi en dit long sur l'estime dans lequel il tenait l'homme qui avait servi l'empereur. La faveur qu'il lui accorde en maintenant son salaire était importante, mais, connaissant Philippe II, ce dut être un sacrifice encore plus important d'accepter de se séparer d'un chirurgien de prestige alors même que la campagne du Portugal commençait¹⁸. D'où on en conclut que la santé de Daza ne devait pas être bonne.

14 Il ne put donc pas être au chevet du prince à ses derniers instants, puisque ce dernier est mort le 28 juillet de cette même année.

15 López Alonso, Antonio. *Cervantes, manco y bien manco*. Université d'Alcala de Henares. Alcala de Henares, 1999. Dans cet ouvrage, l'auteur s'interroge sur l'intervention directe du chirurgien, tout en reconnaissant que c'est peut-être lui qui a indiqué la marche à suivre dans le traitement de ce genre de cas, entre autres.

16 Et, plus précisément, *La primera parte de la Cirujía que trata de los humores praeternaturam*, qui fut sans doute imprimée à Valladolid entre 1580 et 1582.

17 Eisenberg, Daniel. *La biblioteca de Cervantes: Una reconstrucción*. J'ai consulté la version inachevée que l'auteur a insérée dans users.ipfw.edu/jehle/DEISENBE/cervantes/reconstruction.

18 Pour ce qui est de la date précise de son départ en retraite, Daza signale qu'il s'est produit « huit jours avant que sa Majesté ne parte pour la guerre du Portugal ». Or, Philippe II passe en revue, en Estrémadure, les troupes qui allaient entrer au Portugal le 13 juin 1580. La mise en retraite de Daza a donc dû se produire en

Il avait alors plus de 65 ans et avait fait preuve d'une activité débordante sur tous les théâtres de guerre où il avait été présent.

Il devait pourtant vivre encore quinze ans, retiré dans sa ville natale, où il écrivit ses livres. Comme je l'ai signalé, Eisenberg fait allusion, en analysant la bibliothèque de Cervantès, à *La primera parte de la Cirujía que trata de los humores praeternaturam*, imprimée à Valladolid en 1580 ou 1582. Il s'agit certainement de la *Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romance y latín*, la grande œuvre de Daza, dont la première édition a été imprimée par Bernardino de Santo Domingo, à Valladolid en 1582¹⁹. Une nouvelle édition paraîtra en 1584 sous le même titre, des mains du même imprimeur²⁰.

Des années plus tard, en 1595, toujours à Valladolid, la *Segunda parte de la practica y theorica de Cirugia en romance y latin: que trata de todas las heridas en general y en particular* voyait le jour. Bernardino de Santo Domingo était mort entre temps et ce sont ses héritiers qui se chargent d'imprimer l'ouvrage²¹.

À Valladolid, et « chez Ana Velez, qui repose dans la Gloire », la *Pratica y teorica de cirugia en romance y latín* est rééditée en 1609, mais j'ignore si sa seconde partie l'est aussi au même moment²², quoiqu'on la trouve à Madrid, en 1619, dans l'établissement de la veuve d'Alonso Marín²³.

En 1626, les deux parties de l'œuvre de Daza sont éditées par l'imprimerie de la veuve d'Alonso Martín, à Madrid²⁴. Il y a une édition de la seconde partie, effectuée à Valence en 1650²⁵. Toujours à Valence, les deux parties²⁶ sont rééditées en 1673. Enfin, elles paraissent toutes deux, réunies en un seul volume²⁷, à Madrid, en 1678.

Toutes ces éditions en un siècle témoignent de la diffusion de l'œuvre de Daza, dont le premier volume est consacré aux tumeurs, dans la lignée des idées de l'époque. L'auteur tâche d'en établir une classification fondée sur les symptômes et l'évolution clinique.

Parmi les autres sujets abordés dans cet ouvrage, il y a la traumatologie céphalique, en-

mai de cette année-là.

19 Dans le Catalogue collectif du Patrimoine bibliographique espagnol (CCPBE), seul en figure un exemplaire, conservé au monastère de Silos. L'orthographe du mot « theorica » attire mon attention. En effet, dans les autres éditions, on trouve toujours « Pratica » et « teorica ». Cependant, les censures du docteur Olivares et du chirurgien Antonio de Espinosa, présentes dans les premières pages, font bel et bien allusion au livre « intitulé Practica y theorica de Cirugía ».

20 La Bibliothèque nationale en conserve un exemplaire. (R/2998).

21 Le CCPBE en comptabilise un seul exemplaire, présent dans la bibliothèque du monastère de Silos.

22 Le CCPBE signale l'existence de trois exemplaires. L'un se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale, l'autre à la Royale Académie espagnole, et le troisième à la Bibliothèque historique « Marqués de Valdecilla » de l'université Complutense de Madrid. Ce dernier a été numérisé et peut être consulté en ligne, sur le site web de la BUCM, fonds numérisés, Dioscórides. Je n'ai pas trouvé d'exemplaires de la seconde partie éditée cette année-là.

23 De cette édition de la seconde partie, seul un exemplaire a été conservé. Il se trouve à la Bibliothèque nationale (R/6474).

24 Toutes deux peuvent être consultées en ligne, sur le site de la BUCM.

25 À Valence : chez les héritiers de Chrysostomo Garriz, 1650. Le seul exemplaire recensé par le CCPBE se trouve à la Bibliothèque publique de Ciudad Real.

26 À Valence : par Francisco Cipres, 1673. Un bon nombre d'exemplaires de cette édition a été conservé.

27 À Madrid, à l'imprimerie « del Reyno », Année 1678. Peut être consulté en ligne sur le site de la BUCM.

visagée à travers l'expérience qu'a Daza du traitement de la blessure du prince Charles et d'autres cas, et les processus gynécologiques. Nous ne pouvons pas les analyser ici, mais d'autres auteurs s'en sont déjà occupé.

Nul doute que le plus intéressant est l'objectif poursuivi. Daza est en effet le premier chirurgien espagnol à avoir écrit en castillan, « dans notre langue espagnole » dit-il. Jusqu'alors, les ouvrages scientifiques sont écrits en latin, une langue qu'il connaît parfaitement. Il lui aurait d'ailleurs été plus facile de suivre la tradition²⁸. Mais il avait pris conscience que de nombreux chirurgiens « de langue romane », doués pour l'exercice de leur profession, ne pouvaient pas atteindre le niveau requis faute de texte dans leur langue et faute de connaître le latin. C'est à eux qu'il adresse son livre, après avoir constaté que, dans d'autres pays, on utilise déjà les langues romanes dans l'enseignement. Il a d'ailleurs une réflexion curieuse sur l'italien : « Je ne sais pas pourquoi, dans la langue italienne, qui n'est pas meilleure que la nôtre, et est peut-être même moins bonne, il y a des traductions d'un nombre infini de livres grecs et latins, sur toutes les professions, alors que la nôtre en a si peu. » Pour expliquer ce phénomène, il suggère « que la curiosité qu'ils ont en excès, fait chez nous défaut ».

Le livre s'adresse aux chirurgiens et, par conséquent, ne manque pas d'allusions critiques au comportement des médecins « qui s'entretiennent par trop de philosophie naturelle sans en arriver jamais au remède pour les malades ». De toute évidence, la formation qu'ils recevaient était excessivement spéculative et assez éloignée de la réalité quotidienne. Toutefois Daza les critique trop durement lorsqu'il les compare à ces « figuiers fous qui, par leur verdeur et leur fraîcheur, séduisent quiconque les regarde. Mais une fois arrivé tout près, on maudit leur stérilité ». Il aspire à écrire « avec plus de profit que de spéculation » et il est, de plus, conscient du fait que de nombreux chirurgiens manquent de préparation, ce qui justifie le dicton populaire voulant que « à chirurgien clément, malade manchot ».

Outre son œuvre, la contribution de Daza aux services de santé espagnols a été significative. Il était le contemporain du chirurgien français Ambroise Paré, qui avait révolutionné le traitement des blessures par arme à feu en remplaçant l'huile bouillante qu'on versait dessus par un pansement « doux »²⁹.

La cautérisation de ce type de blessures et l'utilisation de l'huile répondaient à la croyance que, avec le projectile, un peu de poudre pénétrait dans l'organisme. Conformément à la théorie galénique des qualités, puisque la poudre était fabriquée avec du charbon, du soufre et du salpêtre – trois composants jugés « chauds » –, leur union devait être encore plus « chaude », et par conséquent toxique au plus haut point. Il fallait donc éliminer le poison par le feu et provoquer ensuite une suppuration pour compléter ce « nettoyage »³⁰.

28 Dans son prologue, il affirme que s'il s'était contenté d'employer le latin, il n'aurait pas dû rechercher « l'interprétation du vocable employé par les chirurgiens, ni traduire les textes des anciens et des modernes », ce qu'il a dû faire au prix d'un gros effort.

29 L'anecdote, qu'il raconte dans ses *Voyages faits en divers lieux*, sur les raisons qui imposèrent cette nouvelle orientation thérapeutique est bien connue. Apparemment, Paré appliquait de l'huile bouillante sur les plaies lorsqu'un jour, en raison du grand nombre de blessés, les provisions vinrent à manquer. Il dut alors se contenter de nettoyer les plaies et d'appliquer un soin occlusif avec un pansement. Le lendemain matin, il s'aperçut que ces blessés-là se trouvaient bien mieux que ceux à qui il avait pu appliquer de l'huile.

30 Cardoner, A. « La Cirugía en Barcelona en el siglo dieciocho antes de la fundación del Real Colegio de la misma facultad (1700-1760) ». *Medicina e Historia*, 22, Barcelone, 1973.

Daza adhéra aussitôt à cette nouvelle technique que, comme il l'a indiqué lui-même, il avait apprise de « monsieur Bartolomeo », pendant le siège de Saint-Dizier. Il s'agit certainement du chirurgien italien Bartolomé Maggi qui, avec César Magati³¹ étaient des adeptes des idées du Français. Quoi qu'il en soit, l'attitude de l'Espagnol répondait sans doute aussi à une prédisposition fondée sur sa propre expérience³².

Nier la toxicité de la poudre alors que, pour des auteurs renommés, c'était une vérité indéniable demandait sans nul doute du courage. D'où le mérite de l'attitude de Daza au sujet de cette question, et d'autres.

Pérez Tierra³³ parle de l'utilisation, préconisée par Daza, d'un singulier « pansement », qui consistait à introduire le moignon des membres amputés dans l'abdomen d'une poule vivante. Cela peut actuellement nous sembler grotesque, mais il s'agissait pour lui d'un pansement aseptique et riche en fibrine, protéine présente dans le péritoine de la volaille.

Il partageait par ailleurs la théorie des propriétés curatives de l'eau, ayant vérifié que les plaies bien lavées guérissaient mieux que celles qui n'avaient pas été nettoyées. Il établit le protocole de lavage et indiqua la température que devait avoir l'eau pour être plus efficace.

Une innovation encore plus importante fut l'introduction de l'hémostase par ligature des vaisseaux, qui vint remplacer la cautérisation pratiquée jusqu'alors. Daza, comme Paré, compte parmi ceux qui ouvrirent la voie vers une méthode qui allait finir par s'imposer, même si, à l'époque, elle comportait de sérieuses difficultés puisqu'on n'utilisait pas encore de garrot et qu'il était donc difficile de travailler sur un terrain qui ne pouvait être sec. Il faut aussi tenir compte du fait qu'on ne connaissait pas avec précision le mode de circulation du sang – William Harvey publiera ses découvertes en 1628. L'intuition d'hommes comme Daza, qui virent juste dans le traitement des aneurismes, n'en est que plus surprenante.

En dépit de son importante contribution à la chirurgie et malgré sa renommée de l'époque, ni la personnalité ni l'œuvre de Dionisio Daza Chacón n'ont obtenu, comme je le disais au début, l'attention qu'elles méritaient. Mais cela ne signifie pas qu'il soit passé inaperçu. En effet, il figure, dans l'amphithéâtre de la Royale Académie de Médecine, parmi les quatorze grands hommes de la médecine universelle³⁴.

ANTONIO DE GIMBERNAT, UN CHIRURGIEN DU SIÈCLE DES LUMIÈRES

Au début du XVIII^e siècle, l'assistance médicale dispensée à bord des navires des différents escadres de la péninsule présentait de graves défaillances. Il est curieux de constater que l'une des premières mesures adoptées par la nouvelle dynastie visait à améliorer l'assis-

31 Magati a parfois été proposé comme le prédécesseur de Paré dans cette méthode. Il ne fait en tous cas aucun doute que, presque simultanément, ils ont tous modifié substantiellement les soins qui, jusqu'alors étaient appliqués aux blessures provoquées par des armes à feu.

32 Fresquet Febrer, José Luis. « La práctica médica en los textos quirúrgicos españoles en el siglo XVIII ». *Dynamis*, 2002, 22, p. 251-277. Dans cet article, l'auteur suggère la possibilité que « monsieur Bartolomeo » ait été Bartolomeo Maggi, bien qu'il parle du « champ de bataille de Saint-Dossier » par erreur.

33 Pérez Tierra, Jesus. *Ibid.*

34 Curieusement, seuls quatre autres Espagnols ont mérité cet honneur : Andrés Laguna (1489-1569), Miguel Servet (1509-1553), Francisco Vallés (1520-1592) et Diego de Argumosa (1790-1865). Les autres sont Hippocrate, Galien, Averroès, Andrés Vesalio, William Harvey, Thomas Sydenham, Louis Pasteur, John Lister et Robert Koch.

tance médicale dans les galères. Elle aspirait à la confier à des « chirurgiens expérimentés et intelligents » et non plus à des « barbiers peu entraînés et peu exercés »³⁵. Mais ce n'était pas une tâche aisée de trouver des professionnels possédant de telles qualités et disposés à embarquer.

Dans l'intention de mettre en place une réforme bien plus profonde, le roi nomme alors un Français, Jean Lacombe, au poste de chirurgien en chef de la Marine. En 1728, ce dernier crée le corps de chirurgiens de la Marine et prépare la création du Collège royal de Chirurgie de Cadix, qui sera inauguré par son successeur, Pedro de Virgili³⁶.

Cet établissement modèle où, pour la première fois, l'enseignement de la chirurgie est uni à celui de la médecine, visait à former les chirurgiens qui devaient être affectés aux nombreux navires qui, ces années-là, entrèrent en service. Le collège ouvre en 1748. Deux ans plus tard, il a ses propres bâtiments. Ses classes forment des promotions successives d'environ 60 élèves. Ceux-ci assistent à des cours dispensés par des professionnels renommés, à des démonstrations d'anatomie sur des cadavres et à des cours pratiques effectués dans des laboratoires dotés d'instruments modernes venus de France ou d'Angleterre. Le collège possédait en outre une importante bibliothèque et un jardin botanique où les étudiants pouvaient se familiariser avec les remèdes thérapeutiques en usage. Les premières années, les plus brillants étaient envoyés dans diverses facultés européennes pour y compléter leur formation.

Rien d'étonnant, donc, à ce que le collège de Cadix ait attiré l'attention de nombreux jeunes sur une profession jusqu'alors peu valorisée. L'un de ces jeunes était Antonio de Gimbernat.

Né à Cambrils (dans la province de Tarragone) le 5 février 1735, c'était le fils d'un riche laboureur³⁷, qui comptait plusieurs notaires dans sa famille³⁸. Il avait épousé Antonia Arbós qui lui donna de nombreux enfants, dont six parvinrent à l'âge adulte. Antonio était le quatrième. Il avait été précédé d'un autre Antonio, l'aîné, mort en bas âge.

Par malheur, le 30 octobre 1740, le père décède et la mère doit assumer seule l'éducation de ses enfants, âgés d'entre 19 et un an.

Antonio avait alors cinq ans et allait déjà à l'école, où il se distinguait de ses camarades par « son application, son bon caractère, sa grande probité et son honnêteté »³⁹. En raison de ces qualités, le curé de la paroisse pense à le consacrer à l'église. Quelques années plus tard,

35 Il s'agit d'une cédule royale de Philippe V, datée du 13 septembre 1703.

36 Pedro de Virgili est un autre des personnages importants de l'époque. Fondateur des Collèges de Cadix et de Barcelone, médecin royal, anobli par le roi, il est, lui aussi, très représentatif de son époque. Je lui ai néanmoins préféré Gimbernat, en raison de sa stature plus internationale et des liens qui, d'une façon ou d'une autre, l'unissaient avec tous les collèges de chirurgie créés au XVIII^e siècle.

37 Qu'Antonio Gimbernat ait été un « paysan » ne signifie pas que c'était un simple journalier. Il possédait une maison d'une certaine importance sur l'une des plus belles places de la localité.

38 Son grand-père, Sebastián Gimbernat, et son arrière-grand-père, Ramón Gimbernat avaient été notaires. Sa mère était elle aussi fille d'un notaire, maître José Arbós. La tradition familiale allait se perpétuer en la personne de deux des frères d'Antonio : Sebastián, l'aîné, et Gabriel, né quatre ans avant Antonio, seront eux aussi notaires.

39 Ce sont les mots de son fils Agustín, qui fut son biographe et publia en 1828, une *Sucinta historia del Sr. D. Antonio de Gimbernat*. Cette biographie a fourni de nombreux renseignements aux chercheurs, dont le professeur Diego Ferrer, cité dans la bibliographie.

il l'envoie étudier au couvent des frères franciscains, dans la ville voisine de Riudolms⁴⁰. De là, il poursuit des études de philosophie à l'université de Cervera, où il décroche son diplôme de bachelier ès Arts. Il aurait pu continuer dans la carrière ecclésiastique, mais décide de donner à ses études une toute autre direction : il part pour Cadix, et entre au Collège royal de Chirurgie de la Marine.

Tout le monde n'est pas d'accord sur la date à laquelle Antonio arrive à Cadix. Son fils et biographe affirme qu'il y parvient en 1756. Mais, comme le signale Ferrer, son inscription au Collège date du 20 mai 1758⁴¹. On ignore tout des raisons qui ont poussé le jeune homme, en possession d'un diplôme de bachelier ès Arts, à prendre cette décision. Quand bien même il n'aurait pas eu la vocation nécessaire pour poursuivre la carrière ecclésiastique, il aurait pu choisir d'autres études universitaires. Mais il choisit la chirurgie et c'est bien plus préparé que la plupart de ses camarades qu'il entre au Collège. Il se distingue aussitôt des autres étudiants et se passionne pour les cours d'anatomie. Ces cours étaient dispensés par Lorenzo Roland dont il devient très vite le disciple de prédilection.

En théorie, la durée des études du Collège était de six ans. Le fait que, dès le 14 mai 1760, soit deux ans après son inscription et « après avoir fait preuve d'application en tout », il soit nommé aide-chirurgien et, ce qui est encore plus significatif, qu'il se voit confier les nouveaux élèves « pour les instruire en ostéologie », témoigne de ses facultés exceptionnelles et de la rapidité de son apprentissage.

On ne s'étonnera donc pas que, lorsque, cette même année, Lorenzo Roland est nommé par Virgili à l'assemblée universitaire du nouveau Collège de Barcelone, il ait fait l'impossible pour emmener « avec lui l'étudiant qu'il choisira par voie de licence ». Bien entendu, l'étudiant choisi est Antonio de Gimbernat qui, le 1^{er} octobre 1760, quitte l'établissement où il suivait sa formation pour devenir professeur du nouveau collège barcelonais.

Au départ, sa mission d'enseignant consiste à remplacer son mentor pour les démonstrations d'anatomie. Toutefois, en réalité, c'est lui qui donne les cours, puisque Roland est accaparé par ses fonctions de vice-président du Collège. Virgili prend conscience des aptitudes du jeune homme et essaie de le faire nommer professeur d'université, sans y parvenir, à cause de sa jeunesse – Antonio de Gimbernat n'a que 26 ans. Gimbernat obtient néanmoins le titre de « professeur honoraire », assorti de l'option d'occuper le premier poste à se libérer dans l'assemblée universitaire. Cette occasion se présente en 1765, à la mort de don José Pahissa, lequel avait d'ailleurs assisté, deux ans plus tôt au mariage de Gimbernat avec Eulalia Grassot Ballester, fille d'un autre des professeurs du Collège, don Carlos Grassot. Six enfants naîtront de cette union⁴².

40 Il a apparemment étudié là les auteurs classiques latins en 1747 et en 1748. Certains auteurs estiment qu'il parcourait à pied tous les jours les huit kilomètres qui séparent Cambrils de Riudolms. Le professeur Ferrer juge plus probable qu'il ait été interne au couvent pendant l'année scolaire, seize kilomètres quotidiens lui semblant beaucoup pour un enfant de 12 ou 13 ans. Quant à moi, cela ne me semblerait pas si étonnant, car j'ai eu des camarades, plus jeunes que cela, qui couvraient des distances encore plus importantes pour pouvoir aller en classe, bien qu'ils le faisaient à vélo.

41 Ce qui, d'après moi, n'a rien d'incompatible. Il a très bien pu partir pour Cadix en 1756, à 22 ans et réussir à entrer au Collège de Chirurgie un an et demi plus tard.

42 L'aînée des enfants est María Antonia. Elle est suivie de Jerónimo, Carlos, Agustín, Rita y Antonio. Agustín a été le biographe de son père et, comme Carlos, ce fut un remarquable naturaliste.

Début 1766, il est nommé chirurgien-major de l'hôpital et obtient la propriété de son poste de professeur, non sans quelques réticences de la part de certains. Lors des huit années suivantes, il mène une féconde activité scientifique. Il consacre de nombreuses heures à la dissection de cadavres et en vient à affirmer que « le corps humain est le livre naturel dont je ne m'écarterai pas d'un seul point et que je préfèrerai toujours à n'importe quel auteur, même au plus éclairé ». C'est à l'occasion de ces travaux qu'il approfondit ses connaissances sur la structure anatomique de l'arcade crurale et sur la hernie inguinale. En 1772 et en 1773, il effectue les premières opérations où il applique la méthode qu'il préconise.

Gimbernat connaissait l'influence extrêmement positive qu'avaient eu, au Collège de Cadix, les voyages de prolongation d'études qui récompensaient les élèves les plus brillants. Rien d'étonnant donc à ce que, dès qu'il ait été suffisamment influent, il ait proposé à Charles III de renouer avec cette pratique. Il a à cette occasion le soutien résolu de Virgili.

Mais, cette fois-ci, ce ne sont pas des étudiants qui sont envoyés à l'étranger mais deux professeurs des Collèges de Chirurgie : Gimbernat pour le Collège de Barcelone, et Mariano Ribas, chirurgien de la marine et professeur d'université à Cadix. Les deux recevront 12 000 réaux pour leurs frais de voyage, plus une somme du même ordre en complément annuel de leur salaire.

Par ailleurs, ce voyage d'études allait durer beaucoup plus longtemps que prévu puisqu'il s'étendit de décembre 1774 à octobre 1778. Ce furent donc pratiquement quatre ans, au cours desquels les deux enseignants auront l'occasion de visiter les facultés et les hôpitaux les plus importants d'Europe.

Ils se rendent tout d'abord à Paris. Ils y resteront deux ans, à travailler à l'hôtel-Dieu et à l'hôpital de la Charité, et à compléter leur formation en anatomie et en chirurgie. Ferrer a signalé que parmi les professeurs qu'ils fréquentent se trouvent Antoine Louis, secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie de Chirurgie⁴³, le chirurgien et grand anatomiste Antoine Petit⁴⁴ et le non moins célèbre Pierre-Joseph Desault⁴⁵. Ils assistent, de même, aux cours donnés par Pierre-Joseph Macquer⁴⁶.

Ils quittent Paris pour Londres, où ils ont l'occasion de fréquenter d'autres grands chirur-

43 Antoine Louis (1723-1792) était un chirurgien militaire qui se spécialisa par la suite en physiologie, sans pour autant abandonner la pratique de la chirurgie. En 1764, il fut nommé secrétaire perpétuel de l'Académie Royale de Chirurgie. C'est lui qui mit au point le premier projet de développement d'un engin qui allait passer dans l'Histoire sous le nom de guillotine, du fait que c'est le docteur Guillotin qui le mettra au point, et sera d'ailleurs lui-même guillotiné.

44 Antoine Petit (1718-1794) fut l'un des grands chirurgiens français du XVIII^e siècle. Professeur d'anatomie et de chirurgie à l'université de Paris, sa renommée lui permit d'accumuler une fortune considérable, qu'il employa à la création de plusieurs institutions de bienfaisance.

45 Pierre-Joseph Desault (1744-1795) était arrivé à Paris à l'âge de 20 ans. Il y fonda une école d'anatomie. Élève de Petit, ce fut l'un des chirurgiens les plus brillants de son temps. Il a été professeur de l'École Pratique, membre du Collège de Chirurgie, chirurgien en chef de l'hôpital de la Charité, puis, en 1788, de l'hôtel-Dieu. Sa célébrité est en partie due au fait qu'il a soigné le fils de Louis XVI pendant son emprisonnement au Temple.

46 Pierre-Joseph Macquer (1718-1744), bien que médecin, était professeur de chimie et membre de l'Académie des Sciences, ce qui ne l'empêcha pas d'être l'un des plus fervents détracteurs des théories de Lavoisier – qui finiraient par s'imposer.

giens de l'époque, dont, notamment, le très renommé John Hunter⁴⁷, qui donnait des cours dans l'école d'anatomie fondée par son frère. Les deux Espagnols vont assister à quatre-vingt-treize de ses leçons. C'est à la fin de l'un de ces cours, consacré au traitement de l'hernie crurale, que Gimbernat lui parle de la méthode qu'il a mise au point. Le chirurgien anglais fut étonné de son exposition et se mit dès lors à appliquer sa méthode, contribuant de la sorte à sa diffusion dans le monde entier. De nos jours, le « ligament de Gimbernat » est le seul éponyme médical tiré du nom d'un Espagnol.

Après leur séjour londonien, les deux chirurgiens partent pour Édimbourg, puis pour Leyde. C'est dans l'université de cette ville que les premiers boursiers du collège de Cadix avaient été envoyés.

De retour à Madrid, Gimbernat est chargé de créer un nouveau Collège de Chirurgie, celui de Madrid. Cette fois-ci, il a à affronter de nombreuses difficultés, dues à l'opposition des médecins, et ce n'est qu'en 1787 qu'il parvient à ouvrir son établissement, dans les locaux d'un bâtiment construit à cet effet.

C'est une époque particulièrement féconde de la vie de Gimbernat. En 1788, il présente sa *Nuevo método para operar la hernia discal* et ouvre un musée de l'Anatomie. Par ailleurs, le 23 janvier 1789, il est nommé chirurgien du roi par Charles III et, le 2 octobre de la même année, il est anobli, un privilège qui s'étend à toute sa descendance. Cette distinction, reçue quelques années plus tôt par Pedro de Virgili, était signe d'un progrès extraordinaire dans la reconnaissance sociale des chirurgiens.

Nul doute que la profession avait connu un changement radical à partir de la création des Collèges royaux de Chirurgie. Cette transformation avait été particulièrement ressentie en milieu militaire et surtout dans la marine. Les chirurgiens du Collège de Cadix allaient finir par remplacer entièrement les anciens médecins des navires. Pour en arriver là, il avait fallu que leur formation allie les deux savoirs, et il avait fallu pour cela vaincre bien des oppositions. C'est là toute la singularité du Collège de Cadix, et ses responsables luttèrent infatigablement pour la maintenir, s'opposant à l'unification de leur établissement avec les Collèges de Chirurgie qui se créaient et qui n'avaient rien à voir avec le Collège royal de Médecine et de Chirurgie de Cadix.

En effet, le Collège de Barcelone, puis, plus tard, celui de Madrid n'enseignaient que la chirurgie, tout comme ceux de Burgos, de Saint-Jacques-de-Compostelle, de Salamanque et de Saragosse, fondés au fil de ces années-là.

Le rôle qu'a joué Antonio de Gimbernat dans ce processus est important. En tant que membre de l'Assemblée supérieure dirigeante des Collèges royaux du Royaume, présidée par don Pedro Custodio Gutiérrez – premier chirurgien du roi –, auquel il succèdera à sa mort, il s'est efforcé de contrôler tous les collèges et d'en unifier les programmes de formation.

L'action de Gimbernat aura une influence très négative sur la marine et sur l'armée de terre, qui avaient été les grands bénéficiaires de la création de ces établissements d'enseignement. L'armée de terre finira par perdre le collège de Barcelone et la marine aura d'énormes

47 John Hunter (1728-1793) était lui aussi chirurgien militaire. En 1789, il sera nommé *Surgeon General* de la *Royal Army*. Il était le frère de l'anatomiste William Hunter. Au moment où Gimbernat fait sa connaissance, il venait d'être nommé chirurgien du roi Georges III.

difficultés à maintenir l'esprit de la création du premier des établissements espagnols.

Gimbernât, dont les premières années de formation s'étaient déroulées à Cadix, use de toute son influence – frôlant même parfois le mauvais goût⁴⁸ – pour rogner l'indépendance du collège de Cadix. Cette attitude, unie aux limitations imposées par la modicité des assignations financières que ce dernier reçoit après la création des nouveaux collèges, sera pour beaucoup dans la décadence de cet établissement exemplaire.

Les dernières années de la vie de Gimbernât seront difficiles à plusieurs égards. Au déclin de sa santé viennent s'ajouter les conséquences de sa collaboration avec le gouvernement de Joseph I^{er} pendant la guerre d'Indépendance⁴⁹. La paix rétablie, Ferdinand VII avait reconstitué l'ancienne Assemblée supérieure dirigeante, mais Gimbernât n'y figure plus qu'en qualité de membre. Mortifié par ce qu'il estime une marque de mépris à son égard, il présente alors sa démission et vit désormais à l'écart de toute activité publique. Dans des conditions de vie précaires, il vit sous la tutelle de son fils Antonio jusqu'à sa mort, le 17 novembre 1816.

Les collèges étaient alors déjà entrés en crise, une crise renforcée par les graves problèmes dérivés de la guerre. Ils seront néanmoins, quelques années plus tard, le germe d'où surgiront les nouvelles facultés de Médecine et de Chirurgie qui sont parvenues jusqu'à nos jours.

En attendant, il faudra un certain temps pour que l'armée de terre et la marine parviennent à reconstituer leur structure médicale. Elles le feront moyennant la création de leurs Corps de Santé respectifs, qui dureront jusqu'à la fin du XIX^e siècle et accueilleront d'éminentes personnalités, comme le prix Nobel Santiago Ramón y Cajal – membre du Corps de Santé Militaire, affecté à Cuba – ou encore le professeur Joaquín Trías Pujol, membre du même corps et futur professeur de la chaire de Technique chirurgicale. C'est lui qui a posé les bases qui, développées, donneront lieu à la « méthode espagnole », ou traitement occlusif des fractures par arme à feu, mieux connue sous le nom de « méthode de Trueta », en souvenir du grand chirurgien José Trueta, qui l'appliqua pendant la guerre civile espagnole de 1936-1939, puis la diffusa pendant son exil au Royaume-Uni⁵⁰.

48 En soulignant, par exemple, devant Charles IV les défaillances du Collège lors de la visite que le roi, en sa compagnie, fait de Cadix.

49 Il avait accepté de présider le Conseil supérieur de la Santé du Royaume. Il s'agissait cependant d'un geste purement symbolique, sa santé ne lui permettant pas une participation active.

50 Dans son *Historia de la Sanidad Militar Española* (Tome II, p. 481), Massons signale que Trueta fut l'un parmi les médecins de l'armée républicaine à appliquer cette méthode, à l'époque révolutionnaire.

La Population civile – acteur des forces armées de la Roumanie (1919-1939)

PETRE OTU

La première grande conflagration mondiale, „La Grande Guerre” - à peine ce terrible tourment avait-il envahi la conscience publique - engendra un phénomène tout à fait nouveau dans la pensée et la pratique militaire, matérialisé dans le concept de „nation armée”. La guerre cessa d’être un phénomène relativement marginal de la société, ainsi qu’il arrivait pendant les siècles précédents, en devenant cette fois-ci une cause de toute la nation qui fut obligée de mobiliser toutes ses ressources en vue d’obtenir la victoire. Pendant l’année 1917, par exemple, pour les nécessités du front travaillaient: 76% de la force de travail en Russie; 57% en France, 46% en Grande Bretagne, 64% en Italie; 50% en Allemagne, 31,6% aux Etats Unis.

La stratégie de l’épuisement et de la destruction totale, mise en pratique par les belligérants, changea le rôle des armées qui n’étaient plus les championnes des nations en guerre. Elles étaient l’instrument à travers lequel les parties belligérantes extorquaient l’une à l’autre leurs ressources et gens¹.

Cette réalité modifia aussi le but du conflit qui n’était pas l’anéantissement, avec priorité, des forces armées de l’adversaire, mais la destruction totale de celui-ci de sorte que sa concurrence fût éliminée. Ainsi que le montrait le grand historien Eric Hobsbawm, ce fut un but absurde qui détruisit également les vainqueurs et les vaincus. Les vaincus furent poussés vers la révolution, les vainqueurs, vers la faillite et l’épuisement².

Au-delà de ces aspects qui dépassent, en partie, le cadre de notre communication, on doit tenir compte que, pendant la période de l’entre-deux-guerres, sur la base de l’expérience des années 1914-1918, dans de nombreux états du monde les préoccupations en vue de trouver des solutions pour inclure des segments de la population civile dans les structures militaires s’intensifièrent, cette population devenant un facteur de consolidation des forces armées. La participation de la population civile à l’effort militaire représentait une dimension importante du concept de „nation armée”, amplement débattu dans la pensée militaire de l’époque.

LE CONCEPT DE „NATION ARMÉE”

Dans la sphère de ces préoccupations s’intégra aussi la Roumanie, pays qui, à la fin de la Première Guerre Mondiale, sur le fond de la réorganisation politico-territoriale du centre et du sud-est du continent européen, créa son état national unitaire. La nouvelle position géopolitique et géostratégique de la Roumanie imposait l’accroissement du potentiel militaire et le principe de „nation armée” semblait le plus approprié pour remplir ses besoins de sécurité.

A travers maints travaux indépendants, études et articles parus dans diverses publications militaires et civiles, dont on peut remarquer la „Roumanie Militaire” – le principal

1 Michael Hovard, *La Guerre dans l’histoire de l’Europe*, traduit par Antuza Genescu et Vasile Mitu, Editions SEDONA, Timisoara, 1997, p.127.

2 Eric Hobsbawm, *Le Siècle des extrêmes*, traduit par Irina Ionescu, Editions Lider, Bucarest, 1994, p. 46.

organe théorique de l'armée roumaine –, de nombreux théoriciens militaires soumièrent à un ample débat la question de l'application du principe de la „nation armée” à la situation et aux conditions de la Roumanie de cette époque-là³. La préparation du pays pour la guerre de défense, la seule admise par la pensée militaire, était estimée comme étant un problème d'une grande complexité impliquant de nombreux aspects d'ordre politique, économique, administratif, militaire, technico-scientifique, moral etc. Selon l'appréciation du général Nicolae Alevra, théoricien militaire réputé, elle représentait „la coordination sans retard, avec beaucoup d'habileté et d'intelligence, de toutes les forces de la nation en vue de leur collaboration future, la création d'une industrie nationale de défense, la mise en train du pays pour combattre avec ses propres moyens dans n'importe quelle situation politique et contre n'importe quel ennemi”⁴.

Dans ce cadre une attention particulière fut accordée à la population civile, c'est-à-dire à ces catégories qui n'étaient pas soumises aux obligations militaires, comme, par exemple, les jeunes âgés jusqu'à 20 ans et les femmes.

La jeunesse constitua l'objet des préoccupations intenses des théoriciens militaires, des autorités militaires, des diverses sociétés culturelles et sportives, des cercles assez larges de l'opinion publique. Au cours des amples discussions, souvent contradictoires, se profilèrent des solutions concernant le but et le caractère de la préparation des jeunes, les modalités d'organisation et de direction, la durée, les moyens matériels, les implications sur les jeunes, sur l'armée et sur la société. La préparation était envisagée dans un sens multilatéral, sans être limitée uniquement à son côté militaire. Outre les problèmes militaires elle devait inclure une préparation physique irréprochable, des habitudes solides et des connaissances technico-scientifiques compatibles avec les nouvelles conditions imposées par la guerre, une préparation psycho-morale conforme à la lutte moderne etc.

Selon certains auteurs, la préparation de la jeunesse devait se matérialiser dans l'éducation physique qui fût assurée grâce aux sociétés de gymnastique, de tir et d'autres sports; l'éducation morale et patriotique; l'instruction prérégimentaire des jeunes âgés de 19 et de 20 ans⁵.

D'autres théoriciens proposaient l'introduction de la préparation militaire dans les écoles de tous les degrés „car l'école avec ses centaines de milliers de jeunes constituait la grande armée du pays, tout comme l'armée représentait la grande école de la nation”⁶.

Quant au rôle joué par les femmes, les théoriciens militaires, en partant de l'expérience de la première conflagration mondiale, considéraient que „étant donné que la guerre nécessitait le concours de tous, là où manqueront les bras des hommes, les bras des femmes seront ceux

3 Voir entre autres, colonel Petre Otu, *La guerre totale dans la pensée et la pratique militaire roumaine pendant la première moitié du XX-ème siècle en Guerre et société en Europe. Perspectives des nouvelles recherches*, coordination générale: prof. émérite dr. André Corvisier, prof. dr. Dumitru Preda, p.199-220; Petre Otu (coordonateur), Teofil Oroian, Ion Emil, *Personnalités de la pensée militaire roumaine*, tome 1-2, Editions de l'Académie de Hautes Etudes Militaires, Bucarest, 1997, 2001.

4 Général Alevra, *Organisation de l'Armée après la guerre*, Bucarest, 1930, p.1.

5 Colonel Stefan Georgescu, *Propositions concernant l'organisation des cercles de recrutement*, „Roumanie Militaire” no.7-8/1926, p.31.

6 Général R. Sc riu, *Opinions sur l'éducation morale concernant la préparation pour la guerre*, Sibiu, 1939, p.53.

qui les remplaceront.”⁷.

Cependant, les opinions critiques ne tardèrent pas à apparaître, certains hommes politiques, journalistes et même militaires n’étant pas d’accord avec les modalités d’intégration des diverses catégories de citoyens dans les structures militaires ou paramilitaires qui auraient été créées ad-hoc. Ils considéraient que de telles mesures auraient représenté des charges supplémentaires qui n’auraient pas été bien accueillies par ces catégories. En outre, on serait arrivé à une militarisation toujours plus grande de la société, ce qui aurait affecté le cadre démocratique institué après la guerre.

LE CADRE NORMATIF

Pendant les premières 10-15 années après la fin de la conflagration, de telles préoccupations restèrent au niveau théorique, les seules réalisations notables étant celles de la sphère législative où l’on adopta une série d’actes normatifs qui créaient le cadre légal pour des mesures destinées à intégrer la population dans l’effort militaire.

Au premier plan s’impose la **Constitution** adoptée en 1923 par le Parlement de la Roumanie qui assura un régime démocratique pour l’évolution de la Roumanie pendant la période interbellique. La loi fondamentale avait un chapitre séparé (titre V) intitulé „Sur les forces armées”. L’article 119 stipulait que: „Tout Roumain, sans distinction d’origine ethnique, de langue ou de religion, fait partie de l’un des éléments des forces armées conformément aux lois spéciales”⁸.

Un autre acte normatif important fut la „*Loi sur l’organisation de l’armée*”, adoptée par l’autorité législative du pays le 23 juin 1924⁹. Rédigé conformément à la nouvelle constitution, le document établissait les principes et la structure des forces armées, l’obligation du service militaire pour tous les citoyens du pays, le recrutement des effectifs dans le système national et non territorial comme il arrivait jusqu’alors etc. Et ce qui était très important, la loi instituait la préparation prémilitaire (prérégimentaire) des jeunes âgés de 19 à 21 ans, mais cette disposition resta non matérialisée pendant la décennie suivante.

En avril 1933, sur le fond d’une intensification de la tension dans les relations internationales, le Parlement adopta „*La Loi sur l’organisation de la nation et du territoire en temps de guerre*”, le premier acte normatif qui essaya de mettre en pratique le concept de la „nation armée” tellement débattu à cette époque-là.

Cette loi établissait un set de principes et normes, en soulignant le fait que l’organisation de la nation et du territoire en temps de guerre avait pour but de mettre en valeur toutes les forces et toutes les ressources existantes pour assurer la défense nationale.¹⁰

La loi comprenait des dispositions importantes concernant la participation des citoyens à l’effort de défense. Par conséquent, à l’article 6 on précisait que les habitants qui n’étaient pas soumis aux obligations militaires, à partir de l’âge de 18 ans accomplis, peuvent être obligés en temps de guerre à déployer un service dans l’intérêt de la défense nationale. L’emploi

7 Général C.N. Hârjeu, *Etudes et critiques militaires*, Editions Librairie „St nciulescu”, Bucarest, 1921, p.21.

8 „Moniteur Officiel” no.282 du 29 mars 1923.

9 „Moniteur Officiel” no.134 du 24 juin 1924/ La Loi no.174.

10 „Moniteur Officiel” no.96 du 27 avril 1933.

de ceux ayant un âge plus jeune, aussi bien que la participation des femmes n'étaient admis que pour les activités prévues par la législation en vigueur¹¹. L'acte normatif constitua la base juridique de l'adoption des mesures de préparation militaire des diverses catégories des citoyens.

LA PRÉPARATION DE LA JEUNESSE

En concrétisant les amples débats de la société roumaine et sur la base de l'acte normatif ci-dessus, en avril 1934, le Parlement adopta en unanimité la „*Loi nr.83 sur la préparation prémilitaire de la jeunesse*”, sanctionnée par le souverain par le Décret no.1329 du 8 mai 1934¹².

La préparation prémilitaire ou prérégimentaire était définie comme une institution d'intégration et de consolidation de l'éducation intégrale du soldat et „d'initiation de la jeunesse à l'accomplissement de la doctrine de défenseur du pays”.

La préparation prémilitaire devenait obligatoire pour tous les jeunes âgés de 18 à 20 ans, étant citoyens roumains, sans distinction de religion, appartenance sociale ou de groupe. Les jeunes Roumains qui étudiaient à l'étranger étaient obligés de s'inscrire dans des sociétés sportives reconnues dans les pays respectifs. La durée de la préparation était fixée à 40-50 séances par an, déroulées, d'habitude, pendant les jours de fête, auxquelles on ajoutait une concentration annuelle de 4-7 jours.

Le contenu de la préparation comprenait des heures d'éducation patriotique et civique, des éléments de préparation physique, instruction tactique et de front, instruction du tir.

La préparation prémilitaire s'effectuait dans des souscentres et centres constitués dans chaque localité rurale et urbaine, et dans les villes plus grandes et dans chaque structure administrativo-territoriale, respectivement dans chaque district, on créa un inspectorat spécial. La direction de cette activité au niveau national était exercée par une structure spéciale créée à ce but – l'Inspectorat de la Préparation prémilitaire, subordonné à l'Inspectorat Général des Commandements Territoriaux. Le personnel instructeur était formé d'officiers et de sous-officiers actifs et de réserve, ceux-ci devant être préparés à travers des convocations spéciales.

Pendant les premières années, la préparation prémilitaire se heurta à des difficultés de toute sorte, l'absence du cadre organisationnel, de la base matérielle, du personnel instructeur, l'insuffisance des fonds alloués constituant les principales causes..

A partir de la moitié de la quatrième décennie, la situation s'améliora, la préparation prémilitaire étant organisée à deux niveaux, le premier incluant la jeunesse scolaire et universitaire, le second, les autres jeunes du milieu urbain. A l'approche de la deuxième conflagration mondiale, le nombre des jeunes compris dans cette forme de préparation était d'environ 500.000, ce qui représentait à peu près 90% du nombre total des jeunes de cet âge. La qualité de l'enseignement présentait des lacunes dues surtout au personnel instructeur, formé en grande partie des réservistes, et à la base matérielle insuffisante (salles de sport, polygones etc.). On doit mentionner que la préparation prémilitaire fonctionna sur toute la durée de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale, n'étant supprimée qu'en 1947 par le régime communiste.

11 Les Archives Militaires Roumaines (par la suite la sigle AMR), fond 5416, dossier no.1046, f.239.

12 „Moniteur Officiel” no.107/11 mai 1934.

Il y eut aussi d'autres catégories de jeunes qui attirèrent l'attention des autorités pour qu'ils fussent intégrés dans l'effort de défense. Il s'agissait de jeunes entre 7-18 ans (garçons) et 7-21 ans (filles), constitués, depuis le mois d'octobre 1937, dans une organisation nationale, „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”). Sa création répondait aux tendances autoritaristes de Charles II qui en février 1938 institua son régime monarchique personnel. Par conséquent, cette organisation eut la mission d'assurer le contrôle le plus strict possible de cette catégorie de jeunes. Il y avait aussi un motif politique à la base de cette mesure prise par Charles II, le souverain se trouvant dans un conflit puissant avec la Garde de Fer, organisation d'extrême droite qui étendait son influence sur les jeunes.

Tous les jeunes de la catégorie d'âge ci-dessus furent inscrits dans cette organisation. Pendant l'automne de l'année 1937, au début de l'activité, il y avait 2508 unités et 798.000 membres, et trois ans plus tard leur nombre arriva à 23.236 incluant 4.373.039 jeunes. Dans toutes les unités d'enseignement, un jour par semaine, le samedi, était dédié en exclusivité aux activités de sentinelle. Quoiqu'elle ne fût pas une organisation paramilitaire, „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”), reçut aussi, chemin faisant, des responsabilités concernant la préparation des jeunes pour la défense. D'ailleurs, le Ministère de la Défense Nationale approuva, par des décisions successives, que les unités de la „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”) pussent utiliser la base matérielle des unités militaires, en particulier les polygones pour l'instruction du tir, et participer à des activités à caractère militaire.

En mai 1939 fut adoptée *„La loi sur l'organisation et l'emploi de la jeunesse en cas de mobilisation”*, qui établissait que les jeunes hommes âgés de 7-18 ans et les jeunes filles âgées de 7-21 ans étaient soumis à des obligations en cas de guerre¹³. Les principaux domaines où les jeunes pouvaient être employés étaient l'intégration d'une certaine partie du personnel des entreprises qui en cas de guerre étaient soumis à la mobilisation, l'assurance du nécessaire de force de travail dans l'industrie, l'engagement des formations de défense passive etc. L'emploi des jeunes de ces catégories se faisait en fonction de la préparation de chacun et ne devait pas affecter les études qu'ils fréquentaient.

Au printemps du même an, on adopta des normes de collaboration entre le Ministère de l'Education Nationale, „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”) et la Préparation Pré-militaire¹⁴, par laquelle on avait délimité les attributions des trois institutions. L'éducation et la préparation des jeunes âgés de moins de 18 ans revenaient exclusivement à l'école et à la „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”) et ceux plus âgés étaient désignés pour la Préparation Pré-militaire. Pendant l'automne de l'année 1940, après l'abdication du roi Charles II, „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”) fut supprimée et la base matérielle de l'organisation entra dans le patrimoine de l'état.

LA PRÉPARATION DES FEMMES

Un acte normatif très important fut représenté par la *„Loi sur l'enrôlement des femmes au service de la patrie en cas de guerre”*¹⁵, promulguée par le souverain en septembre 1938.

13 AMR, fond 5416, dossier no.1476, f.156-163.

14 „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays”), Bulletin no.3-4, mars-avril 1939, p.168-189.

15 AMR, fond 5416, dossier no.1476, f.156-163.

Dans le document consacrant officiellement l'intégration de cette catégorie dans l'effort général de défense du pays, on stipulait qu': „en temps de guerre, les femmes doivent se mettre au service de la patrie. C'est le but pour lequel elles peuvent être mobilisées, par appel individuel ou par catégories, dans les services pour lesquels elles sont aptes selon leur préparation.”¹⁶.

„*Le règlement de la loi sur l'enrôlement des femmes au service de la patrie en temps de guerre*”, adopté au printemps de l'année 1939, établissait les conditions et les modalités par lesquelles les femmes pouvaient être entraînées dans l'activité militaire. C'est ainsi que toutes les personnes de sexe féminin, âgées de 21 à 57 ans, pouvaient être mobilisées pour servir aux travaux auxiliaires de la défense nationale.

Les jeunes filles âgées de moins de 21 ans pouvaient elles aussi participer aux diverses activités, en formant le Corps des femmes volontaires (16-20 ans). Les femmes âgées de 20 à 40 ans constituaient le Corps des territoriales actives et celles âgées de 40-57 ans, le Corps des territoriales réservistes.

Les femmes pouvaient être employées dans trois grands domaines: sanitaire, technique et administratif et pouvaient accomplir des fonctions en téléphonie, télégraphie, voies ferrées, services sanitaire et social, défense passive, force de travail dans les entreprises en tant que remplaçantes des hommes. D'ailleurs, les documents officiels consignaient que la réglementation de l'emploi des femmes avait des avantages évidents, en répondant à un esprit de justice, et appelait un élément nouveau et considérable dans la défense de la patrie en temps de guerre.

A la différence de la préparation prémilitaire, le cadre institutionnel pour la participation des femmes à la défense du pays resta au stade de début jusqu'au moment du déclenchement de la seconde conflagration mondiale. Ultérieurement, ces préoccupations furent abandonnées.

LA DÉFENSE PASSIVE

Nouveau domaine dans l'organisation militaire d'un état, la défense passive avait pour but de protéger la population civile devant les attaques aériennes et d'autre nature de l'ennemi ou devant des désastres naturels.

Tout comme dans d'autres pays, pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres, en Roumanie on constitua le cadre législatif et organisationnel de cette activité.

Le plus important moment fut l'adoption en 1930 du „*Règlement de la Défense Passive contre les attaques aériennes*”. Ce document précisait que l'organisation de la défense contre les attaques aériennes constituait une partie spéciale de l'organisation générale de la nation pour la défense¹⁷.

La défense passive fut organisée au niveau local (district, municipale, commune) et était coordonnée par le Ministère des Affaires Intérieures. Dans les formations de défense passive des institutions et des localités participaient tous les citoyens âgés de 16 ans et plus, sans distinction de sexe.

¹⁶ Ibidem.

¹⁷ „Moniteur Officiel” no.69 du 23 mars 1933.

Le cadre législatif fut intégré par d'autres actes normatifs dont le plus important fut la „*Loi pour la défense aérienne active et passive*”, promulguée en mars 1939. Cette loi précisait plus clairement la défense passive et établissait les modalités à travers lesquelles les citoyens étaient obligés d'y participer. La défense passive consistait d'une série de mesures de sécurité, prévention et sauvegarde organisées dans le but d'augmenter l'efficacité de la défense active. Parmi les formes préconisées on peut mentionner: la prévention rapide de la population sur le danger des attaques aériennes; le camouflage des objets terrestres; la limitation des effets des bombardements ennemis (incendies, infections, destructions), l'assurance des soins médicaux accordés aux blessés etc. L'organisation, la direction et le contrôle de la défense passive étaient transférés à la charge du Ministère de la Défense Nationale.

Il est digne de remarquer que la loi introduisait dans les programmes de toutes les facultés et écoles de tout genre, aussi bien que dans toutes les institutions „l'heure hebdomadaire de défense passive”. La population civile, sans distinction de sexe, âgée de 16 à 55 ans, était obligée de participer à l'exécution des travaux de défense passive. En même temps, tous les citoyens devaient participer 24 heures par an (2 heures par mois) aux séances de préparation sur la ligne de la défense passive.

INITIATIVES PRIVÉES DE PRÉPARATION DE LA POPULATION

Pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres fonctionnèrent aussi une série d'organisations privées qui, par leur profil, contribuaient indirectement à la préparation d'une catégorie de citoyens pour le métier de soldat.

Parmi ceux-ci s'inscrivaient „les Eclaireurs (Scouts) de Roumanie”, organisation créée en 1913 qui participa dans une certaine mesure aux combats de la Première Guerre Mondiale. A la fin de la conflagration, l'activité de l'organisation fut réorganisée, un nouveau statut étant adopté en 1919 et un Règlement spécial en 1929. Le scoutisme se répandit aussi parmi les jeunes filles, en 1929 prenant naissance „l'Association des Eclaireuses”.

Le scoutisme, mouvement largement répandu dans le monde entier, mettait l'accent sur l'éducation physique et le sport, sur l'activité en plein air, les excursions, les randonnées, la vie au milieu de la nature. Par le spécifique de son activité, il habitua indirectement les jeunes aux difficultés de la vie de militaire. Le scoutisme fonctionna sur des bases autonomes jusqu'en automne de l'année 1937, lorsqu'il fut inclut dans la „Straja rii”, („la Sentinelle du Pays”).

Le développement accéléré de l'aéronautique détermina la création des organisations de profil. En décembre 1926 on fonda à Bucarest „l'Aéroclub Bleu”, association ayant pour but de „promouvoir la locomotion aérienne sous toutes ses formes et dans toutes ses applications: sportives, scientifiques, commerciales et de défense nationale”¹⁸.

Pendant les années qui suivirent, de tels aéroclubs furent aussi créés dans d'autres grandes villes – Craïova, Ploïe ti, Brasov, Sibiu. Les documents des associations respectives ne faisaient aucune discrimination basée sur le sexe, les femmes y ayant un accès égal avec celui des hommes.

L'année suivante, 1927, prit naissance, toujours à Bucarest, „L'Association Roumaine

18 L'Aéroclub Bleu. Les Statuts et l'Acte constitutif, Typographie de la Cour Royale, Bucarest, 1931, p.3.

pour la Propagande de l'Aviation" (ARPA), ayant pour objectif de développer l'intérêt de la population, surtout des jeunes, pour le nouveau domaine, l'amélioration de la base matérielle et la formation du personnel qualifié nécessaire à l'aviation civile et militaire.

Le développement du réseau d'associations à profil aviatique et l'augmentation du nombre des membres déterminèrent la création en 1937 de la „Fédération Aéronautique Royale de Roumanie" (FARR), qui coordonnait, dirigeait et contrôlait toute l'activité aviatique développée au niveau propagandiste et sportif. La Fédération dépendait du Ministère de l'Air et de la Marine, structure gouvernementale qui prit naissance en 1936.

D'autres organisations culturelles-sportives contribuèrent aussi à la préparation de la population pour la défense. Parmi celles-ci on peut mentionner „les Sociétés des archers", créées en Bucovine, région du nord du pays, au début du XX-ème siècle¹⁹. Conformément au règlement approuvé en 1906, „les archers s'appelleront les unions des jeunes hommes des villages dont le but sera de s'occuper avec les armes à feu, la gymnastique et l'aide en cas d'incendies".

Après la guerre, les sociétés des archers furent réorganisées et leur activité répandue dans d'autres régions du pays. Conformément au Statut adopté en 1929, l'instruction militaire et les exercices de gymnastique étaient obligatoires pour chaque membre du corps des archers²⁰.

Une autre association, s'approchant comme profil du scoutisme et des sociétés des éclaireurs fut „les Faucons des Carpathes", créée à Cluj, en 1928, qui agit prioritairement en Transilvanie. La réorganisation de la fin de l'année 1937 visa aussi les deux organisations intégrées dans la „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays").

Toutes les associations susmentionnées se remarquent par le spectre large d'activités: culturelles, artistiques, sportives, moralo-volitives, civiques, patriotiques etc. Elles ne furent pas des organisations paramilitaires, même si, sur certaines séquences, jouirent de l'appui de l'armée.

CONCLUSIONS

L'intégration de la population dans l'effort général de défense du pays constitua une préoccupation majeure de la pensée et de la pratique militaire roumaine de la période de l'entre-deux-guerres. Elle eut à la base le concept de la „nation armée" qui fut imposé par la première conflagration mondiale.

Malgré les efforts théoriques significatifs, un exemple en étant „*La loi sur l'organisation de la nation et du territoire en temps de guerre*" (1933), on n'arriva pas à une conception cohérente et liée qui matérialise le concept susmentionné. Les autorités de ressort et les théoriciens militaires n'arrivèrent pas à mettre les fondements d'une propre doctrine militaire, la Roumanie adoptant en 1924 la doctrine française. Par conséquent, les efforts entrepris pour entraîner les diverses catégories de citoyens dans la défense du pays eurent un caractère séquentiel et limité sous un aspect temporel, surtout pendant la quatrième décennie du siècle

19 Filaret V. Dobo , *Les archers et faits du Pays d'en Haut (1905-1940)*, Typographie Cern u eanu Teodat, Cern u i, 1940.

20 *Le Statut des sociétés des archers*, Institut d'arts graphiques et Editions „Voix de la Bucovine", Cern u i, 1929, p. 6.

passé.

Un autre aspect vise l'efficacité des initiatives et des mesures entreprises. Elles répondaient sans doute à la nécessité ressentie par l'état roumain de multiplier sa force militaire dans le but de décourager une éventuelle agression. Mais les difficultés engendrées par la guerre, le départ lourdaud de la société dans le processus de la reconstruction postbelgique, les débats du cadre de la classe politique roumaine qui conduisirent à l'apparition des opinions divergentes concernant les voies de développement de la Roumanie, l'absence d'une stratégie liée, solide, les fonds insuffisants firent que les mesures fussent adoptées avec retard et quelques-unes d'entre elles restassent surtout au stade d'intention ou se limitassent à l'adoption de certains actes normatifs. Les plus viables formes de préparation révélées furent la Préparation Prémilitaire et la Défense Passive qui fonctionnèrent aussi pendant la période de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale.

Vers la fin de la quatrième décennie, sur le fond de l'intensification de la tension dans les relations internationales qui laissaient entrevoir la perspective d'un nouveau conflit généralisé, le rythme des mesures s'intensifia. Mais, par simple coïncidence ou non, les initiatives d'intégration de la population dans diverses formes de préparation militaire se superposèrent sur le déclin du régime démocratique de Roumanie, qui se concrétisa dans l'instauration du régime monarchique personnel du roi Charles II (février 1938). Il est difficile d'affirmer si le roi Charles ait tiré parti de ces mesures pour faciliter la matérialisation de ses intentions autoritaristes visibles, détectables, depuis son avènement au trône en juin 1930. Indiscutablement, certaines mesures, comme l'enrégimentement de toute la jeunesse dans une seule organisation, „Straja rii, („la Sentinelle du Pays)”, répondaient à de tels buts.

Un autre aspect de ce problème est lié au quantum de la population apte pour l'effort militaire. Le nombre des habitants de la Roumanie dans la période interbelgique fut de 19-20.000.000 de gens, et le quantum du contingent annuel fut d'environ 150.000-160.000 citoyens. Tenant compte de la durée du service militaire de 29 ans (5 ans en permanence et complètement, 15 ans en réserve et 9 ans dans les milices), il en résulte que le potentiel mobilisable de la Roumanie se chiffrait à 3,7-3,8 millions de personnes dont environ un tiers, respectivement 1,2 millions furent incluses dans les plans de mobilisation. A ces chiffres on peut ajouter le contingent des prémilitaires (les jeunes âgés de 18, 19 et 20 ans) qui se chiffrait à 500.000 jeunes à peu près. Par conséquent, le potentiel humain mobilisable de Roumanie était assez important.

La grande déficience du système militaire roumain interbelgique ne fut donc pas représentée par le personnel, par les gens, mais par le matériel qui ne permettait pas de forces armées nombreuses. Les grandes unités roumaines ne disposaient pas d'une dotation trop adéquate surtout au niveau de l'armement moderne (aviation, chars blindés, artillerie antiaérienne etc.), situation qui se maintint aussi pendant la seconde conflagration mondiale.

Concernant le même problème, à cause des restrictions financières, le contingent annuel des militaires n'effectuait pas intégralement la période de stage de deux ans. On pratiquait à grande échelle le système des „congé budgétaires”, ce qui réduisait, parfois à moitié, le temps sous les armes. Etant donné que les nécessités d'instruction étaient importantes, la solution de la préparation prémilitaire semblait une possibilité de familiarisation des jeunes avec le milieu militaire, en utilisant des fonds beaucoup moins réduits. On doit mentionner

que certains spécialistes militaires considéraient comme étant meilleure l'idée de l'allocation de sommes nécessaires pour le déroulement d'une instruction intense pendant les deux années du service militaire, solution pour laquelle nous avons aussi optée.

En général, les préoccupations théoriques et pratiques de la période interbellique d'intégration de la population dans l'effort militaire du pays, avec ses plus et ses moins, représentent une expérience intéressante qui s'insère dans un thème plus ample du plus grand intérêt pour les historiens: les relations entre les civils et les militaires.

On peut affirmer, avec référence au titre de la communication, que malgré les recherches et les mesures adoptées, la population civile fut un acteur relativement modeste des forces armées du pays pendant la période de l'entre-deux-guerres.

German War Crimes 1914/1941: Continuity or Break?

ALAN KRAMER

For professional historians it is no longer a matter of debate that the German army committed war crimes both in the First and the Second World War. Interest now focuses, in a revival of the old controversy about the *Sonderweg* (special path) of German history, on the question of possible continuities. Did Nazi warfare represent a continuation of the warfare of imperial Germany, enriched, so to speak, by racist ideology? Or had a radically new type of warfare emerged?

At first it is the differences in the magnitude and motivation of the crimes that are most striking. The total number of civilians killed during the three months of the invasion of France and Belgium in 1914 was about 6,500. In the best-known case, that of Louvain in Belgium, 248 citizens were killed. By contrast, just in the first five weeks of 'Operation Barbarossa', the German invasion of the Soviet Union, down to the end of July 1941, 63,000 civilians were killed. Almost all the victims were Jews; self-evidently this reflected a policy of racial extermination, although a plan for genocide had not yet been decided.

Racial motivation was not absent in 1914, but the main factor was the troops' widespread fear of 'francs-tireurs', or civilian irregular fighters. In addition, violent anti-Catholic prejudice analogous to racism caused German troops to accuse Catholic clergy of fomenting the fanatical armed resistance of the Belgian people. The destruction of Louvain and its famous medieval university library was partly motivated by anti-Catholicism because the university was regarded as the intellectual centre of Belgian Catholicism, and hence of Belgian national identity. Numerous Belgian priests were arrested and beaten; at least 47 were killed.

The violence against civilians in 1914 was not the result of a breakdown in discipline or the brutality of individual officers. It occurred throughout the invasion zone. Of the 300 regiments in the invasion in August 1914, 150 were responsible for incidents in which 10 or more civilians were killed; many more were involved in other killings. The troops thought they saw francs-tireurs in combat everywhere, calling forth drastic reprisals. Yet the francs-tireurs existed only as a chimera in the imagination of the German troops. Apart from some isolated cases of individual resistance the real source of unidentified shooting was the firing by the regular Belgian and French armies; rifles had a range of 1.8 kilometres, and in the hands of experienced soldiers they were accurate at 600 metres: a distance that made it impossible to identify the assailant. Sometimes there were 'friendly fire' incidents between inexperienced, nervous, and exhausted German soldiers. The soldiers selected their victims arbitrarily: they usually did not even try to identify armed men who might have been responsible for the firing, but simply executed all male inhabitants of a house or street from which shots had ostensibly been fired. Sometimes women, children, and old people were also killed.

This draconian procedure rested on a concept of international law that deviated considerably from the international consensus. Germany had signed the Hague Law of Land Warfare of 1899 and 1907, which afforded protection to non-combatants, and even reproduced it in the Field Service Regulations carried by every officer. However, the army leadership and the

war academy openly taught that its doctrine differed: article 2 of Hague, which allowed the civilian population to take up arms and resist invasion, 'did not conform with the German view'. 'Francs-tireurs' were therefore criminals who had to be eliminated without further ado.

The institutional memory of the army also predisposed it to draconian solutions: the memory of the war of 1870/71 and military training inculcated the expectation that there would be a *levée en masse* and *franc-tireur* resistance. After all, there had been real *francs-tireurs* in the Franco-Prussian War.

Commanders such as generals von Einem and von Bülow therefore issued orders at the start of the invasion 'to burn down the villages and shoot everyone' because of the 'treacherous firing by the Belgian population'. By any standard these were criminal orders, and the executing of civilians was a war crime. During the war the Allies resolved to prosecute alleged war criminals, and after the war attempted to have 844 suspects extradited for war crimes trials.

Clearly, however, the genocidal killings in the Second World War were in an entirely different category. But when did the transition to genocidal killing take place, and why? Traditionally, the turning point has been seen as the year 1941, but some historians argue that the invasion of Poland in 1939 already marked the opening of genocidal war.

Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in 1941 showed how the new warfare evolved out of the spirit of the old. The first draft decrees to prepare the invasion in fact appeared to be almost identical to orders issued in 1914: the decree on 'war jurisdiction' of 13 May 1941 stated that 'Francs-tireurs are to be eliminated without mercy by the troops in combat or while escaping.' There were to be 'collective measures of violence against villages.' Any civilian calling for resistance or disobedience to German orders was also termed a franc-tireur and 'eliminated'. The Wehrmacht commanders of 1941 denied the population the right to defend themselves; just as in 1914 that was a conscious breach of international law.

What was new was the radical ideological component. Hitler had prepared the Wehrmacht generals for Operation Barbarossa with a speech on 30 March 1941 in which he said that the coming war would be a 'struggle between two ideologies: Bolshevism equals criminality. We must take our leave of soldierly comradeship. The communist has never been a comrade and will never be one. This is a war of annihilation.' Not only francs-tireurs but also 'the bearers of the Jewish-Bolshevik conspiracy', and 'political commissars' in the Red Army were to be killed. The 'commissar order' and other decrees brought about the unprecedented radicalization of the war of racial annihilation which distinguished the war of 1941 from the campaign against Poland in 1939.

In fact, the parallels between 1939 and 1914 were stronger than those with 1941. In the first eight weeks of the invasion and occupation of Poland, 16,336 civilians were killed, mostly on the pretext that they had resisted. Most victims were men, not women and children, and the killing thus lacked one essential feature of genocide. Even the language echoed that of 1914: the victims were not 'partisans', but 'francs-tireurs'.

Nevertheless, the invasion of Poland was no conventional war. The Nazi leadership regarded the Polish elite, the clergy and the Jews as the ringleaders of resistance, and in September/October 1939 Heydrich, head of the Reich Security Main Office, repeatedly informed

the army of the intention to 'liquidate' them.

The idea of liquidating the racial enemy was quite new and went beyond anything seen in European (although not colonial) warfare. Yet there were other connections between the First World War and the new war. One was the army's will to shatter the Versailles order; in common with Germany's conservative-national establishment it shared with Hitler above all the aim of destroying Poland. As early as 1922 General von Seeckt, chief of the Troop Office, had said that the existence of Poland was 'intolerable'. The assumptions about the inferiority, backwardness, and brutishness of the eastern European enemy peoples derived from the era of the First World War.

Another was the doctrine of annihilation warfare that emerged from the First World War. The concept of annihilation, used by Clausewitz in the early nineteenth century in a restricted sense, was radicalized by Falkenhayn and Ludendorff: they accepted the mass killing of enemy soldiers and the mass death of their own men, the devastation of entire landscapes, the starving of occupied populations, deportations, forced labour, and torture. Since the concept evoked all these connotations and memories in the minds of the Wehrmacht commanders in 1939-41, they found that the moral threshold to genocidal war was not particularly high. The participation of Polish civilians and paramilitary units in the defence against the invasion was, unlike the Belgian *francs-tireurs* of 1914, a reality, and it confirmed the army's expectations and facilitated collaboration with the *Einsatzgruppen* charged with security behind the lines and in executing 'suspects'. Low as it was, the moral threshold was still present in 1939, which explains the revulsion and even protests by senior Wehrmacht generals such as Blaskowitz and Halder in 1939. By 1941, however, it had disappeared.

Naturally, it is problematic in methodological terms to claim continuity from 1914 to 1939 in the absence of connecting elements. However, just as the war of 1870/71 left a deep imprint in the cultural memory of the army, it is reasonable to assume that the memory of the Great War only twenty-one years later in many ways conditioned military conduct. The links were of two kinds: one was the rather intangible 'cultural memory', the other was the explicit learning process. Hitler, most Nazi party leaders, and almost all senior Wehrmacht officers had fought in the Great War, and the presence of various topoi of the war is unmistakable. However, such biographical and cultural continuities did not exclude development and radicalization. On the contrary. Military training, independent of the influence of the Nazi regime, reflected the presumed lessons of the First World War. Military theory was dominated by the notion of 'total war' in which not only the armed forces but also the entire civilian population would be involved. The essential characteristics of total war were 'total mobilization' of all human and material resources, 'total control' by the state, 'total war aims', and 'total methods of war' that erased the distinction between the combatants and non-combatants. Obsolete relics such as moral scruples and international law were to be discarded. As the semi-official (but not Nazi-inspired) 'Handbook of Modern Military Science', published in 1936, stated, the target of the future 'total ... people's war ... was not only the enemy combatant but the entire people.... Such a war knows no mercy towards the enemy people.'

The necessity of 'terror' to control the civilian population was thus one supposed lesson of the last war. 'Psychological' warfare, about which a large literature was published in the 1930s not only, but above all, in Germany, entailed "operations aimed at strengthening or

destroying the spiritual resistance of the belligerents by means of moral powers,” which included ‘their destruction in the enemy country’.

German soldiers in the Second World War had a new kind of enemy perception, which nevertheless had roots in the previous war. In the First World War trench newspapers and ego documents of soldiers frequently spoke of Germany’s cultural superiority, and the discourse of the racial inferiority of the Slavs was equally perceptible. However, the perspective of the racial-ideological war of annihilation was absent. Yet in popular culture some ominous signs were visible. In Richard Skowronnek’s juvenile book trilogy, *Sturmzeichen*, *Das große Feuer*, and *Die schwere Not*, of which 250,000 copies had been sold by 1916 and which was republished in 1933/34, the Russian soldiers in the war appear as drunken brutes. The author has a kidnapped East Prussian district administrator say; ‘There can be no peace with this dehumanized people. One has to beat them to death, man for man.’

The experience of the victorious war in the east and political violence after 1918 were further important connections. Through the experience of the occupation in the Great War and the short-lived dream of the eastern imperium the terms *Volk* and *Raum* were reconfigured and interpreted in a racial sense; *Ostforschung* (research on the east) provided pseudo-scientific legitimation; and the collective memory of the primitive chaos of the east was transformed by the Nazis into their vision of the racial utopia.

The brutality of the Freikorps units in the Baltic in early 1919 was another important link. Motivated by promises of colonial settlement, racialism, and hatred of the Bolsheviks, they spread fear and terror; anticipating the extreme violence of the invasion of Poland twenty years later, the ‘Baltic Landwehr’ killed over three thousand people in May/June 1919 in Riga alone, and several hundred more in other towns. The over 300 murders committed by members of extreme right-wing associations from 1919 to 1923 in Germany are testimony to the increased readiness to resort to violence against political opponents. The memory of heroic deeds in the Great War and the Freikorps fighting was kept alive with a macabre cult of victimhood and death through countless publications and commemorations of the fallen.

The history of antisemitism appears to show continuity from the First to the Second World War. Antisemitism emerged as a mass phenomenon with a peak represented by the ‘Jew census’ in the army in 1916; there was a rise in antisemitism in political culture after 1918, and an openly violent antisemitic party came to power in 1933. The Nazi regime made antisemitism into state doctrine. The army demonstrated its complicity with the Nazi regime by anticipating the anti-Jewish measures of the Nuremberg racial laws in 1935 in its own ranks; in the same year a War Ministry circular described Soviet party officials as ‘usually dirty Jews’. By the time of the invasion of the Soviet Union the spectre of ‘Jewish Bolshevism’ was a fixed enemy stereotype in the Wehrmacht.

However, it is not the continuities, but the discontinuities in the history of antisemitism and the genocidal process which are more evident. Lethal antisemitic violence was the absolute exception in the Weimar years. In the war and the Weimar Republic the state tried to stop the spread of antisemitism. Moreover, the genocidal intention was new: it had not been a part of traditional antisemitism, and in fact it only became the aim of the regime in 1941. Two decisive turns were necessary. The first turn from situational war crimes, committed

against the background of deliberate racial propaganda, to complicity in the mass war crimes against Poles and Jews, took place in 1939. The entry-point was the franc-tireur phobia and the will to mete out collective punishments, based on ideas that can be traced back to 1914 and 1870. The second turn was to genocidal killing, which only took place in the course of Operation Barbarossa in autumn and winter 1941.

The fate of the prisoners of war shows the distinctions clearly. The great majority of the 694,000 Polish soldiers taken prisoner in 1939 were adequately nourished and subsequently released during the winter 1939/40; only about 7,500 of them died in captivity. Of the 3.35 million Soviet soldiers whom the Germans took prisoner in 1941, two million had died by 1 February 1942. The extent of this war crime far exceeded even the killing of half a million Jews in the same period.

In sum, the war of 1941 was *sui generis*. Nazi warfare, characterized by the readiness to commit massive war crimes and genocide, differed fundamentally from the war of 1914, but it was unthinkable without the experience and reconfigured memory of the First World War, defeat, the post-war violence, and the war of 1939.

Le politiche di controllo dei consumi in Italia nei due conflitti mondiali

PIERPAOLO MECCARIELLO

Il presente studio è dedicato ad un esame, necessariamente sintetico, delle politiche e delle strutture poste in essere dal governo italiano nel corso dei due conflitti mondiali, per il controllo dei consumi della popolazione civile.

Il concetto di “guerra totale” era certamente ben noto in Europa alla vigilia del primo conflitto mondiale, anche se probabilmente le rapide campagne prussiane nella seconda metà del secolo precedente avevano determinato il diffondersi della concezione del conflitto come scontro di forze intenso ma contenuto nel tempo.

Il problema fondamentale dell’economia di guerra era quindi la mobilitazione integrale del potenziale bellico e l’utilizzazione razionale delle risorse, mentre passava in secondo piano la sostenibilità dello sforzo nel periodo medio-lungo.

Tra la fine del XIX secolo ed il 1914, comunque, era di là da venire il passaggio dall’acquisizione teorica alla definizione di concrete scelte organizzative.

L’ESPERIENZA DELLA PRIMA GUERRA MONDIALE

I nove mesi della neutralità concessero al governo italiano il tempo necessario per prendere atto di quanto si andava facendo nei Paesi dell’Intesa, ma non sembra che fosse stato assimilato il dato di esperienza che avrebbe dovuto emergere come il più rilevante, la situazione di stallo nelle operazioni ed il conseguente passaggio alla guerra di logoramento, con le implicazioni prevedibili, in primo luogo la proiezione in una prospettiva temporale indeterminata, ma certamente lunga, di un incremento esponenziale dei consumi.

Si pose invece attenzione soprattutto agli effetti immediati dello stato di guerra, in particolare all’impatto sul sistema delle relazioni economiche internazionali: la competizione sui mercati di approvvigionamento, l’aumento dei prezzi e dei noli, la dilatazione del fabbisogno valutario, la crisi dei trasporti marittimi.

Un insieme di fattori che conducevano alla constatazione di dover contare essenzialmente sulle proprie risorse.

Constatazione che, per un Paese largamente dipendente dalle importazioni e dai trasporti marittimi, avrebbe dovuto implicare una rigorosa disciplina dei consumi unita ad un’efficace mobilitazione delle risorse interne.

Al governo Salandra si presentava però, in termini di assoluta urgenza, un altro problema, il raggiungimento di un livello accettabile di capacità operativa da parte dell’esercito, soprattutto mediante il rinnovamento del parco di artiglieria, in ritardo dal principio del secolo per le difficoltà di scelta, insieme tecnica e politica, tra le due possibili opzioni, la tedesca e la francese, per il pezzo base della linea da campagna.

La soluzione più semplice fu quella di delegare la gestione del rinnovamento all’organo tecnico dell’amministrazione militare, la direzione generale di artiglieria e genio del Mi-

nistero della Guerra, retta dal maggior generale Alfredo Dallolio, in carica dal 4 maggio 1911, protagonista del programma che, una volta effettuata la scelta a favore del modello Schneider, si era risolto in un evento organizzativo di prima grandezza, che implicava la supervisione della produzione su licenza, affidata ad un consorzio di ben 27 ditte italiane, e sull'acquisto, in parte all'estero, di materiali di artiglieria pesante e pesante campale e di complessi da montagna.

Il conflitto europeo era appena esploso e l'Italia era ben lontana dall'aver fatta la sua scelta di campo, quando Dallolio, con il R.D. 4 agosto 1914, n. 770, ottenne di poter operare in deroga alle norme sulla contabilità di Stato. Seguì, con l'approssimarsi dell'intervento al fianco dell'Intesa, una serie di provvedimenti mediante i quali il potere normativo del governo in materia economica fu rafforzato in misura fino a quel momento imprevedibile.

La legge 21 marzo 1915, n.273 "Provvedimenti per la difesa militare ed economica dello Stato" delineò il quadro di riferimento istituzionale, ben prima che il Parlamento decretasse, il 22 maggio, l'attribuzione al governo dei poteri straordinari connessi allo stato di guerra. La legge intervenne anche in materia di commercio con l'estero, in particolare vietando l'esportazione di merci ritenute necessarie per la difesa.

In un quadro di attività normativa decisamente orientato verso la mobilitazione industriale in funzione della produzione bellica, sull'altro versante della politica economica di guerra, la disciplina degli approvvigionamenti e dei consumi alimentari, l'esordio fu meno incisivo.

Nel gennaio 1915 fu costituito un "Ufficio Temporaneo Approvvigionamento Grani" (U.T.A.G.), incaricato di coordinare gli acquisti all'estero e lo smistamento del prodotto ai consorzi agrari provinciali, ma privo di poteri effettivi di intervento sull'immissione in consumo, e quindi sui prezzi.

Soltanto un anno dopo, con i decreti luogotenenziali n.4 e n.5 dell'8 gennaio 1916, si giunse all'imposizione di vincoli alla produzione ed alla commercializzazione del grano (obbligo di dichiarare l'ammontare della produzione, imposizione di prezzi massimi di vendita, previsione di requisizioni). Fu anche istituita una commissione centrale per gli approvvigionamenti, inquadrata nel Ministero della Guerra e presieduta da un generale. Nel marzo 1916 fu finalmente imposto un vero e proprio calmier.

A livello internazionale, il governo italiano entrò a far parte, con il francese ed il britannico, di un *Joint Committee* per il commercio del grano, dal gennaio 1917 *Wheat Executive*.

L'intervento governativo sul mercato agricolo, nel primo anno di guerra, si concretò dunque nel coordinamento degli acquisti all'estero, e nel tentativo di controllare i prezzi interni.

Una svolta si verificò a metà del '16, quando l'amministrazione dell'Agricoltura fu scorporata da quella dell'Industria e del Commercio, e costituita in dicastero autonomo (R.D. 22 giugno 1916, n.755), destinato a diventare il centro di riferimento di una politica organica dell'alimentazione, comprendente anche misure per il contenimento dei consumi, per il sostegno della domanda da parte dei ceti più deboli (prezzo politico del pane) e per lo scoraggiamento di quella dei prodotti ritenuti "voluttuari", individuati nella carne e nei dolci.

Seguirono, nel gennaio 1917, l'istituzione di un "Comitato di governo per l'alimentazione", comprendente i ministri dell'Agricoltura, Trasporti, Commercio Interni e Guerra, e, nel giugno successivo, di un "Commissariato Generale per gli approvvigionamenti ed i consumi alimentari, affidato all'on. Giuseppe Canepa.

A settembre il cattivo esito del raccolto rese necessaria l'istituzione del razionamento del pane, della farina e del grano, mentre i disordini verificatisi in tutto il territorio, in particolare la rivolta torinese dell'agosto, rendevano evidente l'esistenza di un serio problema di ordine pubblico.

La responsabilità primaria della politica alimentare fu a questo punto assunta dal ministero dell'Interno, nell'ambito del quale fu istituito un sottosegretariato "*ad hoc*" retto da un militare, il generale Vittorio Alfieri.

Con la costituzione del governo di unità nazionale dopo Caporetto, Alfieri fu destinato alla Guerra, ed a sostituirlo il nuovo presidente del consiglio, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, chiamò un esponente del mondo economico lombardo, l'industriale tessile Silvio Crespi.

Nel corso dell'ultimo inverno di guerra l'intero settore agro-alimentare venne sottoposto a regolamentazione. Con il decreto luogotenenziale 14 febbraio 1918, n.147, fu istituita la "mobilitazione agraria", e la struttura di controllo, assorbiti i compiti del commissariato generale, fu svincolata dall'amministrazione dell'Interno e configurata come "Ministero per gli approvvigionamenti ed i consumi alimentari".

Crespi era convinto dell'inutilità di intervenire sul sistema dei prezzi mediante l'imposizione di un calmiere.

Nelle condizioni di emergenza determinate dallo stato di guerra, e nella situazione di forte dipendenza del mercato alimentare dagli approvvigionamenti oltre Oceano e dai trasporti marittimi – che potevano essere garantiti soltanto mediante accordi intergovernativi all'interno dell'Intesa - poteva invece essere considerato attuabile, e comunque più efficace, un monopolio pubblico delle importazioni e della distribuzione, applicato all'intero comparto agro-alimentare.

Con una serie di provvedimenti adottati a partire dal febbraio 1918 il razionamento fu così esteso ad una serie di prodotti diversi dai cereali, quali lo zucchero, il riso, la carne ed i prodotti caseari.

In sintesi, il gruppo dirigente democratico-liberale delegò la funzione di indirizzo e di controllo dell'economia di guerra ad un tecnico militare, Dallolio, e ad un esponente della grande industria, Crespi, conferendo ad entrambi poteri adeguati.

Il generale ne fece largamente uso, praticando una politica dei prezzi, dei controlli e delle relazioni industriali che ebbe soprattutto come obiettivo i risultati produttivi.

Crespi, dal suo canto, preferì agire prevalentemente sul controllo dell'offerta, senza farsi illusioni circa l'efficacia di interventi normativi sul sistema dei prezzi.

La larga autonomia attribuita ai due ministeri "tecnici", delle armi e munizioni e dell'alimentazione, diede origine ad una concentrazione di potere che non poteva non costituire oggetto di contestazione nella dinamica politica dell'ultima fase della guerra, soprattutto ad opera di Francesco Saverio Nitti, cooptato quale ministro del Tesoro nel governo di unità nazionale.

L'economista lucano svolse una critica particolarmente aspra dei criteri di gestione di entrambi i dicasteri, non trascurando accuse di malversazione, destinate a trascinarsi per anni dopo la conclusione del conflitto.

LA PREPARAZIONE ALLA GUERRA NELL'ECONOMIA FASCISTA

La fine delle ostilità, malgrado la macroscopica portata dei conseguenti problemi di riconversione del sistema economico, determinò una pressione generale per il ritorno al mercato, e quindi per lo scioglimento dei "lacci e laccioli" imposti dal controllo di guerra, a cominciare, naturalmente, dai due ministeri a competenza specifica, quasi immediatamente disciolti.

Il fascismo affrontò il problema della preparazione bellica immediatamente dopo la conquista del potere, fornendo ad esso una soluzione che, rimasta sostanzialmente invariata fino alla seconda guerra mondiale, può essere considerata come una delle cause più rilevanti della risposta deludente data dal regime alla prova per esso vitale.

Per la produzione bellica, si rinunciò in partenza ad una politica interforze della ricerca, degli investimenti e dei controlli, in una parola del rapporto tra l'apparato militare e l'industria, ed i ministeri di forza armata (divenuti tre, con la costituzione dell'Aeronautica in forma autonoma) ebbero competenza esclusiva in materia di commesse, come prima del '15. Il depotenziamento della carica di capo di stato maggiore generale contribuì a fare escludere qualunque possibilità di indirizzo unitario a livello di pianificazione, ma anche il semplice scambio di informazioni e di valutazioni.

Una volta risolto, decidendo di non affrontarlo, l'aspetto tecnico-militare del problema, l'altro, la mobilitazione civile, fu derubricato ad argomento di studio ed affidato ad un "comitato per la preparazione", presieduto ancora dal generale Dallolio, in seno alla Commissione Suprema di Difesa. La struttura, anche dopo la sua istituzionalizzazione (legge 8 giugno 1925, n.969) mantenne il suo ruolo di sede di riflessioni non incidenti sulla realtà della preparazione bellica, fino alla crisi dell'equilibrio europeo, a metà degli anni '30.

Nello stesso arco di tempo il quadro istituzionale dell'economia italiana si modificò sostanzialmente, per effetto della complessa dinamica dei rapporti tra il regime e quelli che oggi definiremmo i "poteri forti" del mondo economico.

Superata la fase iniziale, dominata da personalità dello spessore di Alberto De Stefani e Giuseppe Volpi, che potremmo sommariamente definire di orientamento liberista, con l'approvazione da parte del Gran Consiglio della "Carta del Lavoro" (22 marzo 1927) si passò all'affermazione esplicita della supremazia della politica sull'iniziativa economica. Tre anni dopo, soprattutto per l'intensa azione svolta da una delle personalità emergenti del regime, Giuseppe Bottai, l'ordinamento fascista dell'economia prese forma con l'istituzione del Consiglio Nazionale delle Corporazioni, vertice di una complessa struttura articolata a livello territoriale (consigli corporativi provinciali) e per rami di attività economica (ben 22 organismi settoriali, per i quali fu riesumata la figura medievale delle corporazioni).

Poiché la struttura corporativa comprendeva le rappresentanze sindacali di entrambi le parti del rapporto di lavoro, essa fu individuata soprattutto come sede di risoluzione dei conflitti, mentre la sua funzione di centro di elaborazione della politica economica del regime perse progressivamente di peso, a favore delle strutture ministeriali tradizionali, ma ancor più dei centri di pressione informali ai quali il regime offriva ampie possibilità d'azione.

Il settore scelto per la prima esperienza di conduzione politica diretta dell'economia fu la produzione cerealicola, alla quale fu indicato il traguardo dell'autosufficienza, con l'obiettivo immediato della riduzione del disavanzo della bilancia commerciale agricola, e quello più a lungo termine del superamento della condizione di dipendenza dagli approvvigionamenti

dall'estero che proprio gli avvenimenti della Grande Guerra inducevano a considerare tra le più gravi vulnerabilità strategiche del Paese.

L'azione, cui fu attribuita la denominazione suggestiva di "battaglia del grano", si sviluppò lungo due linee, l'aumento delle superfici coltivabili (bonifiche, opere idrauliche, lavori di rimboschimento, ed anche tentativi embrionali di riforma agraria, tendenti al recupero delle terre incolte), e l'incremento della produzione dei terreni già a coltura, mediante la protezione doganale ed interventi di sostegno del mercato.

Ben presto, tuttavia, gli effetti della crisi mondiale apertasi a Wall Street nell'ottobre 1929 obbligarono a spostare la gravitazione dell'intervento pubblico verso i settori del credito e dell'industria.

Interventi diretti sull'organizzazione del mercato furono attuati con la legge 16 giugno 1932, n.834, riguardante l'istituzione di consorzi obbligatori tra imprese esercenti lo stesso ramo di attività economica, e con R.D.L. 15 aprile 1936 sui consorzi volontari di produzione e di vendita. La legge 12 gennaio 1933 aveva conferito al governo la facoltà di sottoporre ad autorizzazione l'impianto di nuovi stabilimenti industriali e l'ampliamento di quelli esistenti.

Con l'istituzione dell'Istituto Mobiliare Italiano (novembre 1931) e dell'Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (marzo 1933) si giunse all'acquisizione da parte dello Stato della proprietà diretta di gran parte dell'apparato industriale e del sistema creditizio, quest'ultimo posto comunque integralmente sotto il controllo della Banca d'Italia dalla legge bancaria, n.375 del 12 marzo 1936.

L'elenco delle *holding* facenti capo all'I.R.I. (Finmeccanica, Finmare, Fincantieri, Finsider, ecc.) fornisce la rappresentazione plastica della "griglia" costruita per garantire il controllo dei settori strategici: siderurgia, meccanica, comunicazioni, trasporti, costruzioni navali ed aeronautiche, ecc.

La progressiva statalizzazione dell'economia italiana subì una brusca accelerazione in corrispondenza della svolta della politica europea, a partire dalla metà del 1934.

L'aspetto più rilevante ed immediatamente percettibile del nuovo clima fu l'assunzione del controllo degli scambi internazionali, mediante l'introduzione del monopolio dei cambi e del commercio con l'estero, affidato ad una "Soprintendenza agli Scambi ed alle Valute" istituita nel 1935, eretta a Sottosegretariato nello stesso anno, e poi a Ministero nel '38.

Nel 1937 si ritenne che l'I.R.I. avesse raggiunto gli obiettivi che ne avevano motivato l'istituzione (il risanamento bancario ed il riassetto industriale) e si potesse quindi pensare alla sua trasformazione da strumento di salvataggio di aziende in difficoltà a centro propulsore permanente dell'intervento dello Stato nell'industria e nei servizi, in grado di condizionare anche le dinamiche del settore privato per le dimensioni della sua presenza sul mercato e per il controllo che era in grado di esercitare sul sistema creditizio.

Un centro propulsore, poi, che si avvaleva di imprese operative di proprietà pubblica, ma alle quali era consentito di agire nel mercato secondo le regole del diritto commerciale e non di quelle della contabilità di Stato, sotto la direzione di un *management* di formazione ed esperienza analoghe a quelle del settore privato, che tuttavia si sentiva portatore di interessi pubblici ed interprete della politica economica del regime. In più, le stesse imprese avevano la possibilità di finanziarsi trasformando il piccolo risparmio in capitale di rischio, offrendo sul

mercato titoli che presentavano le stesse garanzie di sicurezza di quelli emessi dal Tesoro.

Il traguardo dell'autosufficienza, ribattezzata "autarchia", fu proposto in quello stesso anno 1937 non più al solo settore agricolo, ma all'intero apparato produttivo.

Una serie di esperimenti, con risultati più o meno attendibili, furono condotti per la produzione di surrogati o di succedanei di merci importate, e furono creati enti per la promozione di ricerche e per lo sfruttamento, fino ad allora giudicato antieconomico, di giacimenti situati nel territorio nazionale, in Libia, in Africa Orientale e poi anche in Albania. L'importazione del carbone fu affidata in monopolio alle Ferrovie dello Stato, e quella del rame all'Azienda telefonica statale.

Un ultimo accenno va fatto all'estensione della politica di mobilitazione al campo della ricerca scientifica.

La necessità della finalizzazione della ricerca alle esigenze della difesa nazionale era stata già affermata nel marzo 1934 da Guglielmo Marconi nel suo discorso all'assemblea del Consiglio Nazionale delle Ricerche, da lui presieduto, e ribadita dal decreto 25 giugno 1937, che attribuì all'ente una posizione di superiorità gerarchica nei confronti degli organismi scientifici inquadrati nei singoli ministeri.

Una vera e propria "militarizzazione" della ricerca scientifica sembrò alle porte quando, morto improvvisamente Marconi nel luglio di quello stesso anno, la presidenza del C.N.R. fu conferita al maresciallo Badoglio, reduce dal trionfo della campagna italo-etioptica, il quale avrebbe conservato la carica di capo di stato maggiore generale.

In realtà, la novità rimase priva di effetti, ed istituti e centri di ricerca pubblici e privati continuarono a muoversi per proprio conto senza nessun apprezzabile coordinamento, situazione alla quale non sfuggirono neppure gli enti di ricerca delle forze armate, alcuni dei quali a livello di eccellenza, come il centro chimico dell'esercito, l'istituto elettrotecnico della R.Marina di Livorno ed il Centro Sperimentale Aeronautico di Guidonia.

Rimase la circostanza emblematica dell'abbinamento nella stessa persona delle cariche di vertice dell'apparato militare e del sistema della ricerca scientifica e tecnologica, caso unico nel mondo occidentale.

LA DISCIPLINA DEI CONSUMI DURANTE LA SECONDA GUERRA MONDIALE

I lineamenti del sistema di controllo di guerra per il settore dei consumi alimentari furono definiti nel periodo della "non belligeranza", con il R.D.L. 18 dicembre 1939, n. 2222. La competenza fu ripartita tra i ministeri dell'Agricoltura (per la produzione agricola) e delle Corporazioni (per l'industria alimentare e la distribuzione). Ciascun dicastero istituì un proprio servizio centrale, mentre in periferia entrambi utilizzarono la stessa struttura operativa, la "Sezione Provinciale Alimentazione" (SePrAl), inserita nel Consiglio Corporativo Provinciale.

Il coordinamento tra le due amministrazioni fu attribuito al ministero dell'Interno, che si avvaleva di un ufficio centrale e, in periferia, della rete della prefetture.

Dichiarata la guerra, il controllo fu esteso ad una serie di beni di consumo non alimentari, quali i tessuti, i generi di abbigliamento, le calzature (R.D.L. 27 dicembre 1940, n. 1728).

La prevenzione e la repressione delle violazioni fu affidata ad un apparato di vigilanza comprendente una componente investigativa (Comando della R.Guardia di finanza presso il

Ministero delle Corporazioni), e ad una rete capillare per la sorveglianza dei mercati e delle vie di comunicazioni. In questa area furono successivamente compresi anche il controllo in materia di prezzi e di razionamento dei beni di consumo, finalizzati entrambi alla compressione dei consumi privati ed al contenimento dell'inflazione.

La facoltà di fissare i prezzi massimi dei beni e dei servizi era stata attribuita fin dal 1938 (R.D. 16 giugno 1938, n.1387), ad un "Comitato corporativo centrale", che esordì nel marzo del '40 con il blocco dei prezzi dei beni di largo consumo ed il divieto, per le aziende, di concedere aumenti salariali in misura superiore al 15%.

Scoppiata la guerra, fu imposto un calmierato generale con il R.D. 19 giugno 1940, n.953, che vietò per sei mesi ogni aumento dei prezzi, degli affitti e dei salari; nel marzo successivo il blocco fu prorogato fino al termine delle ostilità.

Il razionamento fu adottato gradualmente (per il pane, soltanto nell'ottobre '41), con una certa confusione derivante dalla concorrenza di competenze tra le amministrazioni dell'Agricoltura, delle Corporazioni e dell'Interno, ed il partito nazionale fascista.

Il sistema sanzionatorio, particolarmente severo, arrivò a prevedere, nel luglio 1941, l'ergastolo e la pena di morte; dal 1942 la cognizione dei reati fu attribuita al tribunale speciale per la difesa dello Stato.

Le strutture di controllo dell'economia di guerra – per la disciplina dei consumi come per la produzione bellica – seguirono la sorte delle altre articolazioni del sistema politico-amministrativo italiano, che fu diversa nelle due grandi aree in cui il Paese fu diviso dalla proclamazione dell'armistizio dell'8 settembre 1943.

Nel sud, il problema del controllo della produzione bellica, praticamente inesistente, in realtà neppure si pose.

Ebbe invece rilevanza quello dell'alimentazione della popolazione civile, per la convergenza di almeno tre fattori, la distruzione dei raccolti e degli impianti di trasformazione per effetto delle operazioni belliche, la paralisi dei trasporti, la diffusione di un generale rifiuto della legalità, che provocò il collasso del sistema degli ammassi e della distribuzione mediante razionamento.

In realtà, nell'Italia a sud della "linea Gustav" e poi della "linea gotica", non si trattò neppure di condurre una politica economica di guerra, ma piuttosto di gestire un'economia di emergenza, da parte di un potere politico fortemente delegittimato, condizionato dalla presenza di un'amministrazione militare di occupazione, e stretto tra l'assillo di procurare, giorno per giorno, i rifornimenti necessari per la sopravvivenza, e l'urgenza di riprendere il controllo della situazione.

Più complessa la situazione nel territorio della Repubblica Sociale Italiana, poiché lo sfruttamento dell'apparato industriale costituiva un obiettivo di prima grandezza per la potenza occupante, per la quale era quindi indispensabile garantire il livello di sussistenza necessario per il funzionamento del sistema industriale, mantenendo al tempo stesso un accettabile grado di controllo dei prezzi.

Una volta assunto il controllo diretto della produzione bellica ed eliminata ogni possibilità di interferenza da parte delle autorità repubblicane (il Ministero della Produzione Bellica fu soppresso all'inizio del '44), alle autorità di occupazione si pose quindi il problema della razionalizzazione del farraginoso ed inefficiente sistema italiano per il controllo del merca-

to dei beni di consumo (il rappresentante del ministero germanico dell'Agricoltura, Pehle, osservò che la disciplina annonaria del solo settore delle carni comprendeva 21 leggi e 156 decreti ministeriali).

Le pressioni sul governo della R.S.I. ebbero come primo effetto la nomina, il 6 dicembre 1943, del professore Carlo Fabrizi a Commissario Nazionale dei Prezzi, direttamente dipendente dal capo del governo ed unico competente ad autorizzare variazioni dei salari e dei prezzi dei prodotti agricoli ed industriali e delle prestazioni dei servizi. Un ulteriore passo fu l'istituzione (decreto legislativo del duce 11 aprile 1944, n. 114) di un corpo specializzato di Polizia Economica, articolato in nuclei di P.E. in ciascuna provincia.

Anche in conseguenza dello stato di collasso generalizzato determinato dall'andamento delle operazioni, si trattò, in entrambi i casi, di provvedimenti privi di reale efficacia.

CONCLUSIONI

Un confronto - basato su dati esclusivamente quantitativi - tra i livelli di efficienza raggiunti dal sistema dei controlli sui consumi, nei due conflitti, è chiaramente improponibile.

Nella "Grande Guerra", infatti, l'Italia era inserita nella coalizione che aveva accesso al mercato mondiale dei prodotti agricoli e delle materie prime, e disponeva del controllo dei flussi di rifornimento marittimi, malgrado la minaccia subacquea nemica. Quello dell'approvvigionamento dei beni necessari per soddisfare il fabbisogno alimentare fu quindi essenzialmente un problema finanziario, risolto, come è noto, con l'indebitamento.

La carenza di risorse ebbe quindi dimensioni limitate, anche se difficoltà organizzative determinarono spesso, soprattutto nei grandi centri urbani, situazioni di scarsità che ebbero effetti anche preoccupanti sull'ordine pubblico.

Alla prova del secondo conflitto il Paese giunse invece con un grado di organizzazione sicuramente senza paragone nel mondo delle economie di mercato, grazie all'ordinamento corporativo adottato alla fine degli anni '20 ed alle politiche di superamento della crisi del '29.

Inefficienza amministrativa, intreccio di competenze tra una pluralità di organi di controllo, ed il graduale scivolamento verso una situazione di illegalità diffusa all'intero settore agro-alimentare, determinarono tuttavia la progressiva formazione di un mercato parallelo, l'accesso al quale implicava l'espansione dell'indebitamento delle famiglie.

Tensioni veramente significative per la coesione del Paese, tuttavia, cominciarono ad essere avvertite soltanto nel terzo inverno di guerra, e più o meno fino alla stessa epoca resse anche il blocco dei prezzi e dei salari stabilito all'inizio del conflitto.

Il sistema saltò con l'armistizio, quando lo Stato italiano perse ogni reale capacità di autodeterminazione politica e, per quasi due anni, il Paese precipitò in una condizione di anarchia quasi totale.

L'evoluzione giuridica del potere dell'occupante un territorio nemico nel diritto internazionale bellico a cavallo della Seconda Guerra Mondiale

FLAVIO CARBONE

PREMESSA

La scelta di un argomento volutamente e fortemente giuridico nasce dalla necessità di chiarire alcuni aspetti che, evidentemente, non sono molto chiari soprattutto per coloro che non sono specialisti dell'evoluzione del diritto internazionale bellico prima e del diritto internazionale umanitario (DIU) poi.

L'argomento centra l'attenzione sulle modalità che hanno dato vita ad un intervento radicale nel diritto internazionale bellico relativamente ai poteri concessi all'occupante in un periodo storico così complesso come quello della Seconda Guerra Mondiale caratterizzato da una evoluzione rapidissima delle operazioni militari con un fortissimo coinvolgimento delle popolazioni civili.

ALCUNI BREVI CENNI DI DIRITTO BELLICO

Il Diritto Internazionale bellico, secondo la dottrina più consolidata, può essere classificato in vari filoni: quello che ci interessa analizzare è relativo allo *jus in bello* che regola la condotta delle operazioni di guerra da parte dei belligeranti e degli Stati terzi e che, non interessati a prendervi parte, loro malgrado potevano essere coinvolti in una guerra. Tale branca cercò di convogliare la guerra in un ambito quanto più disciplinato, con prescrizioni che fossero accettate uniformemente da tutti gli Stati.

Un grande internazionalista come Rolando Quadri così si esprimeva: vi è “una tendenza molto diffusa a vedere nelle Convenzioni belliche, in particolare in quelle dell'Aja, una codificazione del DI consuetudinario. Ciò può essere ammesso solo con grande cautela. Attualmente anzi si può ritenere che il complesso convenzionale sia assolutamente invecchiato a cagione soprattutto del carattere *totalitario* [corsivo nel testo] che la guerra tende ad assumere in contrasto con il vecchio concetto continentale di essa come rapporto fra eserciti e Governi”¹. Con la codificazione del diritto internazionale bellico si arrivò, oltre alle più conosciute convenzioni relative al trattamento dei feriti (e successivamente dei naufraghi) e dei prigionieri di guerra, a disciplinare anche il diritto internazionale bellico *in toto* con le due conferenze dell'Aja del 28 ottobre 1899 e del 18 novembre 1907 che portarono alla firma complessive 17 convenzioni².

1 ROLANDO QUADRI, *Diritto Internazionale Pubblico*, Palermo, G. Priulla Editore, 1963⁴, p. 248. Va ricordato che la prima edizione del lavoro di Quadri fu pubblicata nel 1949, a seguito delle lezioni tenute presso le Università di Padova e Bologna negli anni 1945 e 1946.

2 Secondo gli orientamenti internazionalmente condivisi i Paesi firmatari delle convenzioni dell'Aja non erano tenuti ad applicare le norme ivi contenute nel caso di guerre coloniali, cfr. AVV. PROF. ARNALDO CICCCHITTI, *Il*

Un principio generale riportato nel preambolo e passato alla storia come la “clausola Martens”, prevedeva che “nei casi non compresi nelle disposizioni adottate, le popolazioni civili e i belligeranti restano sotto la salvaguardia e l’impero dei principi del diritto delle genti, quali risultano dagli usi stabiliti fra nazioni civili, dalle leggi dell’umanità e dalle esigenze della pubblica coscienza”³. A tal proposito mi ricollego ha riferito il Professor De Leonardis nel corso del suo intervento. È necessario ricordare che immediatamente dopo il Primo Conflitto Mondiale, la Comunità Internazionale diede avvio a numerosi tentativi per “umanizzare” i conflitti anche se i risultati furono, tutto sommato, di portata limitata⁴.

Il Secondo Conflitto Mondiale, per la vastità dei territori, dei popoli e degli individui coinvolti ebbe un peso completamente diverso, soprattutto a causa del fatto che, purtroppo, furono le popolazioni civili a diventare parte integrante del conflitto nel corso di tutte le operazioni militari durante i cinque anni di guerra. In seguito alla drammatica esperienza maturata nel corso della Seconda Guerra Mondiale si arrivò alla stipula di quattro convenzioni internazionali che misero in rilievo aspetti prima trascurati quali: “a) i mezzi e i metodi di guerra che [...] avevano come non mai esposto alle conseguenze delle ostilità le persone inermi e i beni civili – b) il trattamento spesso disumano riservato ai prigionieri di guerra, agli internati civili e alla popolazione dei territori soggetti ad occupazione militare – c) la nascita e lo sviluppo dei movimenti di resistenza che agirono in tutti i paesi *occupati*, e che con la loro attività vennero a violare le norme che, a differenza del territorio *invaso*, vietavano allora, in territorio occupato, qualsiasi azione ostile contro le forze occupanti”⁵.

Credo sia necessario ricordare, per quanto riguarda le forze armate italiane, che il Regno d’Italia allo scoppio del Secondo Conflitto Mondiale aveva già provveduto a ratificare numerose convenzioni⁶ anche se non erano state ratificate le convenzioni dell’Aja del 1907.

Tuttavia, con un regio decreto del 1938, furono emanate due norme fondamentali da applicare nel corso della Seconda Guerra Mondiale: la “legge di guerra” e la “legge di neutralità”⁷ tuttora in vigore.

diritto bellico e l’Etiopia, in Rivista di Fanteria, a. III – 1936, pp. 22-27.

3 Ciò significa che, nel diritto bellico, esistono norme non scritte ma cogenti, cfr. PIETRO VERRI, *Appunti di Diritto Bellico*, Roma, 1982, Edizioni speciali della «Rassegna dell’Arma dei Carabinieri», p. 10.

4 Nel periodo tra le due guerre si ricordano: la convenzione del 17 giugno 1925 relativa al divieto di impiego di gas asfissianti, tossici o simili, e di mezzi batteriologici, quella del 17 luglio 1929, relativa al trattamento dei prigionieri di guerra, il processo verbale firmato a Londra il 6 novembre 1936 relativo alle norme da osservare per i sottomarini nelle loro azioni contro navi mercantili.

5 P. VERRI, *Appunti di Diritto Bellico* cit., p. 13. Per completezza è opportuno ricordare che attualmente sono in vigore le quattro convenzioni internazionali di Ginevra del 12 agosto 1949 relative al miglioramento della sorte dei feriti e dei malati delle forze armate in campagna (I), dei feriti, malati e naufraghi delle forze armate sul mare (II), per il trattamento dei prigionieri di guerra (III), nonché per la protezione delle persone dei civili in tempo di guerra sul territorio del proprio paese o di altro paese (IV). Successivamente, l’8 giugno 1977, furono approvati due protocolli addizionali alle quattro convenzioni dedicati ai conflitti internazionali (protocollo I) e ai conflitti non internazionali (protocollo II). Sulla nascita dell’Organizzazione delle Nazioni Unite nel Secondo dopoguerra, TOMASO PERASSI, *L’ordinamento delle Nazioni Unite*, Padova, Cedam, 1953.

6 L’Italia aveva ratificato le convenzioni dell’Aja del 1899, il protocollo di Ginevra del 1925, le convenzioni di Ginevra del 1929 e firmato il processo verbale del 1936.

7 In particolare si tratta del regio decreto 8 luglio 1938 n. 1415.

INVASIONE, OCCUPAZIONE E *DEBELLATIO* NELLA DOTTRINA INTERNAZIONALISTA DEL TEMPO

A questo punto occorre distinguere bene cosa si intende per invasione e cosa per occupazione. La prima è definita come “la penetrazione violenta di forze militari di uno Stato nel territorio di un altro Stato per scopi politico militari, ossia strategici, oppure soltanto tattici”⁸. L’invasione può essere di breve durata nel caso che le forze siano respinte o si ritirino dopo aver compiuto un’operazione (come ad esempio raccogliere informazioni o catturare prigionieri). In ogni caso, si tratta di un fenomeno di natura transitoria nella quale l’invasore ha gli stessi poteri stabiliti per le forze belligeranti. Inoltre, è previsto che la “popolazione civile acquista il diritto di prendere le armi spontaneamente osservando determinati obblighi”⁹.

Per occupazione di un territorio, secondo il diritto internazionale moderno (dopo il 1949 seguendo le indicazioni di uno dei più significativi studiosi in materia, il generale dei carabinieri Pietro Verri), si intende un territorio posto, di fatto, sotto l’autorità dell’esercito avversario che deve esercitare effettivamente l’autorità che gli è attribuita. Da ciò deriva che i requisiti fondamentali sono:

- l’effettiva esistenza di una autorità;
- che questa sia in grado di agire;
- l’esercizio effettivo dell’autorità.

Quest’ultimo costituisce il requisito vero e proprio dell’occupazione di un territorio¹⁰.

In effetti, sotto il profilo del diritto internazionale consuetudinario, la definizione del concetto di occupazione di un territorio ha radici lontane; già alla fine del XVIII secolo si attribuirono all’occupante i seguenti poteri: “prendere provvedimenti amministrativi, esercitare le funzioni di polizia, prelevare imposte”¹¹, che dovevano essere giustificati con le necessità belliche o della popolazione civile.

A tal proposito si deve ricordare che, nel corso dei lavori delle commissioni che diedero poi luogo alla stesura delle menzionate Convenzioni dell’Aja, fu sottolineato che l’occupazione non conferiva alcun diritto di sovranità ma faceva nascere degli obblighi e diritti di natura provvisoria. Inoltre, erano stabiliti limiti precisi e rigorosi in materia di “tutela della proprietà privata, dell’onore, della vita, dei diritti familiari, dell’esercizio del culto nei territori occupati, e contemporaneamente si ribadiva l’obbligo dell’occupante di garantire lo svolgimento della vita civile”¹². Nell’ambito del diritto internazionale, quindi era espressamente prescritto di mantenere in vigore le leggi e gli organismi del paese occupato per non turbare eccessivamente l’assetto definitivo del territorio “cosa che si può ottenere anche, sebbene in via eccezionale ponendo tutti gli organi di controllo diretto delle autorità militari

8 P. VERRI, *Appunti di Diritto Bellico* cit., p. 61. *Contra*, A. MIGLIAZZA, *L’occupazione bellica*, Milano, Giuffrè, 1949, pp. 32-33. In realtà, la parola invasione è usata come sinonimo di incursione.

9 P. VERRI, *Appunti di Diritto Bellico* cit., p. 61.

10 Ivi, p. 62.

11 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L’occupazione* cit., p. 17.

12 Ivi, p. 21. La questione della protezione della popolazione civile era già emersa, con tutti i suoi limiti nel corso del Primo Conflitto Mondiale, cfr. STEFANO PICCIAREDDA, *Diplomazia umanitaria – La Croce Rossa nella Seconda guerra mondiale*, Bologna, Il Mulino, 2003, pp. 55-57.

dell'occupante, e magari amministrando direttamente il territorio occupato"¹³, pure tenendo conto che l'occupazione ha carattere di provvisorietà.

Durante la Seconda Guerra Mondiale, ad esempio le occupazioni militari tedesche furono fatte precedere da un proclama del comandante militare che provvedeva alla costituzione di comandi militari incaricati di esercitare diritti e poteri spettanti all'occupante. In campo alleato, prendendo ad esempio la Sicilia, immediatamente con lo sbarco sul territorio metropolitano italiano un proclama del generale Alexander, in qualità di comandante delle forze armate alleate in Sicilia e governatore militare dei territori occupati, attribuiva ad uffici di governo per gli affari civili retti da ufficiali al seguito delle truppe combattenti il compito di esercitare direttamente il potere sul territorio italiano mano a mano che era occupato dalle forze armate alleate¹⁴.

Per quanto riguarda l'occupazione poi, si doveva distinguere tra occupazione bellica, pacifica o a seguito di armistizio (quest'ultima ritenuta, da parte della dottrina del periodo successivo al Secondo conflitto mondiale, fenomeno autonomo rispetto gli altri due).

Un esempio di occupazione pacifica è la cessione definitiva dell'amministrazione dei territori occupati in Italia da parte del governo militare alleato al governo italiano (a partire dal 1° gennaio 1946) a seguito della stasi causata dai ritardi per la stipulazione del trattato di pace¹⁵.

Negli anni successivi al Secondo Conflitto Mondiale, la dottrina ritenne concordemente che i criteri generali legati all'esperienza bellica potessero consentire di distinguere "l'occupazione bellica totale" dalla *debellatio*:

- il perdurare dello stato di guerra con gli alleati del paese occupato;
- la persistenza di una organizzazione statuale del paese occupato sotto forma di governo in esilio al quale era riconosciuta capacità internazionale oppure sotto forma di un movimento di resistenza interno;
- il funzionamento della struttura amministrativa e giudiziaria con una forte indipendenza dall'occupante, nonostante il crollo dell'organizzazione statuale intesa quale insieme di organi di governo.

Così, è sufficiente che si verifichi almeno una di tali condizioni perché non si possa parlare di *debellatio*¹⁶.

Le attività esercitate dallo Stato occupante non rappresentano che una mera situazione di fatto per l'ordinamento dello Stato occupato e per l'ordinamento internazionale, "anche se

13 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., p. 24.

14 Ivi, p. 35. Tali proclami erano emanati con un doppio scopo, da una parte per determinare il momento in cui sarebbe iniziata l'occupazione militare e dall'altra per notificare alla popolazione civile gli obblighi e le imposizioni. Anche la Germania fece uso di proclami; quello relativo alla Norvegia in GERHARD VON GLAHN, *The occupation of enemy territory – A commentary of the law and practice of belligerent occupation*, The University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 1957, pp. 40-42, mentre quello del generale Eisenhower per la Germania pp. 43-44.

15 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., pp. 42-43.

16 Si tenga conto che un caso interessante a conferma di quanto detto si verificò in Italia. Infatti, l'annessione dei Ducati emiliani al Regno di Sardegna non poté avere luogo immediatamente nel 1858 a causa dell'esistenza dei governi in esilio che, con proprie truppe, stazionavano nel Regno Lombardo-Veneto, in A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., p. 61-62.

nell'uno o nell'altro possano formare oggetto di una valutazione di liceità o illiceità"¹⁷.

Giova ricordare che l'istituto giuridico dell'occupazione è definito come "un complesso di norme, vigenti nell'ordinamento internazionale generale, che regolano i rapporti di due poteri statuali coesistenti su di uno stesso territorio"¹⁸. È evidente che in una mera situazione di fatto si avrà l'applicazione di norme dello Stato occupante (per fare fronte alle proprie necessità belliche) e quelle dello Stato occupato per la regolare, per quanto possibile, vita dei suoi cittadini.

Relativamente all'impiego delle truppe, è stato autorevolmente sottolineato che ove lo Stato occupante istituisca dei reparti di truppe ausiliarie per fini bellici ne consegue che gli atti compiuti da queste ultime siano da addebitare alla Potenza occupante, così da affermare che "l'attività dell'occupante, in quanto diretta al proseguimento della guerra, è regolata non solo dalle norme consuetudinarie e convenzionali, che regolano l'occupazione bellica: ma da tutte le norme che in qualsiasi modo disciplinano lo svolgimento delle operazioni belliche (ad es., dalle norme che vietano l'uso di proiettili deformanti, senz'altro applicabili alle operazioni compiute, nel territorio occupato contro organizzazioni partigiane)"¹⁹.

L'occupante agisce in un territorio ben circoscritto (quello dello Stato occupato). Da ciò discende che il primo può agire ricorrendo all'applicazione del diritto internazionale o meno. In quest'ultimo caso chi occupa deve essere ritenuto il solo responsabile degli atti compiuti che eccedevano tali limiti internazionalmente condivisi. In tal modo si avrà una responsabilità diretta o indiretta del Paese occupante a seconda che le azioni illecite siano state compiute da organi dell'occupante o organi ed agenti locali dello Stato occupato al servizio della Potenza occupante²⁰.

In linea generale, era ancora pienamente applicabile l'articolo 43 della Convenzione dell'Aja del 1907 che prevedeva l'imposizione di due obblighi a carico dell'occupante, ovvero "da una parte assicurare nei limiti del possibile, l'ordine e la vita pubblica, dall'altra di rispettare, salvo impedimento assoluto, le leggi in vigore nel territorio occupato"²¹, con riferimento all'ordinamento giuridico e alla struttura amministrativa del Paese sotto occupazione.

L'occupante provvedeva, con atti di natura legislativa, a regolare una serie di aspetti legati alla vita quotidiana del territorio occupato. In particolare, secondo la concorde dottrina prevalente²², ciò avveniva con atti denominati bandi, ordinanze e via dicendo.

A tal proposito, l'articolo 55 della legge di guerra italiana prevede ancora oggi che "l'autorità militare occupante adotta tutti i provvedimenti necessari per ristabilire ed assicurare, per quanto possibile, l'ordine e la vita pubblica, mantenendo in vigore, salvo impedimento assoluto, le leggi del paese occupante".

17 Ivi, p. 76.

18 Ivi, p. 85.

19 Ivi, p. 87. Nel caso di una guerra tra Stati "la potenza che occupa militarmente una regione conserva il diritto di dare disposizioni alla polizia locale per il mantenimento dell'ordine e per la repressione di azioni militari irregolari, e di conseguenza anche per la caccia ai partigiani", CARL SCHMITT, *Teoria del partigiano*, Milano, Adelphi, 2005, p. 39.

20 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., p. 90.

21 Ivi, p. 95.

22 Ivi, p. 120.

Per quanto riguarda invece le annessioni di territori resta da valutare se l'occupante, "in seguito alla dichiarazione di annessione, si comporti eccedendo i poteri normali a lui concessi dal diritto internazionale" o meno. Nel caso di annessione di territorio occupato con conseguenze di evidente valore internazionale appare stringente la violazione del diritto dello stato al quale è stato sottratto quel territorio: "le norme singole sull'occupazione saranno quindi violate solo quando, in via di fatto vi sarà un comportamento contrario ad esse. E quindi accanto a questo illecito internazionale indubbiamente sarà commessa da parte dello stato occupante, tutta una serie di illeciti ogni volta che in seguito ad un atto di annessione internazionalmente inefficace, l'occupante farà uso, nel territorio occupato, di poteri più vasti di quelli che gli competono"²³.

POPOLAZIONE CIVILE E POTERI DELLA POTENZA OCCUPANTE

Secondo Migliazza, autore di un manuale italiano della fine degli anni trenta, l'articolo 46 del Regolamento dell'Aja prescriveva quali valori da rispettare sempre: l'inviolabilità della proprietà privata unitamente all'onore, al diritto di famiglia ed alla vita degli individui²⁴. In effetti, si ricordava poi che l'osservanza di tali disposizioni di principio era sottoposta alla condizione "che i sudditi del nemico non prendano parte alla lotta, e non si esaurisce soltanto astenendosi da attentati alla vita, all'onore ed alla proprietà di essi, ma altresì evitando di esporli a situazioni particolarmente gravi come quelle che potrebbero derivare dall'obbligo di servire di scudo o di protezione a truppe o convogli militari"²⁵.

L'articolo 46 della Dichiarazione di Bruxelles, invece, dava facoltà ai comandanti belligeranti "della parte contro cui è diretta la rivolta di far giudicare e punire dai tribunali militari tutti i responsabili e gli esecutori della sollevazione"²⁶. In questo caso, la competenza del tribunale militare era connessa al fatto che la popolazione del paese occupato era sottomessa all'autorità della potenza occupante e che ogni atto che disconoscesse in maniera violenta tale autorità dovesse cadere sotto una sanzione di particolare durezza come quelle previste dal diritto militare della potenza occupante che, "per assicurare l'incolumità delle sue truppe, deve necessariamente avere la mano libera nel reprimere ogni minaccia ed ogni attentato".

Appare appena il caso di sottolineare che circa la responsabilità della potenza occupante, nella pratica riscontrata all'indomani del Secondo conflitto mondiale, "non ha tanto rilievo

23 Ivi, p. 141.

24 Al termine della 2ª Conferenza di Pace dell'Aja, tenutasi nel 1907, furono sottoscritte ben dodici convenzioni, tra le quali la IV Convenzione relativa alle leggi e costumi di guerra terrestre, con il relativo regolamento. Nel caso in questione si fa riferimento proprio a tale regolamento.

25 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., p. 120. Esempi in tal senso possono essere quelli relativi all'occupazione italiana di una parte della Francia nel periodo 1940-1943 e dell'occupazione alleata della Germania a partire dal 1945.

26 Nel 1874 si tenne a Bruxelles una conferenza promossa dallo zar Alessandro II di Russia con lo scopo di promuovere una codificazione in materia di diritto internazionale bellico. Tuttavia tale tentativo non ebbe il successo sperato per la ritrosia di molti paesi europei a sottoscrivere la convenzione senza essere certi della reciprocità di trattamento da parte di altri Stati. In ogni caso, deve essere sottolineato come molte delle proposte presentate nel 1874 avevano trovato una effettiva applicazione come norme consuetudinarie nel corso della guerra Franco-tedesca del 1870, cfr. ARTURO MARCHEGGIANO, *Diritto umanitario e sua introduzione nella regolamentazione dell'Esercito italiano (Leggi ed usi di guerra)*, tre voll., Roma, Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito – Ufficio Storico, 1990, vol. I, pp. 56-58.

l'atto illecito compiuto da organi dello stato paravento (per esso si ha sempre una responsabilità dell'occupante, diretta o indiretta); quanto l'atto mediante cui, attraverso l'opera di quegli organi, si acquista un diritto. Una responsabilità dell'occupante è la conseguenza diretta del fatto che egli esercita un controllo sull'azione di quegli organi, e non del fatto che egli ecceda dalle facoltà che normalmente spettano sul territorio occupato²⁷. In ogni caso, l'occupante ha facoltà, per antica consuetudine, a costituire tribunali militari che "puniscano con procedure rapide e con esemplare rigore i reati commessi contro le truppe di occupazione e che provvedano con sanzioni particolarmente severe, a colpire i più gravi reati (saccheggio, organizzazione di bande armate, ecc.) che possono minacciare il pacifico svolgimento della vita civile nel paese occupato"²⁸.

Inoltre, l'articolo 50 della IV Convenzione dell'Aja prescriveva che "nessuna pena collettiva, pecuniaria o diversa, può essere imposta alle popolazioni per fatti individuali di cui essi non possano essere tenuti responsabili solidalmente". In tal modo, erano sottolineati i limiti dell'azione coercitiva dello Stato occupante in materia di contribuzioni economiche o in natura, in relazione all'articolo precedente.

Tale enunciato, secondo alcuni autori dell'epoca, non poteva essere condiviso pienamente poiché erano previste misure coercitive nei confronti della popolazione nel caso in cui fosse stata riscontrata a carico di quest'ultima una responsabilità solidale con gli autori di particolari atti: "responsabilità che può essere anche molto tenue, consistendo ad esempio nel fatto di avere semplicemente assistito senza impedirlo all'operare del colpevole, o nel non indicare costui all'occupante, si che sarà facile trovare una giustificazione per una pena collettiva"²⁹. In realtà, l'attribuzione di una responsabilità anche molto tenue a carico della popolazione civile non poteva trovare riscontro nella visione del diritto internazionale di quegli anni tenuto conto che il compito di garantire la normale convivenza della società civile ricadeva a carico della potenza occupante e non poteva essere attribuito con una forzatura così evidente in capo alla popolazione civile.

Per analogia, a proposito dell'utilizzo degli stratagemmi per la riuscita di un'azione bellica, si precisava che "colui che vi abbia fatto ricorso dovrà essere considerato personalmente come violatore delle leggi di guerra, e perderà ogni diritto al trattamento di legittimo belligerante"³⁰.

CONCLUSIONI

I tentativi di umanizzazione dei conflitti durante tutto il XX secolo sono quasi sempre giunti dopo sanguinose e talvolta più che gratuite brutalità.

Per quanto riguarda il Secondo Conflitto Mondiale si è assistito a una massiccia partecipazione di nuovi soggetti quali, ad esempio, i movimenti resistenziali che hanno dato vita ad una rivisitazione delle norme pattizie in materia di diritto internazionale bellico e umanitario

27 A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., p. 126.

28 Ivi, p. 132.

29 La tesi è di GIORGIO BALLADORE PALLIERI, *La guerra*, Padova, Cedam, 1935, pp. 342-343, riportata (e non condivisa) in A. MIGLIAZZA, *L'occupazione* cit., pp. 153-154. Si veda anche CAPITAINE LUBRANO-LAVADERA, *Les lois de la guerre et de l'occupation militaire*, Parigi, Charles Lavauzelle & Cie, 1956, pp. 48-55.

30 MARIO MONTERISI, *Diritto di Guerra terrestre, marittimo e aeronautico*, Milano, Hoepli, 1938, p. 447.

con la sottoscrizione delle quattro convenzioni di Ginevra del 1949 e dei due protocolli aggiuntivi alle quattro Convenzioni nel 1977

Nell'ambito del diritto internazionale, secondo concorde dottrina, non era prevista la possibilità di formazione di movimenti resistenziali alle occupazioni nemiche tanto che solamente negli ordinamenti più avanzati dell'epoca come quello italiano vi erano delle disposizioni specifiche da applicare a tali organizzazioni.

E, proprio in tale direzione, sotto un profilo dottrinale, nell'astrattezza delle norme, si possono rinvenire numerosi passi della legislazione di guerra italiana caratterizzata da grande sapienza giuridica la cui corretta applicazione resta destinata all'ambito dell'indagine storica.

In tempi più recenti è stato possibile estendere l'applicazione del diritto internazionale umanitario ai conflitti non internazionali³¹ superando i problemi che erano nati nel complesso processo di decolonizzazione di molti Paesi. I risultati positivi dei protocolli addizionali del 1977 alle quattro Convenzioni di Ginevra mostrano quanto sia difficile il percorso in tema di tutela dei diritti di feriti, naufraghi, prigionieri e ancor più dei civili allorquando scoppiano conflitti internazionali o non come la storia recentissima ne ha dato tristemente ampia testimonianza.

L'esposizione di alcuni aspetti legati all'occupazione di un territorio nemico secondo la dottrina internazionalista a cavallo della Seconda Guerra Mondiale credo abbia consentito di avere un punto di vista giuridico su di un problema estremamente delicato e non sempre ben compreso.

Tali questioni insieme a molte altre sono emerse prepotentemente proprio durante quel conflitto mondiale nel corso del quale, mai come allora, la popolazione civile, disarmata e inerme, visse la tragedia e la brutalizzazione del conflitto ancora più sanguinosa rispetto l'altra guerra mondiale nel corso della quale il numero dei civili coinvolti fu decisamente inferiore.

31 ALESSANDRO MARAZZI, *Nozioni di diritto bellico*, Torino, Giappichelli Editore, 1985, p. 7.

Le regard des civils sur le transfert des prisonniers de guerre français en Allemagne. Mai-juin 1940

EVELYNE GAYME

Au printemps 1940, l'armée française est battue en six semaines. Deux chiffres illustrent le paradoxe de cette défaite : 100 000 morts, 50% des soldats prisonniers sans combat¹. L'accusation de s'être mal battus tarabuste les prisonniers durant toute leur captivité².

Pour comprendre l'origine de cette accusation, on va s'intéresser au transfert des prisonniers, c'est-à-dire le moment entre la capture et la captivité, durant lequel ils subissent les premiers regards et peut-être les premières réflexions des civils face à la défaite.

Les acteurs de cette étude sont les prisonniers de guerre du mois de mai³ – 16,71% du total – qui sont acheminés directement vers l'Allemagne, majoritairement à pied et les civils qui résident entre la Seine, ses affluents, les frontières Nord et Est du pays. Ces derniers ont une mémoire particulière des guerres. Soixante-dix ans avant 1940, leurs familles ont connu la guerre de 1870, la bataille de Sedan, l'annexion de l'Alsace-Lorraine. Puis, eux et leur famille ont vécu la Grande Guerre, l'occupation du Nord par les Allemands, les batailles de la Somme, de la Marne, Verdun, le Chemin des Dames. En 1939, les réfugiés belges et luxembourgeois arrivent, les Alsaciens-Lorrains sont déplacés vers le Sud-Ouest de la France⁴, puis à partir du 10 mai, la Wehrmacht attaque.

Confiants, comme tous les Français, dans l'invincibilité de leur armée, ces civils sont les premiers à voir passer les colonnes de prisonniers de guerre français vers l'Allemagne alors même que les journaux continuent à glorifier l'armée et à ne mentionner que les prisonniers de guerre allemands⁵.

1 Précisément 50,47%, ils déposent collectivement les armes : Yves Durand parle de la « capture-type de 1940 ». Yves Durand, *La Captivité. Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français. 1939-1945*, Paris : FNCPG-CATM, 1980, 542 pages, p. 43.

2 Evelyne Gayme, *L'Image des prisonniers de guerre français de la Seconde Guerre mondiale, 1940-2000*, thèse de doctorat sous la direction de Jean-Jacques Becker, Université de Paris X-Nanterre, 2002, 3 volumes.

3 Les prisonniers de juin sont gardés dans des camps au nord de la Loire, les Frontstalags, plusieurs semaines, voire plusieurs mois avant leur transfert.

4 Trois exodes se succèdent : le repliement, organisé et collectif vers l'Ouest et le Sud-ouest français, depuis septembre 1939 et qui concerne les Alsaciens et les Lorrains ; l'exode réalisé entre le 10 et le 25 mai vers l'Ouest, concernant, avec les Belges et les Luxembourgeois, les Français résidant des Ardennes à la mer du Nord ; enfin l'exode provoqué par la rupture du front de la Somme et de l'Aisne à partir du 5 juin entraînant les populations du Sud de la Somme jusqu'au Nord et à l'Est du Massif central auquel il faut ajouter les populations de l'exode du mois de mai. Voir à ce sujet : Jean Vidalenc, « L'Exode de 1940, méthodes et premiers résultats d'une enquête », in *Revue d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, n°3, juin 1951, p. 51 à 55 et Maurice Lagrange « le rapatriement des réfugiés après l'exode (juillet-septembre 1940) » in *Revue d'Histoire de la Seconde Guerre mondiale*, n° 107, juillet 1977, p. 39 à 52.

5 C'est dans le communiqué allemand des journaux, comme par exemple celui du journal *Le Matin*, daté du 19 juin que les Français apprennent pour la première fois officiellement l'existence de prisonniers de guerre français : « la seule journée d'hier a amené la capture de 100 000 prisonniers ».

Ces civils ne constituent pas l'essentiel de nos sources d'époque : ils ont alors très peu écrit. Les archives administratives et les journaux⁶ sont quasi inexistantes : les bombardements, les coupures d'électricité, les pénuries, les difficultés de déplacements provoqués par la Blitzkrieg en sont la cause. Les sources françaises datant de 1940 sont formées de quelques journaux⁷, des rapports de gendarmerie⁸, des écrits des prisonniers de guerre français, de quelques journaux de guerre⁹ datés des 16, 20 et 30 mai et 6 juin 1940. Les sources allemandes datant de 1940 sont constituées de photographies¹⁰, des actualités hebdomadaires allemandes –*Deutsche Wochenschau*¹¹ – et de témoignages écrits.

Les sources récentes proviennent de témoignages, écrits ou oraux de civils et surtout d'anciens prisonniers de guerre.

Au cours de cette étude nous allons voir quel est le regard des civils sur le transfert des prisonniers de guerre français et en quoi est-il révélateur de leurs sentiments par rapport à la défaite ?

Quatre dimensions simultanées apparaissent dans le regard des civils.

LA PERCEPTION DE LA DÉFAITE

Le grand nombre de prisonniers, des colonnes entières en mouvement, surprend vraiment les civils :

« (...) Le flot des prisonniers a commencé son passage... La « marée humaine » a duré 48 heures. Sous un soleil de plomb, des soldats français se traînaient avec leur lourde et encombrante capote, grande ouverte à cause de la chaleur, sur toute la largeur de la rue. »¹²

Les civils comprennent alors la défaite de l'armée :

« (...) C'était horrible de voir notre armée ainsi défaite – les nôtres !- passer dans la rue, sous nos yeux. »¹³

Les civils étaient jusqu'alors dans le flou. Ils ne savaient jamais exactement où se trouvait le front car, pour des raisons de secret militaire, les communiqués ont à peu près deux ou trois jours de retard sur les événements. Et les journaux agissent de même. Seul fait exception *Le Canard Enchaîné* en évoquant les difficultés de l'armée française¹⁴ à mots couverts. Or les

6 *La Croix du Nord* paraît pour la dernière fois le 17 mai 1940, *L'Est républicain* le 13 juin 1940.

7 Ont notamment été consultés *Le Petit Parisien*, *Le Temps*, *Le Matin*.

8 rédigés par des gendarmes captifs ou sur témoignages, ils sont conservés au Service historique de la Défense, au fort de Vincennes.

9 créés par les armées et services officiels français diffusés dans les pays alliés ou neutres. Consultables à l'ECPAD (Etablissement de Communication et de Production Audiovisuelle de la Défense) au fort d'Ivry-sur-Seine.

10 la production de films et de reportages photographiques, réalisée par des professionnels, est un axe du ministère de la propagande. Ce matériel, constituant une prise de guerre en 1945, est partagé entre les Alliés : c'est l'ECPAD qui, pour les Français, conserve ce fonds.

11 Consultables à l'ECPAD.

12 Témoignage de M. Gérard Marichal, in Thierry Nélis, *Des Français face à l'invasion, mai-septembre 1940*, Paris : Pygmalion, 2008, p. 158.

13 Témoignage de M. Gérard Marichal, in Thierry Nélis, *op.cit.*, p. 158.

14 *Le Canard Enchaîné*, le 22 mai 1940 par exemple, évoque une journaliste de *L'Oeuvre*, Geneviève Tabouis,

civils sont les témoins directs des mouvements de foule et de troupes. A partir du 10 mai, fuyant la Wehrmacht, des réfugiés belges, puis de l'Est de la France affluent vers la Somme, l'Oise et la Seine : Sedan est prise le 12 mai, la Meuse est franchie. Ils viennent de Cambrai, puis d'Abbeville, à partir du 20 mai. Les mauvaises nouvelles circulent de bouche à oreille, mais tout bas, pour ne pas être traité de « défaitiste ». Mais les civils ne s'affolent pas, tant que la Somme, qui semble à tous être une vraie frontière psychologique, n'est pas atteinte :

« Des gens ont commencé à frapper à notre porte, demandant s'ils pouvaient passer la nuit. Les premiers étaient des Belges qui fuyaient une possible invasion, ayant subi eux-mêmes l'occupation de 14-18. Puis sont venus les gens du nord de la France et ceux de l'Aisne, qui ont, eux aussi, connu l'occupation de 14-18 et qui ne voulaient surtout pas revivre ça. (...) Tous reprenaient le schéma de 14, c'est-à-dire que le nord du pays pourrait être occupé mais certainement pas le reste. (...) Lorsque nous avons vu des gens de la Somme, cela a commencé à nous inquiéter. Mais tant que la Somme n'était pas atteinte, nous ne bougions pas. (...) »¹⁵

Beaucoup voient dans cet exode une précaution prise par les autorités françaises et sont confortés dans cette idée par la concentration et la stabilisation des combats dans le Nord à partir du 20 mai : Boulogne est attaquée le 23 mai, Calais le 24, Dunkerque à partir du 26, Lille le 27.

La perception de la défaite apparaît à l'extrême fin du mois de mai. Le 28, la Belgique capitule, sans concertation avec ses alliés, et les journaux s'en font largement l'écho. Dunkerque est prise, au terme de combats très violents, le 4 juin. Et surtout les attaques allemandes sur la Somme commencent le 5 juin, le fleuve est franchi le 6. Le 9, les Allemands sont à Compiègne et à Rouen : ils ont atteint la Seine, Paris est déclarée ville ouverte le 10 juin. Mais avant cette date, les civils ont compris, en voyant la multitude de captifs, que la France était battue.

L'HUMILIANTE COMPARAISON

La comparaison entre les deux armées est sévère pour les Français. La Wehrmacht passe rapidement, concentrée sur son offensive. Les descriptions sont unanimes : une très belle armée, des athlètes jeunes, des uniformes impeccables, des armements très modernes, des rôles bien distribués : les avants gardes combattent, l'arrière-garde prend en charge les civils et les prisonniers, sans précipitation...mais sans ordre précis¹⁶. Ainsi le capitaine Ernst Jünger doit

pour s'étonner de ses propos : selon elle, les Allemands depuis le début de leur offensive n'ont que des ennuis, leurs chars sont toujours en panne d'essence. Et le journal conclut par ces mots : « A l'en croire, les Allemands avancent en déroute ».

15 Témoignage de M. Jean Castreau, habitant de Vernon en 1940, in Thierry Nélis, *ibid.*, p. 91.

16 En revanche, la prise en charge en Allemagne est organisée avant le début de la Seconde Guerre mondiale : « Les pouvoirs militaires et économiques avaient préparé en étroite coopération la structure et les règles de fonctionnement du système de captivité allemand. L'organisation créée avait pour but principal l'accueil, l'entretien et l'exploitation maximale des prisonniers de guerre provenant des pays conquis. » Les prisonniers, triés entre officiers et hommes de troupes, sont d'abord dirigés vers des points de rassemblements provisoires près du front (en caserne ou en plein air), ensuite ils sont acheminés vers des camps de passages (Durchgangslager ou Dulag) qui sont en général constitués de tentes, puis peu à peu de locaux en dur, puis sont envoyés vers des camps stables (Stalags et Oflags). Edmund NOWAK, « les prisonniers de guerre polonais en captivité allemande et soviétique dans la Seconde Guerre mondiale. Points communs et différences »

gérer seul, en juin 1940, sept cents captifs :

« Avant de m'endormir, j'ai encore repassé en pensée toutes les dispositions prises dans la journée, surtout celles qui concernent les prisonniers. C'est certainement à la faveur d'un moment de bonne humeur qu'elles m'ont coulé de source ».¹⁷

Parallèlement, les civils voient les colonnes de prisonniers, par deux, trois ou cinq. Désarmés, unités et grades mêlés, ils gardent leur uniforme et leur musette.

« C'était pénible ! (...) Pénible de voir des gars complètement esquinés, dont certains ne pouvaient plus marcher et se faisaient porter... (...) Voir l'armée française dans cet état, ça nous a mis un coup ».¹⁸

Certains sont blessés depuis les combats, la plupart souffrent de blessures aux pieds liées aux longues marches : un prisonnier parle de 45 kilomètres effectués d'une traite, l'autre de 52 kilomètres, de jour comme de nuit. Ils souffrent aussi de dysenterie, du manque d'eau, de nourriture, ils sont sales et dans un état d'extrême fatigue. Les haltes ont lieu dans des champs le plus souvent, sans confort. Parfois les gardes, peu nombreux, à pied, à cheval, ou motorisés, acceptent de leur laisser utiliser des charrettes ou relâchent leur surveillance : les prisonniers s'esquivent alors pour soulager des besoins naturels, arracher des légumes, chercher dans des maisons de quoi manger. Certains portent des chapeaux de femmes après avoir jeté leurs casques¹⁹, ressemblent à des saltimbanques, d'autres se ruent sur l'alimentation sans camaraderie²⁰. Les officiers font l'effort de garder une allure convenable, mais les hommes sont de plus en plus indisciplinés²¹.

LE DEUIL DE LA VICTOIRE

L'armée française est battue contre toute attente. La déclaration de guerre avait déjà marqué la fin du mythe de la der des ders, mais les civils, comme tous les Français, restaient confiants dans leur armée, victorieuse en 1918. Ce souvenir est encore fort, parce que les Poilus anciens combattants sont omniprésents dans la société²², et que les valeurs de courage, de patriotisme, de fierté nationale, défendues pendant la Première Guerre mondiale sont inculquées à l'école, diffusées dans les media. En 1939, l'armée française se prépare

p. 41 à 52, in Jean-Claude Catherine (sous la direction de) *La captivité des prisonniers de guerre. Histoire, art et mémoire. 1939-1945*, Rennes : presses universitaires, 2008, 239 pages, p. 45.

17 Ernst Jünger, *Jardins et Routes, Journal I 1939-1940*, Paris : Christian Bourgois, le livre de poche, 1979, 284 pages, p. 216. La première édition date de 1942.

18 Témoignage de M. Serge Defoy, in Thierry Nélis, *ibid.*, p. 389.

19 Henri-Victor Brunel, *La Geste des captifs. Marche à l'exil*, Paris : G. Durassié et Compagnie, 1952, 284 pages, p. 127 à 278.

20 Jean Mariat, *Prisonnier en Allemagne*, Paris : les éditions de France, 1941, 112 pages, p. 17 ; Yves Durand, *La Captivité. Histoire des prisonniers de guerre français. 1939-1945*, Paris : FNCPG-CATM, 1980, 542 pages, p. 56.

21 Henri-Victor Brunel, *op.cit* ; Henri Amouroux, *La Grande histoire des Français sous l'Occupation*, tome 1 : le peuple du désastre, 1939-1940, Paris : Robert Laffont, 1976, 537 pages, p. 472.

22 Antoine Prost, *Les Anciens Combattants et la société française, 1914-1939*, Paris : FNDSP, 1977, 3 volumes.

à la victoire, pas à la défaite : elle est considérée comme la première du monde²³, la ligne Maginot semble une barrière infranchissable. La confiance de la population, mais aussi de l'Etat, est totale : « Nous vaincrons parce que nous sommes les plus forts » : ainsi le président du Conseil, Paul Reynaud, achève-t-il son discours radiodiffusé le 10 septembre 1939. Les colonnes de prisonniers font comprendre aux civils qu'il ne s'agit plus de rumeurs, du travail de sape d'une cinquième colonne : l'armée est captive et la France battue. Les civils portent le deuil de la victoire. Des tentatives d'explication sont avancées :

« (...) La population était complètement sidérée, personne ne comprenait ce qui se passait (...) ; par contre, beaucoup de gens disaient : « il faut arrêter tout ça, ça ne sert à rien, on nous a trahis » (...). »²⁴

Mais, à aucun moment, l'attitude des soldats durant les combats n'est en cause. Une seule insulte a été trouvée :

« (...) Sur le bord de la route, il y avait un brave type de 1914 qui avait arboré toutes ses décorations et qui nous a dit :

- Petits salauds, nous en quatorze, nous avons gagné la guerre !

Je lui ai répondu :

- Vous auriez mieux fait de gagner la paix parce qu'aujourd'hui nous ne défilions pas, nous ne serions pas ici ! »²⁵

Les prisonniers ont, au contraire, ressenti une douleur collective sur leur passage : des paysans se tiennent debout devant leur porte, muets et graves, des femmes pleurent. Une interrogation revient souvent : « à quoi a servi le sacrifice de 1914-1918 ? ».

« (...) presque chaque bourg où je suis passé me rappelle quelques visages amicaux. A Blamont, cette vieille femme qui de son balcon nous jetait des fleurs, comme si nous eussions été des vainqueurs, et sur le pont ce petit vieux d'humble allure, le chapeau dans sa main tremblante, les paupières toutes rouges d'avoir pleuré, et qui ne cessait de répéter d'une voix cassée : « Salut, messieurs. Salut, messieurs, Salut... (...) Je me rappelle aussi la côte de Bettborn, qui porte une ferme à son sommet. En gravissant la pente nous apercevions, à travers les haies, les taches vives d'une lessive étendue (...). Sur un fil, une blouse bleue, une chemise blanche, une taie d'édredon rouge composaient en clair, sur un ciel de chez nous, le plus innocent mais le plus péremptoire des drapeaux français »²⁶.

Ce témoignage montre que le passage des colonnes de captifs est perçu par les civils comme un cortège funèbre avec ses attributs : les fleurs, le salut aux armées, les pleurs, les hommes qui se découvrent, le drapeau. Comme un défilé en négatif aussi : traditionnellement,

23 Philippe Masson, *Histoire de l'armée française de 1914 à nos jours*, Paris : Librairie académique Perrin, 1999, 507 pages, p. 215.

24 M. Jean Védrine, in Jean-Claude Catherine, *op.cit.*, p. 153.

25 René Rateau, « un homme de confiance dans la « ville des roses », pages 21 à 31, in *Les KG parlent. Les prisonniers peints par eux-mêmes*, Paris : Denoël, collection dirigée par Pierre MAZARS, 1965, 173 pages.

26 Francis Ambrière, *Les Grandes Vacances*, Paris : Seuil, 1956 pour la première édition. Collection Points, 1984, 498 pages, p. 36-37.

l'armée qui défile est victorieuse, qu'il s'agisse du grand défilé de la Victoire, le 14 juillet 1919, des défilés locaux rappelant la Grande Guerre ou du dernier grand défilé de référence, celui du 14 juillet 1939, commémorant le 150^e anniversaire de la prise de la Bastille. Face à la montée des périls, la France y célèbre l'unité nationale et la force de la République. Les fêtes militaires, qui rassemblent les troupes de l'Empire et « la plus belle armée du monde », durent trois jours²⁷ et les journaux s'en font l'écho. En mai 1940, les colonnes sont silencieuses, fatiguées, tête basse, en uniforme mais désarmées.

COMPASSION ET IDENTIFICATION

Les civils s'identifient aux prisonniers. Chaque famille compte un père, un fils, un neveu, un cousin ou un voisin mobilisés et qui lui aussi peut être emmené vers l'Allemagne. La population prend des messages pour prévenir leur famille, ou pour avoir des nouvelles :

« (...) à chaque passage de prisonniers, ma mère demande des nouvelles du « 95 de Bourges », le régiment d'infanterie où avait été mobilisé mon oncle... »²⁸

De plus, les civils, habitant des régions où les armées françaises se sont bien battues, ont vu de près des opérations militaires courageuses avec des prisonniers allemands jusque dans le courant du mois de juin : Rethel reprise par de Lattre et la tête de pont d'Abbeville réduite par les chars de de Gaulle. Dans la région de Mantes, le cantonnement de milliers d'hommes, les premiers régiments qui ont subi l'épreuve du feu, leur permet de constater l'épuisement, l'hébètement des soldats. Les civils ne considèrent pas que les prisonniers se sont mal battus. Enfin les civils ont connu l'exode et les fatigues inhérentes aux longues marches, ils ont eux-mêmes eu besoin d'aide en traversant des régions inconnues : parfois, ils ont été mal reçus et ont dû payer pour un verre d'eau.

Pour ces trois raisons, les civils aident les prisonniers. C'est ce que semble redouter l'armée allemande. Si l'attitude des sentinelles à l'égard des captifs varie en fonction des individus, pouvant aller de la courtoisie, à l'aide jusqu'à des larcins, de la brutalité, des brimades, la Wehrmacht évite de faire passer les colonnes de prisonniers par des lieux habités, les photographies de prisonniers sont presque toujours prises en pleine campagne. De nombreux témoignages insistent sur l'absence de volonté d'humilier :

« Vers 9 heures du matin, nous nous arrêtaimes (...) pour laisser passer un convoi d'artillerie allemande. Les hommes, des jeunes pour la plupart, sanglés dans des uniformes impeccables, nous regardèrent avec un étonnement poli. Pas la moindre ironie dans leur regard, pas la moindre fausse note dans leur attitude. On eût dit que, obéissant à un seul mot d'ordre, ils voulaient soigneusement éviter de blesser notre susceptibilité ».²⁹

Que peuvent craindre les Allemands de la population ? des tentatives pour libérer les prisonniers, qui pourraient retarder la Blitzkrieg d'autant que les sentinelles affectées à la

27 Voir le site du gouvernement « chemins de mémoire » :

<http://www.cheminsdememoire.gouv.fr/page/affichepage.php?idLang=de&idPage=10646>

28 Témoignage de M. Serge Defoy, in Thierry Nélis, *ibid.*, p. 389.

29 Jean Mariat, *op.cit.*, p. 16.

garde des captifs sont, on l'a vu, peu nombreuses. Les civils aident effectivement les prisonniers, mais dans la mesure de leurs moyens, car ayant vécu les bombardements des Stukas, les destructions, les déplacements de l'exode, puis le traumatisme de la défaite, ils sont, eux aussi, abattus. Ils procurent aux prisonniers de l'eau, du café, du lait, du vin ou du schnapps, du chocolat, du sucre, du bouillon, du pain, des biscuits, des fruits, du pâté, du lard, des sandwiches, des crêpes, des oignons, des frites, des tartines....Ce faisant, ils bravent les Allemands : les enfants les suivent à vélo, certains attendent que les sentinelles soient passées, ou détournent leur attention, s'attirant parfois des problèmes, les gardes renversant les seaux d'eau pour empêcher l'aide. Les civils n'aident cependant pas les prisonniers à fuir : en fait, les prisonniers ne s'enfuient pas. D'abord intervient le sentiment que leur sort est inéluctable. Ayant rendu les armes, l'honneur les retient de s'enfuir. Leur évasion peut être synonyme de répression pour les autres (des soldats ont été tués par leurs sentinelles), de représailles pour leur famille (les Allemands ont leurs papiers), les vêtements militaires les signalent comme fuyards ou déserteurs, des vêtements civils peuvent les amener à être fusillés (cela fut fait en 1914). Et puis où aller ? les Allemands ont atteint la Loire...Deuxième raison : ils n'ont tout simplement pas l'énergie pour s'enfuir. Ils sont exténués et l'effort de chaque instant réside dans la volonté de suivre la colonne. Enfin, ils pensent que la guerre est finie : les sentinelles le leur disent continuellement, l'armistice entré en vigueur le 25 juin leur permet d'espérer une démobilisation et un retour rapide chez eux³⁰.

Les civils du Nord de la Seine, au passage des prisonniers, comprennent la défaite avant la demande d'armistice. Tout l'indique : les colonnes innombrables de prisonniers, la comparaison humiliante avec la Wehrmacht surpuissante.

Le passage des colonnes est un défilé en négatif, mais un défilé néanmoins : il ne fête pas une victoire - ni musique ni confetti - mais il marque quand même le spectacle de la communion entre des civils et leur armée. Aucune rupture n'apparaît entre les civils et l'armée française, les soldats ne sont pas rendus responsables de la défaite. Ce n'est pas là que naît l'image d'une armée sans courage. Les civils ne restent pas chez eux au passage de l'armée, ils n'insultent pas les soldats. Ils vivent sur des terres d'invasion, éprouvent des sentiments très particuliers pour leur armée et en mai 1940, ils ont assisté de près ou de loin à des combats et savent qu'ils furent souvent acharnés. Ils portent le deuil de la victoire tout en restant solidaires des soldats auxquels ils s'identifient, ayant vécu, eux aussi, un exode. Ils portent sur eux un regard compatissant et fraternel, évoquant une marée, des flots humains, là où les prisonniers se décrivent comme un troupeau. Aussi, parallèlement à la vision collective des colonnes, apparaît une attention individuelle pour chaque prisonnier qui est un proche, un égal, qu'il faut aider. Parce que la libération des soldats semble imminente à tous, l'aide se limite au plus urgent : l'alimentation. On ne peut généraliser à l'ensemble des Français le regard que les civils du Nord de la Seine portent au mois de mai, dans l'urgence, sur les premières colonnes de captifs partant vers l'Allemagne. Cette étude est à compléter par le regard des civils du Sud de la Seine, voire de la Loire, qui n'ont pas le vécu historique des autres, qui ont vu peu ou pas de combat, peu ou pas de colonnes de prisonniers.

30 C'est ce qu'explique le prisonnier de guerre Henri-Victor Brunel, *op.cit.*, p. 181 à 184. Les soldats retenus captifs de longues semaines, parfois de longs mois dans les Frontstalags, sont plus candidats à l'évasion.

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Civilians and occupation: the Belgians in the maelstrom of total war 1940-1944

German policy and the reactions of Belgian elites and population

PATRICK NEFORS

One can argue a lot about the concept of total war, but there is no denying that the way civilians are involved is one of its key characteristics: they have to sustain the war economy, are ideologically mobilised or become a victim to one of the nationalisms or other “isms” that caused the conflict.

This paper will examine how the Belgians reacted to the second German occupation in less than half a century. What fate did the Germans have in store for the Belgian population, what role was it supposed to perform in the German war economy, and how did Belgians adapt, resist or collaborate?

THE LEGACY OF THE FIRST WORLD WAR

For a good understanding of the second German occupation, one has to grasp fully the consequences of the previous one. Although Belgium suffered fewer military victims than the major belligerents because its army, under the command of King Albert, took on a more or less passive role behind the Yser River, the impact of the war on politics and society was considerable.¹

- 1) During the invasion, the German Army committed a number of atrocities on Belgian soil: more than 5,000 civilians were killed in a terror campaign as the German army had allegedly been fired upon by *franc-tireurs*.² The memory of these events would linger on, especially in Wallonia where most of the incidents had taken place, thereby firmly entrenching Germanophobia in Wallonia's mental framework.
- 2) Second: the *Reich* wanted to exploit Belgium's economic potential for its war economy. Belgium, the pioneer of the Industrial Revolution in mainland Europe, then indeed still took sixth place in world industrial production. Its economic assets were part of the declared war aims³. Three currents struggled for priority in German policy: rational exploitation, economic “annexation”, and brutal and direct exploitation.⁴ The third of these

1 Sophie de Schaepdryver's superb *La Belgique et la Première Guerre Mondiale*, P.I.E.-Peter Lang, 2004 (originally published in Dutch, 1997) was the first major synthesis on Belgium in the First World War since Henri Pirenne (*La Belgique et la Guerre Mondiale*, Paris, 1928). An English translation is in the making.

2 Alan Kramer, John Horne, *German Atrocities, 1914. A History of Denial*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 2001, 608 + xvpp. See also Prof. Kramers article in these *Acta*. Recently published is: Jeff Lipkes. *Rehearsals. The German Army in Belgium 1914*. Leuven University Press, 2007.

3 The seminal work remains Soutou, Georges-Henri, *L'Or et le sang. Les buts de guerre économiques de la Première Guerre mondiale*. Paris, 1989.

4 See Jens Thiel. “*Menschenbassin Belgien*”. *Anwerbung, Deportation und Zwangsarbeit im Ersten Wel-*

would predominate in 1916, when Hindenburg and Ludendorff had gained power in the *Oberste Heeresleitung*. Factories were now systematically closed down and dismantled and about 60,000 workers deported to Germany. Though much is still unknown about the Belgian economy in 1914-18, it appears that Belgian industry in the main refused to work for the *Reich*⁵. Indeed, because of the German requisitions and the fact it was cut off from its clients and providers overseas, it lacked the necessary raw materials. Yet also, both Belgian elites and the population adopted an attitude of principled refusal towards *les boches*, as was demonstrated e.g. by the strike of the courts in 1917. The brutality of German exploitation left a deep mark, and it would take Belgian industrial production until 1923 to once again reach the level of 1913.

Belgian population actually survived the ordeal thanks to foreign food aid organised by Herbert Hoover's Commission for Relief in Belgium⁶, and distributed in the kingdom by the National Relief and Food Committee, led by major industrialists and bankers.

- 3) Thirdly: the occupier pursued a *Flamenpolitik*. Before 1914, a so-called Flemish Movement strove for the linguistic emancipation of the Flemings (the overwhelming majority of whom spoke Flemish, a form of Dutch), though firmly within the administrative framework of the Belgian unitary state. The *Reich* wanted to pull Flanders into its sphere of influence by detaching it from the Belgian state and creating a Flemish nationalism. In 1917 it imposed administrative scission and called a Flemish Parliament into life. Flemish Nationalism was first and foremost a German creation⁷. It would remain a divisive element, split the Flemish movement and in the long run also Belgian politics. The consequences are felt to this day.⁸

THE SECOND INVASION

When the German armies invaded Belgium for the second time, in May 1940, Belgium was a democracy which for about twenty years, had enjoyed universal male suffrage. It was not only a democracy under pressure, reeling from the electoral successes of the extremist parties, such as the fascist Flemish Nationalist *Vlaams Nationaal Verbond* (VNV), and anti-democratic and corporatist currents amongst the traditional elites, but also a country where business circles were strongly entwined with the political world.⁹ The (ageing) heavy indus-

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- 5 There is no recent work that studies the question of the Belgian economy during the First World War in its entirety. We still have to rely on such older works as: DE KERCHOVE DE DENTERGHEM, Charles, *L'Industrie belge pendant l'occupation allemande 1914-1918*. Paris, 1927.
- 6 For an account in English see George NASH. *Life of Herbert Hoover. Vol II. The humanitarian 1914-1917*. New York – London, 1988.
- 7 The great authority on the Flemish movement is Professor emeritus Lode WILS of the Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, who has been writing about the subject for some decades. He first made the argument in: *Flamenpolitik en aktivisme: Vlaanderen tegenover België in de Eerste Wereldoorlog*. Leuven, 1974.
- 8 As Wils put it once in an interview: "the end of Belgium and the independence of Flanders will be the posthumous triumph of Hitler."
- 9 A very good recent account of Belgium's troublesome interwar political history is provided in the relevant chapters by Manu Gerard in: *Nouvelle Histoire de Belgique*, Vol. 2: 1905-1950. Sous la direction de Michel Dumoulin, Vincent Dujardin, Emmanuel Gerard & Mark Van den Wijngaert, Brussels, 2006. That

try – coal and steel – was still the mainstay of economy.

Remembering the 1914 atrocities, at least 1.5 million Belgians fled as the enemy approached in May 1940. This time, however, there was no repeat of the atrocities that had marked the German invasion of 1914¹⁰ The Belgian army capitulated after eighteen days.

Nazi Germany installed a Military Administration with General Alexander von Falkenhausen as *Militärbefehlshaber* and Eggert Reeder as *Militärverwaltungschef*. They ruled Belgium and Northern France until July 1944, when they were replaced by a civilian administration headed by the former Cologne *Gauleiter* Jozef Grohé.¹¹ The theory that a military administration had no political aims, revealed itself to be pure fiction. Reeder was quite convinced he had a political role to play. He had been planning for occupation since 1939. One of the most important lessons he drew from the previous occupation was that, this time, one should try to make do with the Belgian administration in order to limit the number of German staff required: rather than the 10,000 administrative staff of the First World War, he worked with a maximum of 1,200, a number that dwindled steadily as the war continued.

The fate of Belgium and its inhabitants would in the first place be decided, not in Brussels, but in Berlin, and by the course of the World War.

GERMAN POLITICAL OBJECTIVES

Once again, Germany had a “*Volkstumpolitik*” or *Flamenpolitik* in store for Belgium; and yet again, predictably, the country would be economically exploited in favour of the German war machine. Thirdly, there was now also an ideological agenda, the realisation of Nazi *Weltanschauung* by, first of all, the elimination of the Jewish residents, most of whom were recent immigrants who did not hold Belgian nationality¹².

Let us begin with the *Flamenpolitik*: the most important decision here is Hitler’s, taken on the 14 July 1940, when the *Führer* announced that he was postponing the decision on Belgium’s political fate until after the final victory¹³. This did not imply a change in German

the VNV was fascist from its foundation in 1933 on, is proved by Bruno De Wever, *Greep naar de macht. Vlaams-nationalisme en Nieuwe Orde. Het VNV 1933-1945*. Tielt, 1994 (see his conclusions on p. 621ff). Also Lode Wils. *100 jaar Vlaamse Beweging. Deel 2. Geschiedenis van het Davidsfonds 1914-1936*, Leuven, 1985, p.239-245.

10 But let us not forget an even slightly larger number of civilians died because of the invasion.

11 There is still no good up-to-date overview of the 1940-1944 occupation in English. Werner Warmbrunn’s *The German Occupation of Belgium 1940-1944* (New York, 1993) is now fifteen years old. A recent overview in Dutch is: Mark Van Den Wijngaert, Bruno De Wever, Fabrice Maerten, Dirk Luyten, Patrick Nefors, Luc Vandeweyer & Marnix Beyen. *België tijdens de Tweede Wereldoorlog*. Antwerpen, 2004. In 2008 a highly useful Dictionary was published in French: Paul Aron & José Gotovitch (ed.), *Dictionnaire de la Seconde Guerre Mondiale en Belgique*. Brussels, 2008.

12 Which is why, since this paper focuses on the attitude of the Belgians, I am not going to go into the vast subject of the way the *Endlösung* was organised in Belgium. Suffice it to say that about 25,000 Jews, living in Belgium in 1940, were transported from August 4th 1942 onwards from the Sammellager in the Dossin Barracks in Mechelen (now a museum) to the camps in the East. Only about 1200 survived. See the website of the Museum that is now housed in the Dossin Barracks: www.cicb.be.

13 Albert De Jonghe, *Hitler en het politieke lot van België* (Kapellen, 1972). Also Alain Colignon & Francis BALACE. *Quelle Belgique dans l’Europe allemande?* in: *Jours de Guerre. Jours de doute*. Brussels, 1994, p. 7-41.

views on Belgium, since Germany had retained an interest in the radical Flemish Movement and Flanders after 1918, under both the Weimar and the Nazi Governments, and had been subsidizing Flemish nationalist magazines and movements. As part of the so-called *Westforschung* (the scientific or popular-scientific research on countries of Northwest Europe, especially the Netherlands and Belgium, by German scientists and institutes) networks of Flemish nationalists and German “*Flamenfreunde*” had arisen¹⁴. This pro-Flemish policy had strategic imperatives: pulling Belgium, dominated by French culture and French-speaking elites, out of the French cultural and political orbit.

Hitler, however, did not want any discussion about the future for the duration of the war. He was influenced by the fact that Leopold III - whose mother Elisabeth was of German origin and whose sister Marie-José was married to the Italian Crown prince Umberto - had stayed in the country as a “prisoner”. If a German victory ever became final, Belgium would most probably be divided in a *Reichsgau Flandern* and a *Reichsgau Wallonien* (Himmler made declarations to that effect). Also on the 14th of July, Hitler instructed that the Flemings were, “as much as possible”, to be given more advantageous treatment. Consequently, Flemish prisoners of war were liberated, whilst Walloons remained in the *Oflags* and *Stalags*.

Moreover, the Military Administration supported the Flemish Nationalist VNV, to counter the influence of the traditional elites, though, contrary to World War I, this was not simply a choice in favour of Flemish Nationalists, but should be seen as part of a broader support of New Order movements. That this support favoured the Flemish VNV over the *Rex* Party of Walloon Léon Degrelle – an authoritarian offshoot of the Catholic Party, moving in an increasingly fascist direction¹⁵ – can be explained by two facts. One is that the VNV, because of its mixture of Fascism and Flemish Nationalism, was more firmly rooted in society than *Rex* (VNV got about 15% of the (Flemish) vote in 1939, *Rex* less than 5% (of the Walloon and Brussels vote)); the other is that Reeder initially mistrusted Degrelle as a mountebank. VNV people were to be nominated, partly in the central administration, in newly created semi-governmental bodies and most of all at a local level. In 1944, 70 % of Flemish Mayors were VNV; *Rex* could only claim 13% of Walloon mayors¹⁶.

In exchange for these nominations, the VNV had to abandon its strategically unusable

14 Burkhard Dietz, Helmut Gabel, Ulrich Tiedau (hrsg.) *Griff nach dem Westen. Die “Westforschung” der völkisch-nationalen Wissenschaften zum nordwesteuropäischen Raum (1919-1960)*. 2 vol. Münster, 2003 (articles about Belgium by Winfried Dolderer, Marnix Beyen, Björn Roszka & Barbara Henkes).

15 On the evolution of *Rex* and its leader Léon Degrelle (who was as colorful as he was unscrupulous), see: Alain Colignon. *Degrelle, Léon*, in: *Nouvelle biographie nationale*, vol. VI, Brussels, 2003, p. 111-123. Also Francis BALACE, *La fin de l'équivoque du rexisme: l'élection partielle du 11 avril 1937*, in: *Les “Ca me dit” de l'histoire. En mémoire et pour comprendre les années 40*. Tintigny, 1991, p.122-123: “fascisation progressive de *Rex* avec le développement des milices...”. These articles, as well as the older work by Jean-Michel Etienne, *Le mouvement rexiste jusqu'en 1940*, Paris, 1968, prove that the transmutation of *Rex* from a catholic authoritarian and corporatist party to a fascist one dates from after 1937. On its wartime evolution: Martin Conway. *Collaboration in Belgium. Léon Degrelle and the Rexist Movement 1940-1944*. New Haven & London, 1993.

16 On the fascist take-over of power at the local level: Nico Wouters. *Oorlogsburgemeesters 40/44. Lokaal bestuur en collaboratie in België*. Tiel, 2004. 750 p. In English: *Municipal Government during the Occupation (1940-1945): A Comparative Model of Belgium, the Netherlands and France*. In: *European History Quarterly*, Vol. 36, No. 2, pp. 221-246.

dream of “*Dietschland*” – an amalgamation of Flanders, the Netherlands and “French Flanders” – and was increasingly sucked into a policy of collaboration. It was a lure that the movement did nothing to resist, being only too happy to recruit for the Eastern Front, for instance, and the party became ever more unpopular. It was pushed towards an even more radical course by SS support for *DeVlag* (*Deutsch-Flämische Arbeitsgemeinschaft*), a Nazi competitor with a “Greater Germanic” instead of Flemish Nationalist ideology.

VNV did not perform a takeover in central government. Of the “secretary generals” – the highest officials who, in the absence of their ministers (the Belgian government would finally install itself in London), had to run the shop – only two were replaced by a member of the VNV: in the Interior ministry (with the power to nominate mayors) and in the Ministry of Economic Affairs. Yet the spectre of a split country or the nomination of collaborators were always effective ways of scaring reluctant elites into a more cooperative attitude, while, contrariwise, it spurred the collaborators towards an even more collaborationist stance, in the hope of getting a greater share of power.¹⁷ And here we arrive at the other important aim – in fact the most important aim – of the *Militärverwaltung*: the economic exploitation of the country.

THE ECONOMIC EXPLOITATION OF THE COUNTRY

To realise this aim, *Ruhe und Ordnung* had to be maintained, as well as a certain understanding with the traditional elites whose hands were on the tiller of the economy. Rancorous Flemish “*petits bourgeois*” were of little use here. It was precisely in order to offset this dominance of traditional elites that the Ministry of Economic Affairs was entrusted to Victor Leemans, a Germanophile Flemish Nationalist with VNV ties. In the main, however, the Germans had to deal with the economic powers-that-be, which meant the big holdings, the foremost of which was the *Société Générale de Belgique* – now in French hands but then a pillar of the Belgian establishment – which dominated heavy industry (25-30% of the coal mines, 48% of the iron and steel production, ...) and also had many overseas assets (notably in the Congo).¹⁸ It was led by the strong-willed but discrete Alexandre Galopin, who was described in a German report as “*der ungekrönte König Belgiens*”, which gives an idea of his power.

Already on the 15 May, Galopin said that it would be necessary to keep things running under occupation and to arrive at “a certain understanding” with the Germans. Actually, the decision to stay in business was hardly remarkable, as almost all Western European industrialists did so. What was remarkable however was the fact that, entrusted with a general and rather vague mandate by the Belgian government before its departure from Brussels, he formed a committee of businessmen to chart a fairly consistent course, bring Belgian industry into line with it, and justify this “policy of the lesser evil”, already in some policy documents in the summer of 1940. These were communicated to the Belgian government in London, and enjoyed their approval until 1942, when different perspectives got the upper

17 A point made by Colignon & Balace, *art.cit.*, p.7; also Francis Balace & José Gotovitch, *Militärverwaltung*, in: Francis Balace (ed.) *Jours de guerre. Jours de chagrin*, I, Brussels, 1991, p. 93.

18 For the topic of industrial collaboration, I refer to my own book on the subject, first published in Dutch, then translated in French: Patrick Nefors, *La collaboration industrielle en Belgique 1940-1944*, Brussels, 2006.

hand – solidarity with the Allies versus the more national and heavily economic interpretation of the national interest by Galopin.

His main aim was to steer the Belgian economy through these turbulent years without too much damage and to preserve the Belgian economy from major upheavals or fundamental changes to its structure. His policy was officially justified and, at least in part, also sincerely motivated by two facts: that Belgium was dependent on Germany for the import of food-stuffs, as the 14-18 scenario of foreign food aid was no longer possible; and that otherwise workers would be deported, as they had been in 1916. Only the production of weapons and ammunition in the strict sense was refused – the famous *FN (Fabrique Nationale)* at Herstal was put under *Kommissarischer Verwaltung* – but nothing else, though semi-military orders were systematically delayed and in general one always had to strive to work as much as possible for the internal market. Galopin knew well enough, and admitted openly, that in total war,¹⁹ deliveries of materials such as crude steel could be as important to the enemy as those of weapons and ammunition, but he had to draw the line somewhere, and, as he put it in the paternalist language typical of his age and class, producing “weapons and ammunition” would offend the workers’ sense of honour.

He more or less received the support of heavy industry. However, in other sectors, such as the textile industry, there where many small businesses whose bosses, in Flanders especially, were often sympathetic to the New Order, and had fewer qualms about working for the Germans. Not only were they more willing, they were also subjected to more German pressure, as scarcity of raw materials was especially acute in the textile industry. Less willing businessmen therefore had a harder struggle to say no to the Germans than did those in heavy industry, where the power of holding companies was a force to be reckoned with. The “*Offices centraux*” or commodities offices (charged with the distribution of raw materials) and “Groups”, introduced on the German model, would be staffed, on the one hand, with traditional figures in the sectors dominated by the holdings; the head of the Textile Office, on the other hand, was a Nazi collaborator. The man who had been appointed Secretary General of Economic Affairs, and who had been close to the VNV would, however, gradually move towards the Belgian establishment, to the frustration of the VNV.

Influential as Galopin and his group may have been, their power was of course very limited. To say that they could only react to German policy is to state the obvious, but that makes it no less true. They operated within the framework of a German-led European economy, cut off from its overseas outlets and raw materials. Berlin faced the fact that occupied Europe had a serious deficit of resources, including cereals and coal, the latter especially in the case of France, Germany’s biggest prize in Western Europe. As a net coal importer, Belgium saw about 20% of its production disappear towards France, Luxemburg and the *Reich*. Since iron ore deliveries from Alsace-Lorraine were also no longer available, France taking precedence, this impacted significantly on the level of Belgium’s iron and steel production. Such basic facts determined the level of production as much as did changes or nuances in the attitude of Belgian business. They also escaped the power of the *Militärverwaltung*, whose occasional pleas to let Belgium dispose of more of its own raw materials were rarely successful.

19 According to Galopin, the First World War did not merit the qualification of “total war”, because the Germans tolerated unemployment (at least until 1916).

Another crucial factor was the drop in foodstuff provision to about 1,300 calories per head, which inevitably undermined workers' productivity. In the first half of 1941, major strikes broke out – the so-called strike of the 100,000 – as hungry workers protested against insufficient rations. Some German industrialists observed that if rations were increased, Belgium would be able to drive up its coal production by 10 to 15%.²⁰ Analyses like these would however always falter on the general food deficit in Hitler's Europe. Of course, set beside the fate reserved for the population of the Soviet Union by Herbert Backe's "hunger plan", the deprivations of the Belgian and Western European populations were relatively mild. It is therefore ironic that a Belgian delegation of high officials and businessmen, travelling to Berlin in March 1942, was slightly disappointed that it did not get to meet Herbert Backe.

A few months later, in October 1942, the occupiers would introduce the long-dreaded measure of obligatory labour in Germany. It struck about 200,000 workers, 2.5 % of a total of about 8 million foreign workers who were deported to the *Reich* by Sauckel. Though this measure can initially appear to be counterproductive if one wanted to make the Belgian economy work for the *Reich*, it actually augmented the pressure; it was openly used as a means to blackmail industry, e.g. by Hermann Röchling, who was in charge of Belgium's iron and steel production in the second half of the occupation, and under whose oversight this production did indeed increase until the end of 1943. Enforced labour in Germany destroyed one of Galopin's arguments, yet at the same time provided an even stronger one to keep on producing.

RESISTANCE

The deportation of workers to Germany was the most important factor driving young Belgians into the hands of the resistance. Yet even in 1943-1944 resistance would, just like collaboration, always remain a minority phenomenon, actively involving only 2 or 3% of the population in the age bracket of 16 to 65. The first town in which the Germans took hostages in reprisal for acts of sabotage was to be Dinant, where the 1914 atrocities were still a vivid memory.²¹ This took place on the 1 July 1940. This was typical for resistance: the occupiers were, at least in the early phases of occupation, seen through 1914 spectacles, as the "*Boches*" rather than as Nazis; resistance was mainly the affair of francophone bourgeois patriotic circles. Partly because the 1914 atrocities had made a stronger impact on the collective memory, partly because of stronger feelings of patriotism and loyalty to the Belgian State, resistance would always be a predominantly francophone affair: 80% of members of intelligence networks, 71% of clandestine journals.

The resistance would receive a first major impetus from the German invasion of the Soviet Union, when the Belgian Communist Party, hitherto bound by the Nazi-Soviet pact, now unambiguously opted to resist; a second impetus, as already mentioned, was given by the promulgation of obligatory labour in Germany.

The resistance embraced a range of activities: the clandestine press, aid to Jews or persons in hiding, sabotage, intelligence networks, and armed resistance. Time is too short to

20 Adam Tooze, *The Wages of Destruction. The Making and Breaking of the Nazi economy*, London, 2007, p. 413-414.

21 Wolfram Weber, *Die Innere Sicherheit in besetzten Belgien und Nord-Frankreich 1940-1944*. Düsseldorf, 1978, p.50.

look at these various activities or resistance movements in detail. Within the framework of a congress dedicated to the topic of “asymmetric war”, it is, however, worthwhile to draw attention to the different motivations of, on the one hand the intelligence networks and the Secret Army (*Armée Secrète*), the biggest military resistance movement, led by professional soldiers; and on the other hand the communist Armed Partisans (*Partisans Armés*). The latter answered the call of the Communist International of 30 June 1941 to “disorganise by all possible means the hinterland of the enemy in order to support the Red Army”: the motherland of socialism had to be defended by partisan activity in the occupied countries. The Partisans committed attacks on German soldiers and Belgian collaborators, though they abandoned all assaults against the German military when the blood price of German reprisals – the execution of hostages in, among other places, the infamous Breendonk camp – became too high²². The Partisans hoped that liberation would spark a “national rising” (*soulèvement national*) and a general strike resulting in the creation of liberation committees. The Secret Army, by contrast, saw its role more as one of support to the allied armies in the run-up to and during liberation. That the support of government and industrialists was directed more towards the Secret Army – which was at first also mistrusted because of its royalist stance – is not surprising. By accepting the London directives some months before the liberation however, both Partisans and the broader communist-led left-wing movement in which they were integrated (the *Front de l'Indépendance*) got some government support. The disarming of that part of the resistance that was communist or sympathetic to the *Parti Communiste Belge* would pose major problems to the government two months after liberation²³.

BLACK AND WHITE AND DIFFERENT SHADES OF GREY...

The attitude of the Belgian population towards the occupiers ranged from white through grey to black. Though historians often talk about three types of attitudes: “collaboration” – “accommodation” or “lesser evil” – and “resistance”, the reality was most of the time more complex, a sliding scale of different shades of grey. While presently much attention goes to ideological aspects, it must not be forgotten that at the time, for most people, the essential criterion was that of “Germanophilia” or “Germanophobia”.²⁴ And seen from that perspective, most people adhering to the policies of the lesser evil, firmly belonged to the “Germanophile” camp.

22 On the attitude of the Belgian Communists in wartime: José GOTOVITCH. *Du Rouge au Tricolore. Les Communistes belges de 1939 à 1944*, Brussels, 1992. On Breendonk, which is now a national Memorial: Patrick NEFORS, *Breendonk 1940-1944*, Brussels, 2005 (French edition) & ID. *Das Lager Breendonk: vom SS-Auffanglager bis zum Mahnmahl für Menschenrechte*, in: *Gedenkstättenrundbrief*, no. 127 (10/2005), p.20-27.

23 José Gotovitch, *Communistes et résistants: les (en)jeux de dupes d'une libération*. In: *Jours de paix (Jours de Guerre, t.22-24)*, Brussels, 2001, p. 49-99 ; Patrick Nefors, *De Bevrijding. Euforie, verdriet en repressie*, in: Mark Van Den Wijngaert a.o., o.c., p. 265-288.

24 Francis Balace rightly insists on this point (*Collaboration et répression en Wallonie: un regard particulier?* In: José Gotovitch & Chantal Kesteloot. *Collaboration, répression. Un passé qui résiste*. Brussels, 2002, p.52-53.

La population civile polonaise pendant l'agression allemande et soviétique en 1939

TADEUSZ PANECKI

La Seconde Guerre mondiale déclencha le 1er septembre 1939 quand le Troisième Reich envahit la Pologne. Au moment du commencement des opérations militaires, les Allemands disposaient d'une énorme supériorité numérique: deux fois plus d'hommes, cinq fois plus d'aviation et presque quinze fois plus d'arme blindée. Adolf Hitler envisageait d'utiliser la tactique de la guerre éclair (*Blitzkrieg*) et combattre définitivement la Pologne pendant deux semaines. Tout en ayant la conscience de la disproportion des forces, le commandement polonais pensait à résister à l'agresseur sur la principale ligne de défense et ensuite à retarder les opérations jusqu'au moment de l'intervention active des armées alliées, françaises et britanniques. Seulement grâce à cette éventuelle intervention active de la part de la France et de la Grande Bretagne, on pouvait espérer vaincre l'envahisseur. Si la Pologne avait lutté solitairement, même avec le général à la mesure de Napoléon, elle n'aurait eu aucune chance au combat avec le Troisième Reich. Toute la nation qui beaucoup plus tôt se fut rendu compte du danger menaçant de la part allemande, prit parti de son pays. La menace extérieure eut unifié la société qui dirigea toutes ses forces afin de repousser l'attaque. Le "non" polonais fut prononcé le 1er septembre 1939, à haute voix, par toute la nation.

Dès les premiers jours de la guerre germano-polonaise, les attaques de masse de l'aviation, de l'armée blindée et leur coopération révélaient un caractère tout à fait nouveau des opérations militaires. Dès le début, les opérations de la *Wehrmacht* et de la *Luftwaffe* avaient un caractère de la guerre totale, dont le trait particulier était la terreur sanglante par rapport à la population civile. Les représailles et les crimes commis sur la population civile manifestèrent les intentions des chefs du Troisième Reich qui visaient à la destruction biologique du peuple polonais. Déjà en septembre 1939 pendant la campagne de guerre, des premiers symptômes du caractère criminel, propre au fascisme allemand, apparurent. C'était avant la construction du camp de concentration à Auschwitz et le déchaînement de la terreur hitlérienne pendant l'occupation de la Pologne.

Les déclarations officielles du commandement allemand promettaient de respecter des normes concernant les opérations sur la terre, sur les mers et dans l'air, aussi bien que de garantir à la population civile la sécurité et le traitement humanitaire, ce qui signifiait le respect de la convention de la Haye de 1907 et de Genève de 1929. Le commandant en chef de l'armée de terre en Allemagne, qui dans la proclamation du 1er septembre 1939 eut annoncé la prise du pouvoir sur les territoires occupés en Pologne, assura que „la population civile n'est pas l'ennemie pour la *Wehrmacht* et celle-ci respectera toutes les résolutions du droit international”.¹ De même, Le Ministère des Affaires étrangères dans la note verbale du 1er septembre adressée au gouvernement polonais, déclara solennellement que „l'aviation allemande reçut l'ordre de limiter ses opérations aux installations militaires et que cet ordre

1 Wojna obronna Polski 1939. Réd. Scien. E. Kozłowski, Warszawa 1979, p. 805

serait maintenu en vigueur à condition de respecter les principes analogiques du côté de l'aviation polonaise".²

C'est justement la *Luftwaffe* qui donna le début aux crimes sans précédent commis sur les terres polonaises pendant la campagne de 1939 et durant l'administration militaire sur les territoires occupés en Pologne. Dans la guerre contre la Pologne les forces allemandes utilisèrent l'aviation dans la lutte contre la population civile, pour la première fois sur une très vaste échelle. En exécutant les tâches opérationnelles, le premier jour du combat, la *Luftwaffe* dirigea seulement 57% de bombardements sur les bases militaires.³ Les autres actions c'étaient des opérations terroristes qui devaient surprendre la Pologne par le cataclysme de la guerre totale paralysant la volonté de la résistance. Le premier jour de l'agression, la *Luftwaffe* effectua plus de 70 attentats terroristes sur les villes polonaises. Ces premiers bombardements coûtèrent à la population civile des milliers de morts et de blessés et ils tournèrent en ruine des centaines d'immeubles résidentiels, d'églises, d'écoles et d'hôpitaux. A mesure que la *Luftwaffe* gagnait successivement la domination dans l'air et que les forces de l'aviation polonaise diminuaient, les attaques terroristes allemandes devenaient de plus en plus nombreuses. Varsovie a connu des bombardements d'une fureur particulière. On estime que pendant toute la campagne germano-polonaise, du 1er septembre au 5 octobre 1939, la *Luftwaffe* effectua des attaques terroristes contre 160 villes polonaises, sans compter les provinces et les villages. Les dévastations dépassaient assez souvent 50-70% de terrain, p.ex à Wielu, Sulejów ou Garwolin.⁴ L'armée de terre de l'Allemagne détruisit encore 310 villes et cités, ce qui n'avait aucun rapport aux opérations militaires. Des dizaines de milliers de la population civile furent tués par suite des explosions de bombes et de l'arme à feu. Plusieurs monuments et statues inestimables de la culture polonaise furent perdus sans retour. Les pilotes de la *Luftwaffe* bombardaient à plusieurs reprises des colonnes de la population civile qui n'avait pas de possibilité de défense. Dans le bulletin de guerre annoncé par l'état-major de l'armée polonaise „Pozna” du 4 septembre, on constata, entre autres que, „les aviateurs allemands bombardent des colonnes des réfugiés qui marchent sur les routes vers l'est. La bonne visibilité du plafond de 100-200 mètres éliminait absolument l'erreur concernant la confusion avec des colonnes militaires. Des colonnes des réfugiés se composaient surtout des personnes âgées, femmes et enfants. Parmi eux il y avait plusieurs morts et blessés”.⁵

Dès les premiers jours de la guerre, la population civile sur les terres polonaises occupées par la *Wehrmacht* subit des crimes de masse et de guerre. Certaines divisions SS et la police qui pendant l'agression contre la Pologne accompagnaient les armées allemandes particulières, en étaient responsables. On estime qu'à partir du 1er septembre au 25 octobre 1939, dans les régions de Poméranie, de Grande Pologne et de Silésie, environ 10 000 hommes perdirent la vie par suite de 360 exécutions. Sur d'autres terrains occupés presque 7 000 hommes

2 Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik 1918-1945. Serie D (1937-1945), t. VII, Baden-Baden, dok. 526

3 A. Rzepniewski, *Wojna powietrzna w Polsce – 1939 na tle rozwoju lotnictwa Polski i Niemiec*. Warszawa 1970, p. 68.

4 Sz. Datner, *Zbrodnie Wermachtu w Polsce w kampanii wrze niowej*. Warszawa 1962, p. 22-24.

5 Centralne Archiwum Wojskowe w Warszawie, II/13/12. [équivalent du Bureau Central d'Archives Administratifs Militaires]

furent tués.⁶ C'est ainsi que commençait l'extermination du peuple polonais à laquelle des unités de la *Wehrmacht* prirent part également: jusqu'à 310 exécutions et meurtres commis.

Les premières semaines de la politique d'occupation de la *Wehrmacht* étaient une période intermédiaire dans l'action sans précédent visant à détruire les bases biologiques et spirituelles de l'existence de la Pologne. Elle prit son début après la constitution de l'administration militaire du 25 septembre avec le général Gerd von Rundstedt. Quatre régions militaires : Prusse occidentale, Poznań, Łódź et Kraków étaient soumises à son autorité. En même temps la base de l'administration civile et les institutions de la terreur de masse apparurent. Artur Greiser, désigné au poste d'un chef de l'administration civile de la région de la Grande Pologne, révéla leurs buts: „Toutes les influences polonaises soit dans le domaine politique, soit culturel, soit économique, seront éliminées pour jamais. Nous, les Allemands, sommes venus ici en tant que maîtres et les Polonais doivent être nos serviteurs”.⁷

Pendant la période de l'administration militaire les Allemands effectuèrent également les premières expulsions de masse de la population polonaise qu'ils pillèrent et exilèrent de ses maisons. On expulsa environ 50 000 personnes de la région de Poméranie et de Silésie, 20 000 de la voïvodie de Rzeszów vers les terres situées à l'est de la rivière San, de même que du nord de la région de Mazovie vers les terres situées à l'est de la rivière Narew.

Dans le bilan des souffrances et des malheurs que la population civile souffrit pendant la campagne germano-polonaise, il faut aborder aussi la question du pillage économique. Par exemple, jusqu'au 22 septembre, la 8-ème armée allemande fit renvoyer au Reich environ 30 trains chargés de charbon, de blés et d'équipement ménager. Les Allemands s'emparaient du patrimoine de la Pologne, réquisitionnaient la propriété privée et, de plus en plus souvent, la propriété personnelle des Polonais.⁸

Quand la population polonaise des régions ouest et centrales subissait des atrocités liées à l'invasion allemande, le 17 septembre inopinément pour le commandement polonais, l'Armée soviétique franchit la frontière est du pays. Peu nombreuses divisions de réserve de l'Armée Polonaise, les unités de Korpus Ochrony Pogranicza (l'organisation qui s'occupait de la protection de la région frontalière), furent forcées, par rapport à une énorme supériorité soviétique, à la retraite vers l'ouest. La Pologne, quittée par ses alliés – l'Angleterre et la France qui le 12 septembre à Abbeville reconnurent que son sort était déjà inévitable, commença la lutte sur les deux fronts, avec deux agresseurs.

L'Armée Rouge qui entra sur les terres polonaises, au contraire à la *Wehrmacht*, avait des insuffisances considérables de l'alimentation, des essences et de l'équipement personnel des soldats. Le commandement comptait plutôt sur les ressources de la population locale que sur les livraisons de leurs propres bases de ravitaillement. Dès le début de l'agression soviétique, la population polonaise souffrait des réquisitions de masse de réserves alimentaires, de chevaux, de fourrage et d'autres produits de ravitaillement.⁹

6 Sz. Dater, 55 dni Wehrmachtu w Polsce. Zbrodnie dokonywane na polskiej ludno ci cywilnej w okresie 1.IX-25.X. 1939. Warszawa 1967, p. 116-117.

7 T. Jurga, Obrona Polski 1939. Warszawa 1990, p. 533.

8 Sprawozdanie 8A z 22.IX. 1939. Materiały i dokumenty Wojskowego Instytutu Historycznego w Warszawie. T. 77, an 624.

9 Cz. Grzelak, Kresy w czerwieni. Agresja Związku Sowieckiego na Polskę w 1939 r., Warszawa 1998, p.

Les chefs locaux expliquaient ce procédé des réquisitions prenant la forme de pillage de la population, selon la phraséologie communiste: de la nécessité de „compléter des ressources venant de la propriété foncière, des ennemis du peuple et de la classe”. Les officiers soviétiques confisquaient, sans aucun contrôle, vélos, arme de chasse, objets d'usage quotidien, vêtements et biens personnels. La plupart des unités de l'Armée Rouge „existaient” sur les ressources locales, ce qui d'ailleurs admettait ouvertement les commandants soviétiques dans leurs messages et rapports. En outre, le commandant de la 6^{ème} armée soviétique, Philippe Golikov, écrivit que pendant les opérations, son armée utilisa des dizaines de tonnes de biscuits, farine, gruau, graisses, beurre, sucre, sel, hareng, avoine et cigarettes. Le bilan établi dans l'état-major du Front d'Ukraine¹⁰ selon la situation du 1er novembre 1939, présente la description des masses des biens pillés à la population polonaise. Il en résulte que les Russes confisquèrent 2581 tonnes de blé, 3846 de sucre, 3024 tonnes de foin, 2910 de têtes de bétail, 1992 de têtes de moutons, 16 294 de têtes de chevaux, 146 montres d'or et 601 montres diverses.¹¹

L'agression de l'Armée Rouge contre la Pologne en septembre 1939 avait non seulement un caractère militaire mais aussi un aspect idéologique supplémentaire, lié à „la libération des ouvriers et des paysans de Biélorussie et d'Ukraine ouest de l'oppression de la part des maîtres”. Pour éviter des problèmes concernant l'assimilation des terres „libérées” à l'Union Soviétique, on décida par anticipation d'éliminer l'élite intellectuelle polonaise et la partie riche de la population: les propriétaires du bien foncier ou des usines, les commerçants etc. Cela explique pourquoi les fonctionnaires du NKVD (l'acronyme du Commissariat du peuple aux Affaires intérieures, la police politique de l'ex-Union soviétique) commencèrent à appliquer des méthodes répressives déjà pendant les opérations de guerre. Le soldat soviétique, bourré des idées idéologiques sur la libération des frères Biélorusses de l'oppression polonaise, entraînait dans le territoire d'un pays étranger. Quand il se rendait compte que le niveau de la prospérité dépassait à plusieurs reprises celui dans „le pays du socialisme heureux”, il ne pouvait pas alors succomber à la volonté de profiter de cette „richesse”. Il méritait quand même d'être récompensé pour son effort de la libération des ouvriers de l'oppression bourgeoise. Cette façon de penser était représentative non seulement des soldats de l'Armée Rouge mais aussi des officiers, même politiques. Voilà pourquoi, pendant toute la „marche libératrice”, des cas de pillage, de viols et de meurtres eurent lieu, souvent officiellement, au nom de la lutte révolutionnaire et à la majesté de la loi soviétique.

Des premiers cas des opérations illégales des soldats de l'Armée Soviétique et des fonctionnaires du NKVD eurent lieu pendant les luttes pour la défense des corps de garde, surtout quand ceux-ci résistaient vaillamment. A la fin des luttes, des soldats prisonniers et la population locale étaient tués sans pitié. Presque tous les jours les femmes sans défense étaient violées, surtout aux environs du village Sarny mais aussi de Grodno et Augustów. Pillages,

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10 Le 17 septembre 1939 les armées de deux fronts dépassèrent la frontière est de la Pologne: Biélorussie (gen. M. Kowalow) et Ukrainien (gen. S. Timoszenko) avec presque 500 000 soldats. En même temps, dans les régions est de la Pologne il y avait environ 350 000 soldats polonais, en train de réorganisation, la moitié d'entre eux sans arme.

11 Ibid. p. 490-491

meurtres et viols sur la population civile se répétaient si souvent que le commandement de l'Armée Rouge, dans la crainte d'un relâchement de la discipline militaire, décida de déférer les auteurs des crimes à la justice. D'après les données du front d'Ukraine, on estime que du 17 septembre au 7 octobre, 135 officiers et soldats de l'Armée Rouge furent condamnés judiciairement pour avoir commis des meurtres, viols et pillages sur la population civile.¹²

L'agression contre la Pologne des forces armées du Reich et ensuite de l'Armée Rouge: la véritable inactivité des alliés occidentaux dont la volonté de lutter et de satisfaire les résolutions du traité on était cependant tellement sûrs ; la défaite de l'armée, la fuite des autorités en Roumanie, le partage du pays entre ses deux voisins puissants – tout cela fut un choc pour les Polonais mais, en même temps la raison de la joie pour certains représentants des minorités nationales de la Seconde République.

La minorité allemande de la région de Silésie ou de Poméranie accueillit le triomphe de la *Wehrmacht* avec une grande satisfaction; c'était ce qu'ils attendaient et espéraient. Plusieurs Biélorusses et surtout Ukrainiens pensaient par contre que l'entrée de l'Armée Rouge au territoire où ils constituaient la majorité¹³, donnerait la chance de remplir leurs aspirations nationales et les désirs de classe. Cela explique pourquoi, parmi les gens observant attentivement les soldats de l'Armée Rouge qui venaient sur leurs chars, il y avait tant de personnes souriantes, avec des bouquets de fleurs dans leurs mains, et même plusieurs Juifs, particulièrement en Galicie. Ils appartenaient ensuite aux différentes chaînes de l'appareil de pouvoir soviétique sur le terrain de Kresy Wschodnie (Confins Orientaux), occupés par l'Union soviétique.

Les Polonais des voïvodies ouest et centrales ne savaient pas encore ce qu'ils pouvaient attendre de la part des Allemands. Les Polonais des Confins Orientaux par contre, de la part des occupants soviétiques attendaient le pire, parce qu'ils n'oublièrent pas encore la guerre de 1920. Les uns et les autres étaient unis par le désespoir et le découragement, accompagnés par la rage impuissante. Tous gardaient pourtant la foi en chute de l'alliance de Berlin et de Moscou, considérée comme raison principale des malheurs actuels.

12 Ibid, p. 496.

13 On estime qu'au mois de septembre 1939, les Polonais constituaient 40% de la population des territoires occupés par l'USSR, Ukrainiens et Russes - 34%, Biélorusses – 8,5%, Juifs – 8,5%, autres (Russes, Allemands, Lituanais, Tchèques) – 9%. E. Duraczy ski, Polska 1939 – 1945. Dzieje polityczne. Warszawa 1999, p. 82.

Bulgarian Central Campaign Committee in Skopje 1941

DIMITRE MINCHEV

Ladies and Gentlemen, dear colleagues,

First of all I want to present before you the warm regards of the Bulgarian military historians to the participants of that Congress, and mainly to our hosts - the Italian Commission of Military History.

Now, when talking in my paper about Skopje (Vardar Macedonia), which currently is called "Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia", I want to make it clear, that a matter of discussion will be the Bulgarian population in this district. Usually they were and are called, even in Bulgaria "Macedonians", but we are well aware, that they have nothing to do with the ancient Hellenic population of Macedonia, and that they are Bulgarians, born and living in Vardar Macedonia.

The Bulgarian population in Vardar Macedonia accepted with satisfaction the defeat of Versailles Yugoslavia in 1941, by the German army. In the demolition of Yugoslavia they saluted the end of their 23-year long Serbian occupation. No wonder then, that the Bulgarians from Vardar Macedonia, mobilized in the Yugoslav army, refused to fight, laid down arms, and surrendered to the Germans, seeing in them liberators. The situation was similar to the WWI, when Bulgarians from Macedonia, mobilized in the Serbian army surrendered en masse to the Austro-Hungarian army.

The hostilities against Yugoslavia began on April 6, 1941, but the lack of Bulgarian troops, and of official Bulgarian powers caused certain political vacuum, in which the so called Central Campaign Committee (CCC) arose. The idea for creating such a committee arose in conversations among some representatives of the former Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (united). These were the historical figures Pavel Shatev (the only one alive at that time from the Salonika outrages), Alexo Martulkov, Hristo Ampov, Stephan Stephanov and Vassil Hadjikimov.

In the course of the talks it became clear, that the problem of organizing the Bulgarian population in Vardar Macedonia could be solved by two active figures - Stephan Yanakiev Stephanov and Vassil Hristov Hadjikimov. They had both suffered, and would suffer again for the liberation of their native territories. Like many other Bulgarians from Vardar Macedonia, they would be imprisoned after the war by Tito's authorities. Hadjikimov stayed in prison for more than 11 years. Stephan Stephanov perished in an attempt to escape from prison. According to them the political goals could be achieved only by following two basic missions: destroying the Serbian authorities in Vardar Macedonia, and uniting the Bulgarians in an organization.

The arrival of Stephanov and Hadjikimov in Skopje appeared to be just the spark, which enflamed the hearts of the people for patriotic activities. On April 13, 1941 a session was held. According to the N1 minutes, a "Central Committee of the Macedonian Bulgarian Committees" (CCMBC) was founded. Its official name was: Bulgarian Central Campaign Committee for Macedonia (BCCCM). The Committees that would be formed in the different

places throughout Vardar Macedonia were called Local Bulgarian Campaign Committees (LBCC). The BCCCM consisted of 32 persons.

One of the main missions of the BCCCM was to publish a declaration: "BULGARIANS, Macedonia is liberated! Macedonia is liberated for ever. The end of the slavery has come... The centuries-old slavery in Macedonia – Serbian and Turkish, mental and political, economic and social, in the 20th C., is abolished. The great ideal - L i b e r t y - for which Macedonia waged century-long struggles with an unprecedented heroism and with a lot of sacrifices, is already a reality." Along with this, the declaration briefly declared the program before the people: unification with Bulgaria. Although the Bulgarian authorities were not established yet, the BCCCM announced in the declaration: "Macedonia is free and is already in the Bulgarian national community".

One of the first problems the BCCCM faced with, was to take the power away from the Serbs. Paradoxically, the power was still Serbian - the Germans did not abolish the administrative authorities initially. The German commandant in Skopje answered the delegation of the BCCCM, that he would give the power to the Bulgarians, if only they could give him proofs, that the Bulgarians predominated in Skopje. This became a pretext for a special referendum. Only half a day appeared to be enough for the BCCCM to prepare Bulgarian flags, and to hang them outside all Bulgarian houses. All over the city were Bulgarian flags, although there was no official Bulgarian representative in it. Like any pedantic German, the commandant of Skopje drove along the streets in order to see for himself, that the city was a Bulgarian one. Afterwards the administrative power of the city was given to the Bulgarians. Spiro Kitinchev was appointed the first mayor of the city.

This success showed, that to establish Bulgarian rule was not an easy thing, and that a struggle should be waged for it. The struggle for overtaking the power in Skopje demonstrated, that in other Macedonian towns the Serbs might also have strong positions; that is why the immediate formation of local committees was necessary. This was the mission of the organizing secretary - Vassil Hadjikimov - the most energetic of the workers. He traversed whole Vardar Macedonia and organized Local Bulgarian Campaign Committees (LBCCs) in towns and bigger villages.

On April 14, 1941 Vassil Hadjikimov arrived in Veles. The townsmen decided to create a local CC, which would have to follow the directives of the BCCCM for Vardar Macedonia's unification with Bulgaria. On April 17, 1941 Vassil Hadjikimov arrived in his native town of Shtip. Here, as it was the case with many places in Macedonia, the citizens had organized Bulgarian power immediately after the Serbs had abandoned the town. In his memoirs Vassil Hadjikimov wrote: "He, who wants to get an idea of what the Serbian slavery is, must come here, and get familiar with something else: the real face of the Bulgarian spirit. The townsmen of Shtip seem to be the toughest Bulgarians. Despite sufferings and assimilations that took place, they have preserved their language. They had not only kept the awareness of their national identity, but also of the great role they had played in the past for the liberation of Macedonia." The next places where Hadjikimov created CCs were Kochani, Vinitsa, Pehchevo, Tsarevo selo (Delchevo), Berovo, Radovish and Stroumitsa. Up to the arrival of the Bulgarian troops in Macedonia, CCs were created in most of towns of the region.

At the same time the Albanian population in Kosovo also created committees. Its aim was

to prepare this region, as well as some towns in Western Macedonia, for annexation by Albania. That is why in the towns of Tetovo, Gostivar, Debar, Strouga and Ohrid, Bulgarian and Albanian Committees were created, and struggles between them started. At the time of Hadjikimov's visit in Gostivar, this town was full of German, Albanian and Italian flags. Bulgarian and Albanian committees were struggling between themselves. The Albanian Committee in Debar was most active. It organized demonstrations and meetings on the occasion of the liberation. There were slogans for unification with Albania. The Albanian committee here was in connection with the one in Prizren, Kosovo, so that the behavior of the Italians, and of the Albanians expressed self-confidence. That is why here were neither Bulgarian meetings, nor the Bulgarian symbolical shout "Hurra" (contradicted to the Serbian "Zivio"). A secret and silent conference in a house of a Bulgarian teacher on April 24th was everything that could be done. That committee in fact could function only as illegal. The Italian occupational powers did not approve the activities of Vassil Hadjikimov. They arrested him for several hours. So he did not succeed in organizing CCs in Strouga and Ohrid. However, such committees arose.

In one of the biggest towns of Vardar Macedonia - Bitolja, the Bulgarian population had to wage a struggle to seize the town hall from the Serbian administration. In fact the struggle was not against the Serbian administration, but a problem of obtaining proofs about the ethnical picture of the town, which the population had to present before the German powers. The Bitolya townsmen organized a committee before the arrival of Hadjikimov. Such was the case with other towns in Macedonia, too. This shows that the organizations of Bulgarian CCs in Vardar Macedonia in 1941 was a spontaneous activity of the Bulgarian nation for its self-organizing, and not the initiative of several hot-hearted patriots.

The creation of the CCs should not be regarded as the isolated efforts of a small number of intellectuals. All Bulgarian in Vardar Macedonia were involved in this patriotic deed during the critical times of 1941. This was a process of whole nations' self-determination, an expression of the will of the people to join Bulgaria after being liberated from the Serbian yoke.

While in 1941 the population in Vardar Macedonia strongly expressed its Bulgarian feelings, only several years were enough to change the direction of development of the Macedonian Question. What were the factors most important for that. First, here was the recognition that those people were not Serbians. Second, this kind of policy was useful to justify the retention of Vardar Macedonia within the Yugoslav federation. A non-Bulgarian, non-Serbian population of Slavs could belong to a federation of Slavic peoples as one of the fraternal nations. A third reason for recognizing the Slavic Macedonian nationality was "to eliminate the Bulgarian consciousness of the vast majority of Vardar Macedonians". Thus the Communist party of Yugoslavia not only recognized a new Macedonian nationality, but also undertook vigorous steps to encourage differentiating Macedonian from Bulgarian language. The Macedonian language, reinterpretation of history, the Macedonian church, and all other attributes of a distinct nationality played a major role in de-Bulgarizing the Macedonian population."

That Slavo-Macedonian language didn't exist up to the WWII, and that it was elaborated after the war, the US strategic leadership was well aware of. In a document that I found

in Hoover Institution, Stanford University during my work as a Fulbright researcher, titled 'SITUATION IN MACEDONIA' prepared for the Office of Strategic Services, Research and Analysis Branch, dated March 7, 1945, is said that there is not up to that time a Slavic Macedonian Alphabet, and the creating of a such was expected. "It is rumored in Skopje, that Russian linguists will assist in the formulation of a standard Macedonian language. At present little except newspapers and pamphlets is being printed in Macedonia. Textbooks for the schools will not be printed until an alphabet has been officially adopted." The involvement of the Soviet politics in the formation of the new nation was not only rumors. It was in 1934 when the decision of the Comintern was taken for the formation of the Macedonian nation. Nevertheless what the real purpose was, it is understandable, that Soviet Russia needed friendly Bulgarian nation, but not a too strong and self-confident one.

The hypocrisy of the new regime entered in the everyday life of the people. In April 1946 a Congress of the Macedonian emigrants was held in Sofia. In those times all the institutions were directed to serve the policy of the Soviet Communism. The decision of Moscow coincided with the one of Belgrade. That is why the Bulgarian one had to coincide too. According to the decisions of the Macedonian Congress: "The emigrants must stress their policy of solidarity with the Yugoslav peoples to strengthen the Yugoslav Federation; and solidarity with Slavdom for the strengthening of the Slav idea led by the USSR."

Impacts of Finnish wars in 1939–1945 on the people and society

JARL KRONLUND

PROLOGUE

During the Second World War Finland fought three wars: the Winter War from November 1939 to March 1940 and the Continuation War from June 1941 to September 1944 against the Soviet Union, and the Lapland War from September 1944 to end of April 1945 against the German troops over there.

A lot of fictive and non-fictive books have been written about these wars. The latest one was published in mid-August 2008¹. Solely on the basis of the literature one may assume that these wars have left divergent impacts on the population.

This study deals with the civilians on the home-front, especially women and children and their fates. Those who were on the fronts are examined in this connection only from the point of view of the influence their fates had on their co-citizens and society. The question is how did society and especially its members feel and cope with the phenomenons caused by the wars?

NATURE OF THE WARS

Before the Winter War the inhabitants of the cities, mostly women and children were evacuated to the countryside as early as in October 1939 as well as some 100 000 people from the Carelian Isthmus. At a point when it seemed that there would not be a war, people moved back to their homes. On the morning of 30th of November, when schoolchildren were in their classes and the working day had just started, the inhabitants of Helsinki and some other cities woke up to the bare truth: the Soviet bombers dropping their cargoes over the city. These raids caused the first civilian losses.

In the middle of the chaos caused by burning and houses crashing down, people were hit by fear. In the afternoon Helsinki railway station was full of people trying to go back to the countryside to find shelter from the bombings of the towns. This was a clear border in-between the old and new warfare: now the resisting power of the whole nation was put on trial. On the 1st of December 1939 the Finnish newspapers told to the citizens that the country had been declared to state of war².

The outlook of the vicinity changed: windows were covered with sand bags or board fences and during night time with curtains to prevent the lights to be seen from outside and the bomb shelters became familiar. The whole mental atmosphere was changed: some people were in panic, some feared for their relatives, others for the future of the country.

The Winter War was a short one, and in this war the Finnish people was almost united in

1 Sodassa koettua, volume 3, 2008.

2 Helsingin Sanomat and Uusi Suomi on 1st of December 1939.

its efforts. In citizens opinion, the conditions of peace were hard and the outcome a surprise. They had got news of victories along the roads in the deep snowy forests, but knew nothing about the severe situation on the Carelian Isthmus. For them it was an unfair outcome and it was mirrored in the name *interim peace*³. After the war the Finns had a feeling of being left alone against the Soviet Union. It was there the germs of a new war were.

In the minds of the citizens, the Continuation War began as the previous one, the Soviet Air Force bombed Helsinki and some other Finnish towns on the morning of 25th of June 1941. Operation 'Barbarossa' had started a couple of days earlier. Amongst the hopes, there were now critical discordant notes, and deserters hiding in the forests. The information the citizens got during the Continuation War was scarce, censored and politically correct. The insecurity of the outcome of the war gnawed the minds.

The Control Commission of the Allied, led by colonel-general Andrei Ždanov, came to Helsinki in September 1944. It restricted the living of the people and dictated many times what the Finns had to do in order to fulfil the terms of the interim peace treaty. It forced Finns to start a real war in Lapland against the Germans. It was out of necessity, not out of desire. Some Finns considered it shameful. The Civil Guards and some other organisations were suppressed. The trials against the political leadership and persons who cached weapons were by the majority considered unfair, they caused fear: what next?

When the Control Commission left the country three years later in September 1947, the Second World War had ended on the part of Finland. One could hear a sigh of relief: Finland was not conquered, nor occupied.

IMPACTS DURING THE WARS

The war was somewhere there. The maximum number of people on the front reached at its peak some 16 per cent of the population. Practically no one came back with health in existence.

The war-morale and changes in the mood on the home front as well as on the front was followed by authorities. Marshall Mannerheim put the reason this way:

*"The army is not a machine, which only fights. It also thinks and feels. Thousands of ties bind the home front and the war front. When anxiety is rising on the home front, it will spread anxiety and uncertainty among the troops."*⁴

The anxiety might have been even greater if getting first hand information from the family members had not been possible. It was done via letters and they diminished the fear. Especially, under heavy fighting a letter sent said: *"I am still alive"*⁵. So the letters had a triple function: they reduced the fear, kept up the morale and brought the home front and battlefield closer to each other.

During the Continuation War the mood on the home front changed from optimism to pessimism, between fear and trust. At the beginning of 1944 there was a crucial change in the mood: the atmosphere became worried and timid. However, the underlying tone was trust in

3 Arimo 1984, p. 35.

4 Arimo, 1984, p. 34.

5 Ibidem.

the strength of the own defence.

During the Winter War and the Continuation War the Russians dropped parachutists in Finland, whom the Finns called "*desantti*". This phenomenon gave wings to rumours and horrifying stories and caused hysterical reactions, though it was not a big trouble. Those who caused trouble in the border areas were the Soviet partisans. These troops attacked small villages and solitary farmhouses far away from the bigger population centres killing people, cattle and burning the houses. Most of the atrocities took place summertime in 1942-1944. These killings were considered murders by the Finnish Ministry of Justice.

When the men went to the frontiers, a lot of workplaces were left behind. The jobs had to be filled. It meant that also women had to take care of men's jobs. After the war many of the women continued in work because of the wages. With this, the wars brought a change into Finnish society as well as to the family life with more and more women employed outside home.

The circumstances of the Second World War led the Finnish energy management to chopped wood line. The evacuees from the eastern border areas and from the towns were employed in the firewood forests. If they were not willing to go, they were forced and this aggravated the relations between the evacuees and employment authorities. Voluntary firewood workers compensated the refusals to some extent.

In the countryside there were Russian prisoners of war at work on the farms. They were a good help in farming. The prisoners also seemed to enjoy their job and they were thankful because they had got rid of the prisoner camps where the living was poor and nothing but drudgery.⁶

Before the Winter War there were plans to bury the soldiers killed in action on the field. The intention was watered down, by people who wanted to bury the fallen in their home churchyard. Thus a practice to transport the corpses to their home parishes was developed in Finland.

In principle, the next of kin of a fallen soldier got a letter of condolence from the military chaplain of the unit. The relatives got also a printed form of condolences from Marshal Mannerheim⁷. This revealed the essential features of Finnish thought of *sankarikuolema*, a heroic death. It took place for home, fatherland and religion, and it was also a sacrifice to Finland on the part of the relatives. God would help them in their mourning.

The funerals depended only to a small extent on the social status of the fallen. They were a common mourning ceremony of the locality; the differences of 1918 were forgotten for a while. A fallen soldier was a member of his local community, even if he remained a part of the military, buried among his fellow soldiers. In this way, the heroic death became a process, which stretched from the battlefield to the home front. After the war the names of the heroes got their places in *Pro Patria* memorial tablets on the walls of their old school and other establishments.

The families of the soldiers were ready to accept their loss and mourn their deceased as heroes of the nation. One answer to how the Finns could tolerate the wartime casualties is the religion. In Finnish nationalism religion and nation was almost the same thing.

During the Winter War the evacuation of people was successful, but the transportation of

6 Maisonlahti 1996, p. ; Kujala, 2007 p. 14 and Kirstinä 2006, p. 52.

7 Peltonen, form of condolences and Kemppainen 2006, p. 65 and 261.

property caused difficulties and was chaotic. The storage and distribution of the items continued until summer. Some of the property was tramped, burnt or left behind.

When the Winter War was over, half a million evacuees had to be settled. The inhabitants of towns and those whose homes had been left west of the new border returned home. The search for a place to those, whose homes were on the area ceded to the Soviet Union, was started. This was eased by Swedish donation of wooden houses. With these *västeråses*⁸ homes for war widows, invalids of war and city-evacuees were built around Finland.

The Winter War threw two different Finnish cultures face to face. The lodging of a Carelian farmer population among a wealthy western-Finnish agricultural society caused conflicts. A subject of contention was also the obligation to hand over land to the evacuees. The obligatory life together didn't always pass without incidents and the authorities had to settle down disputes. The evacuees from the Carelian townships settled themselves easier, went to the working life or founded workshops of their own as shoemakers, tailors or carpenters.

The Continuation War changed the situation. When the areas lost in the Winter War were captured back, some 70 per cent of the evacuees returned back home. To them the years of 1942-1943 were a time of hope. This time came to its end on 9th of June 1944, when the Red Army started its general offensive on Carelian Isthmus. The departure onto the evacuation road and the first kilometres of the path demanded one's own initiative, because the evacuation plans fell completely. A small amount of movable property up onto a carriage, and on the road with children, cows and sheep. Behind the travellers the Carelian Isthmus changed to a battlefield. Most of the Carelian evacuees hoped for decades that they could go back one day.

The evacuation problem caused by the Lapland War in September 1944 was eased when Sweden promised to take refugees. Thereafter the civilians were evacuated with the help of the Germans in Lapland. The trip of these evacuees was short: the inhabitants of the northern villages of Oulu province stayed away for about two months and those from the southern valley of River Tornio could return a little later. But the evacuees from Lapland could only return after a year. Their return was problematic: because of many destroyed villages and mines.

After the Continuation War Finland had to settle fewer evacuees than earlier. The amount was smaller, because about 30 per cent of the evacuees of the Winter War stayed in their new homes.

After the beginning of the Second World War, the rationing of food started slowly. Some items, like coffee, were put on rationing already in October 1939 as well as sugar. Corn, butter, milk and meat were rationed during summer and autumn 1940.

With the ration cards of the state the consumers got about a half of their calorie requirement. The rest had to be gained from non-rationed foodstuffs till the winter of famine in 1941-42. Society learned from this: the inhabitants of the cities were encouraged to produce food themselves. In the spring, every spot of soil that was sufficient for farming was changed to vegetable plots. Inside the homes people grew pigs, lambs, rabbits and hens. In a small town a headmaster could have a cow and the vicar a pig.

During the wars people learned how to queue up. They also learned to circulate goods on exchange basis. So the circumstances forced people to follow ecological principles.

8 Hietanen 1989, p. 252.

In the towns the situation was worse than out in the countryside. Many Finns remember that their parents made trips to the countryside to buy food from farmers they were related to or whom they had already known before the war. They understood that this was illegal, because the farmers were obliged to sell everything to the authorities who would then sell it in strictly calculated food rations. Most of the buyers were harmless, but there were of course also “businessmen”, who created a flourishing trade going around the rationing. However, very few seem to have had doubts or bad conscience of using the black-market, so great was the need for extra food. Society tried to tie up the black-market by propaganda and by using policemen and other authorities to survey and catch these “control criminals” and forfeit their goods.

The wars lowered typical peacetime criminality but brought along opportunity crimes. Especially the private use of state and army owned items was a generally accepted habit. There was also lots of evacuee owned property strolling around. Neither was other private property safe, especially during the extensive bombings, the light-fingered looted damaged houses and shops.

Ordinary citizens, who showed plain disobedience in rationing, were ready to bring their straw to the stack for the war efforts. The experiences from the Finnish wars shows that war diminishes typical peace time crimes, but brings in a new form, opportunity crimes: theft, pilferages, and rationing abuses, refusals from work obligations and refusals from arms. When the rules and regulations as well the control measures were relaxed after the wars, the opportunity criminality disappeared.

The Winter War changed the Finnish social security system. The authorities had to find solutions to settle the evacuees, and to take care of war widows and war orphans. This led to several revisions of the Law of Accident at War, enacted in 1938, and this made it tangled and incoherent. The law stated that a pension had to be paid to a war widow, and to a war orphan younger than 17, financial support without separate request.

Finland's Welfare (*Suomen huolto*), which was established in 1939, acted as an intermediary with help from abroad to Finland during the Winter War. During the Continuation War the association tried to patch up the shortcomings of the official maintenance net, and give one-time assistance to those in need. There grew also up lots of associations on the side of the social benefit system, when almost all of the groups who had suffered from the war established one of their own.

In practice, the situation was complicated: the numerous helpers created confusion and there were families for whom nobody seemed to be responsible. Those entitled to support did not, in some cases, have a clear picture from where to get help neither did know their rights.

SCARS OF A WAR

The widows of the soldiers fallen during the Continuation War were mostly young. Because of the special significance given to heroic death, their widowhood was different. Their husbands were war heroes and the war widows were subordinated by praising. The widows of the nation got the role of an eternally mourning woman. In everyday life the widows were generally single parents, who often lived at subsistence level with their flock of children. A war widow was not allowed to step down from her pedestal: she could not go out to dance, to restaurants, keep company with a man, at least not with a German soldier. Other women

had an eye on them. If a widow made a mistake, the whispering begun: “*You know, she is a war widow*”⁹.

The war widows had lots of prospective husbands and the women later told that the most eager suitors were those who tried to put their hands on the so called “*myyniraha*” a three year pension, paid by the state to the widow if she was married. In some cases, the man drank the money and vanished. The remarriage process was slow. One of the widows explained her point of view: “*For sure, I would have got a husband, but the children would not have got a father*”¹⁰.

Some of the war orphans did not know their father very well. Sometimes they could not ask their mother, because she would burst into tears. The memories of the children could be dim, but the feelings and impressions were strong. The traumas have become strongly visible in inquiries.

During the wars, the Mannerheim League for Children Welfare tried to find godparents to the children who had lost either their father or mother in the war. It succeeded, the contribution of the Swedes being the biggest, but there were also godparents from many other nations. The amount of godparents was growing till 1945, but after 1950 it was rapidly decreasing.

At the beginning of the Winter War the Swedes offered an interim stay in Sweden to Finnish children. From December 1939 till January 1940 children, some with their mothers were sent to Sweden, Denmark and Norway. Some 1000 of the 10 000 children stayed in Sweden.

When the Continuation War begun the Minister of Social Affairs, K. A. Fagerholm, founded a committee for moving children abroad. His measure raised hard criticism. One of the loudest was the press of the Agrarian Party, telling that it was wrong to split the family and take the children to unknown circumstances. When the matter was taken up in Parliament, the censorship forbade criticism in the parliamentary speeches to be published in the press.

The decision was of great importance. Under the supervision of the Ministry of Social Affairs over 54 000 children were moved to Sweden, some of them two or three times. Additionally, there were about 20 000 children travelling privately to Sweden and the Mannerheim League for Children’s Welfare took about 4000 children to Denmark. It was easier for townspeople to send their children abroad than for those living in the countryside.

For most of the children everything seems to have gone well. But there were also non predicted impacts. Some of the children just dropped in, but a lot spent a considerable time of their childhood as members of Swedish families. Only a few of the children could speak Swedish. They could not understand what their foster parents said, but after a while most of them learned to speak Swedish. Many of these children became estranged from their parents, because they were under the school age and were not encouraged to be in contact with their parents.

Some of the children felt that they had been deserted for a second time when they were sent back to Finland. Many of them had forgotten their Finnish and could not understand their parents. They wanted to go back. They had lost their contact with their Finnish homes,

9 Maisonlahti manuscript and interview on 7.6.2008; Salmi 1992, p. 30, 45–59 and Stenberg 1992, p. 25, 34.

10 Stenberg 1992, p. 36.

and the close and poor conditions were strange after the superfluous living in Sweden. The transfer back and forth was a traumatic experience and some of the children are still suffering from it.

After the war not everything passed smoothly and there were disputes between the biological and foster parents over the future of the child. In some occasions this has been considered as a great loss to Finland, the affair being a historical mistake. More than a fifth of them never came back. The majority of the war children found their place in Finland, Sweden or Denmark.

Besides the war orphans and war children, many other children had fateful experiences during the wars. This developed an emotion which sank down into the innermost recesses of one's mind, a knowledge which has its impact even today. One of the war orphans did hit the core saying *"I don't remember the bombings, but I was astonished, when I felt an indefinite fear, when I as an adult heard the noise of a motor driven aeroplane"*¹¹.

Fear, suffering and the narrow conditions of life are reflected in many stories. The degree of the difficulty of the problems varies. Children who had been content during the war and had lived in families who kept together had fewer emotional damages. In these families the adults did not share all their worries with their children. They also tried to hide things from children, but the stories reveal that the little pitchers had big ears. The emotional insecurity was strong among children, whose parents showed their bitterness to their children or shared it with them. This led to an inexplicable feeling of insecurity and caused anxiety and nightmares. In other words, loving and responsible parents seemed to be the key to a happy childhood during the war.¹²

SIX O'CLOCK IN THE EVENING AFTER THE WAR

The Finns were shocked when the sounds of the arms died down on the front in September 1944. The interim peace agreement signed in Moscow was strict. This time Finland lost not only Carelia and Salla but also Petsamo or 12 per cent of its territory. Additionally, Finland had to rent Porkkala to the Soviet Union for 50 years. This caused presentiments among citizens.

In these wars about 85 500 Finns disappeared or died, 100 000 parents lost their child and there were 50 000 war orphans, 30 000 war widows and over 74 000 war children. Of the fallen and disappeared 90 per cent were men between 20-40 years.

During the wars nativity and mortality surprisingly stayed in balance. The biggest population losses were suffered in 1940, 1941 and 1944, when the increase of population almost stopped. The only minus year was 1940 when the loss was 8000 citizens. The population increased with 52 500 people. Between 1945 and 1950 there were many marriages and a baby boom: the increase of population was per annum more than the total growth during the wars.

The year 1945, when there was peace in other parts of the country, and the war in Lapland was still going on, was a kind of zero point. Goods were scanty, and the delivery was still

11 Vuornos 2008, p. 25.

12 Korppi-Tommola 2003, p. 152

controlled. People could not be sure whether they got their card-rations.

Finland started the return back to normal conditions by organizing parliamentary elections in March 1945. The Communists got 49 seats out of 200 in these elections. When the outcome of the elections was clear, many asked: "*Is Finland pushed towards Socialism?*"¹³

The contemporary mind recalls that the attempts to change the Finnish political system started immediately after the signing of the Moscow interim peace treaty on 4th September 1944. The plan did not succeed and the Communist party was tamed by taking it into the government till the next parliamentary elections in 1948 and by preventing it from gaining the command over the labour union movement.

The uncertainty was increased by the fact that the Security Police fell into the hands of Communists. Additionally, a feeling of lost war, gave rise to a "*no-matter-how*"¹⁴ style which blurred the boundaries between criminal habits and honesty.

The year 1945 saw the top of criminal homicides and violence. The nerves of many men were strained. It caused scraps and violence was common at public entertainments. The disappointments, anxiety and even fear in women and children were tangible. The distortion calmed down and at the end of the decade homicides were fewer than before the wars.

The years 1945-1956 were years of reconstruction. New buildings were raised; the old ones were renewed if there was money and material, and farmers cleared new fields. The replacing of Finns went on without serious social difficulties. The evacuees and veterans were able to get their feet under their own table already before the end of the 1940's.

Finland halved the value of its money and the notes were concretely cut in two pieces on the last day of 1945. The left half was valid for payment for 1.5 months and people could change the right half for a receipt over a forced loan. The measure only applied private persons and it made them angry: they felt that the forced loan was robbery exercised by the government.

After a decade, Finland was on the road to being a modern industrialized and urbanized country. People moved after jobs from the countryside to built-up areas and their way of living changed. The rise in the standard of living led to the removal the last ration cards in spring 1954. All essential goods could be bought in the shops. It was the end of the black-market. The customers had the freedom of choice for the first time since more than a decade.

In Finland peace didn't cause the kind of disorder, as it did in many other countries on the losing side, nor the collapse of the system or political upheaval and there was not any resistance movement in the country. In the late 1950's the immediate post-war period and the impacts of the wars were well over, people believed. In 1955 the Soviet Union announced that it would give up its bases in foreign countries and broke off the occupation of Austria. The final return to normal peace time in Finland began in 1956, when the Soviet Union handed back Porkkala. When leaving one of the Russian officers said: "*We are now leaving the last base which the Soviet Union has on foreign soil. The others should do the same, if they don't want war*"¹⁵.

13 Jussila 1990, p. 9-24.

14 Hietanen 1992, p. 160-164.

15 Haataja 1992, s. 18 and 71; Suomi silloin ennen s. 605-608 and Paasikivi 2/1986, p. 526-527 (1001-1002).

AND WAR BECAME LITERATURE

In Finland the first war story of high quality was published by J. L. Runeberg in the 1840s. It was a heroic poem, "*Ensign Stool*", telling about 1808-1809 Swedish-Russian War. In 1940 was published over 80 books about the Winter War, but real boom of war literature had to wait till 1970s.

Of war literature the half-fictional has been a channel through which Finns have unburdened their feelings. It has also been one of the ways through which Finns have tried to get acquainted with the wars. Today, the war literature on the artistic top generally speaks for peace.

The unity of the Finns during the wars was partly based on a trust: the Finnish soldiers and natural conditions would diminish the technical advantages of an enemy. Finland could not be put down in days or weeks – it would take months. At least some of this image was caused by the epic poem of Runeberg, which sold plenty during the Winter War.

But it has also been said that some of the books were too chauvinistic. Russians shared this opinion and it became evident, when Ždanov said to Prime Minister Paasikivi in fall 1944: "*Ensign Stool is good poetry, but it is misused for revenge purposes*"¹⁶.

A new way to look upon the things had to wait till 1954, when "*The Unknown Soldier*", a novel of Väinö Linna was published. It made the old point of view questionable. It was not easy; some critics thought that the novel disparaged the Finnish soldier. However, the novel was quite realistic and down-to-earth, had a sense of proportion, in telling about the Continuation War from the point of view of ordinary soldiers. Linna conveys their account of the war: "*The Soviet Union won, but the little and persistent Finland took silver*"¹⁷.

The first proper scientific study of the Finnish wars published by Professor Arvi Korhonen begins: "*After a defeat in a fight and war, generally there starts a more or less thorough search of the causes of the defeat*"¹⁸.

The time passed by and brought up two new aftermaths of the Finnish wars in 1939-1945. In fall of 1961 President John F. Kennedy asked: "*What we Americans are most interested in is why the Soviet Union has allowed Finland to keep its independence*"¹⁹?" Molotov gave one answer in 1974: "*We were clever, when we did not incorporate Finland to the Soviet Union. It would have become a bleeding wound - - the people over there are very stubborn, very stubborn.*"²⁰ In other words: it was easier to the Soviet Union to have Finland that way it was in 1944-1990.

THE PICTURE OF THE WARS IN LATE 1900'S

The age groups, born between 1945 and 1949, grew up to their active age during an economical, social and cultural change. It led to a secularized industrial and innovative Finland. When the older generation wanted to keep up a patriotism connected with the wars, the youth

16 Paasikivi 1985, p. 100; and Niemi 1988, p. 125–126.

17 Linna 1982, p. 308 and 1973 p. 441. The translation of the book into English version could be better. I have had to correct this sentence so that it corresponds better with the original.

18 Korhonen 1961, p. 7.

19 Jakobson 2004, p. 3-4.

20 Jakobson 2004, p. 3-4.

looked for their own conception of the world, connected tightly to the fear of a nuclear war. This combination created a favourable climate to a conflict between generations. The youth took up a new attitude towards society, patriotism and the wars. One of the most biting expressions was when some youngster uttered to some invalids of war: "*Why did you go to war – It's your own fault*"²¹.

A lot of people were offended and resented. In television, radio, and in some of the newspapers and books the young left-wingers were backed up: Finland lost; it was guilty to the wars, was their message. The older generation on their behalf believed that their offerings had not been useless. Contradictory to the guilty, the leftist youth saw the Winter War, backed up with the Viet Nam war, as a mythical fight between small and big, David and Goliath.

President Kekkonen reminded that in a world of nuclear weapons, the best way of national defence and patriotism of the youth was the work for peace. He knew that the regulation of controversies required control of conflicts and tolerance. By acting in this way, he seems to have influenced the youth so that they did not have big difficulties in integrating themselves into organized society. The following generation developed a new picture of the world. It listened to their grandparents and saw the Finnish struggle almost from their ancestors' point of view. One of them said when arguing with his relatives: "*If grandad had not been in war, you would now be in Russia*"²².

During the presidency of Urho Kekkonen some influential persons criticized in their writings that he had in his foreign policy forgotten the experiences of 1939-1944. Actually Kekkonen had not forgotten the experiences, but he made different conclusions and was trying to build a lasting peace to the northern hemisphere and additionally to some other means created the Finnish participation to UN peacekeeping missions.

When the Kekkonen era in the beginning of 1980s had ended, the conception of defeat, made many Finns rise on their hind legs. They insisted that Finland had got a defensive victory, in Finnish "*torjuntavoitto*". This dispute is still going on: some saying it was a torjuntavoitto others insisting: no, the outcome was a defeat. One reason for this confusion might have developed from the immediate post war consciousness, in which the Winter War was a mentally won war but the Continuation War was a lost war. Like one historian explained: "*Finland survived the wars because of its favourable location, skilful steersmen of a quick water boat and tough oarsmen, though seriously disabled*"²³ Few seem to think that an army may win a fight and be unbeaten but the nation loses the war, and in spite of this keeps its independence.

EPILOGUE

Today the specific burial grounds for war heroes are kept up by the parishes, the family members bring their flowers to the graves and society and some organizations arrange every year some memorial ceremonies over there. Every spring in some cities the secondary school graduates honour the fallen by laying down their flowers on the memorial stone in the grave-

21 Honkasalo 2000, p. 379.

22 Kronlund 1.8.2008.

23 Niemi 1988, p. 216, Jussila, HS 17.5.1987.

yards. When those who were children during the wars in 1939-1945 came to their pension age in the beginning of 2000's, the memories from the war and immediately there after have filled their minds. This I marked by a wealth of books, occasions organized by war orphans and war children, and in founding of associations. On the other hand this is a natural process of the memories coming up when people get older, accounting and taking care of one's psyche.

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Death out of the air – air war and its civilian victims in Germany, 1939 – 1945

REINER POMMERIN

In 1921 the Italian Major General Giulio Douhet published the book “The Command of the Air”. Given that any future war would be “total”, and war between nations not between armies, Douhet believed that terror and annihilation tactics against the civilian population would play a decisive role.¹ Even if the military did not entirely share this „air war only“ view, Douhet’s opinions still had great influence on strategic conceptions for Europe’s air forces.

„It is easy to see why air power assumed such dimensions, in strategic theory as well as in popular conceptions of war, during the inter-war period. The threat of annihilation from the air had an almost mystical power. Aviation techniques and destructive power clearly changed so quickly that the utopian image of an air force soon became operational reality. It was taken for granted that the morale of the civilian population would be weakened by the naked reality of death from the skies, even though there was little concrete proof of this. As a top-ranking American officer put it, attacks from the air could ,force the enemy to submit to the opponent’s will‘. This statement was based on the uncritical assumption that a crisis on home territory could force the military to capitulate, that in the age of mass politics a war would be initiated by the people, and ended by them.“²

In the United States of America General William Mitchell saw air warfare as an important factor in a future war: „The influence of air power on the ability of one nation to impress its will on an other in an armed conflict will be decisive“.³ Mitchell proposed strategic bombing of enemy territory and believed that attacking the enemy’s vital centres was the quickest way to break the will to resist. But his ideas found little support. Significantly, Mitchell was court marshalled as a result of his suggestions and forced out of the army in 1926. But his ideas were not completely lost and were later taken up by a few of his fellow officers. But still large sections of the American population had a moral aversion to the thought of breaking the enemy’s will to resist by aerial bombardment.

The operational principles eventually developed by the Air Corps Tactical School from 1938 onwards made full provision for bombing essential enemy targets. Precision bombing, which meant dropping bombs on specifically selected and defined economic and industrial targets, was intended to cripple the enemy war effort. There was no intention of breaking enemy morale by attacks on the civilian population. General Henry H. Arnold, in charge of the Army Air Force until the end of the war, wrote in 1941 that the most economical way of bringing a big city to its knees was to destroy the power stations supplying electric light,

1 See Giulio Douhet, *Luftherrschaft*. Berlin 1935.

2 Richard J. Overy, *Luftmacht im Zweiten Weltkrieg: historische Themen und Theorien*, in: *Luftkriegführung im Zweiten Weltkrieg. Ein internationaler Vergleich*. (Vorträge zur Militärgeschichte, Bd. 12) Im Auftrag des Militärgeschichtlichen Forschungsamtes ed. by Horst Boog. Herford/Bonn 1993, 23f.

3 William Mitchell, *Winged Defense. The Development and Possibilities of Modern Air Power-Economic and Military*. New York/London 1925, 214.

the water supply and the sewerage system. It was generally recognised, he continued, „that bombing raids on the civilian population are uneconomical and ill-advised“.⁴

Most fateful for the German cities, however, was the development of air war strategy in Great Britain. In the First World War German Zeppelins and the so-called „Giant Bombers“ had attacked London and the first German 100 kilo bomb hit the Chelsea Hospital. The fear and terror of bombardment amongst the population, the “air scare” became a sort of trauma for certain British government ministers.⁵ In 1917 the government set up a commission, under General Jan Smuts, to look at general questions of air warfare. As a result the British government established an independent air force, the future Royal Air Force, although it was not actually deployed in the First World War.⁶

The idea of bombing German towns had, however, already been mooted in principle in 1918. A memo from the Empire General Staff of January 1918 recommended, „The policy intended to be followed is to attack the important German towns systematically... It is intended to concentrate on one town for successive days and then to pass to several other towns returning to the first town until the target is thoroughly destroyed, or at any rate until the morale of workmen is so shaken that output is seriously interfered with“.⁷ Maybe this sort of strategic bombing was less of an alien concept to the British than to other nations because of their traditional use of naval blockades.⁸ These had always been designed to cripple the entire enemy nation, not just its armed forces. On top of all this came the completely unsubstantiated notion that, to paraphrase Lord Weir’s famous statement, nations of different racial origin from that of Britain like the German were „susceptible to bloodiness“ and their morale would therefore be the first to break.⁹ In 1936 Prime Minister Stanley Baldwin encapsulated the British strategy for air warfare in the sentence: „The bomber will always get through“.¹⁰

The Air Force Marshal, Lord Hugh Trenchard, drafted the Royal Air Force War Manual, in 1928. Trenchard stuck to the specifically British attitude towards strategic bombing. He firmly believed, like the French Marshal Foch, that air raids „owing to its crushing moral effect on a Nation, may impress the public opinion to a point of disarming the Government and thus becoming decisive“¹¹ Theoretical descriptions of the likely consequences of air raids on a civilian population did much to persuade the government to grant the Royal Air Force

4 Henry H. Arnold/Ira C. Eaker, *Winged Warfare*. New York 1941, XIII.

5 See Raymond H. Fredette, *The First Battle of Britain 1917-1918 and the Birth of the Royal Air Force*. London 1966, 233.

6 See H.A. Jones, *The War in the Air*. Oxford 1937, Vol. Appendices, Appendix II, 8-14.

7 Ibid., Appendix IV, 26.

8 See Horst Boog, *Der angloamerikanische strategische Luftkrieg über Europa und die deutsche Luftverteidigung*, in: Horst Boog/Werner Rahn/Reinhard Stumpf/Bernd Wegener (Eds.), *Der Globale Krieg. Die Ausweitung zum Weltkrieg und der Wechsel der Initiative 1941-1943 (Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg, Bd. 6)*. Ed. By the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, Stuttgart, 1990, 429.

9 Fredette, *The First Battle*, 225.

10 See Irving B. Holley Jr., *Die Entwicklung der Abwehrbewaffnung für die Bomber der US-Heeresstreitkräfte in den Jahren 1918 bis 1941. Eine Studie über Produktionserfolge trotz Mängeln in der Doktrin*, in: Boog (Ed.), *Luftkriegführung im Zweiten Weltkrieg*, 166.

11 See Jones, *The War in the Air*, Vol. Appendices, Appendix VII, 33.

request for a strong bomber fleet. Its first task would be to attack the opponent's air force, thereby preventing a counter-attack against England. According to the War Manual the main aim of air raids was not to bring down enemy aircraft, but to destroy willpower and national morale. It said, amongst other things: „A nation is defeated once the people or the government no longer have the will to pursue its war aims“.¹²

The Manual also quite rightly stressed that many political-economic-industrial systems fulfilled both civilian and military functions. Workers often lived close to their factories, so that air raids on centres of this sort could shatter civilian morale and at the same time destroy enemy resources. While other nations tried, albeit in vain, to make a clear distinction between civilian and military, the British had deliberately chosen to see them as two sides of the same coin. And in any case since modern hi-tech warfare was so closely interwoven with all aspects of society, any attempt to separate them was unlikely to succeed. The British had regarded demoralisation as the actual, the ultimate aim, and the „ulterior purpose“ of bombardment. „Before the war the Royal Air Force was geared towards conducting a strategic bombing offensive, and this was the nub of Trenchard's doctrine“.¹³ Nor did this doctrine change when, from the mid-1930s onwards, bombers ceased to be regarded merely as powerful deterrents and defensive weapons. Britain felt it simply had no choice but to establish a balance between air attack and air defence, by setting up ground observation and fighter command posts and by building the necessary fighter planes.

What remained open to question, however - quite apart from any moral scruples which some of those involved certainly did have - was whether the population of a totalitarian regime like Nazi Germany, who had originally been very positive about it and supported it, would then be either willing or able to influence their political leaders.¹⁴ Wasn't it actually more likely that bombardment would reinforce Nazi die-hard slogans and make the population more defiant, along the lines of „now you've really got it coming!“ The Joint Planning Sub-Committee including its member Group Captain Arthur Harris created in 1936 a paper on „The Appreciation of the Situation in the Event of War against Germany“. Here one could read: „Moreover, a military dictatorship is likely to be less susceptible to popular outcry than a democratic one Government“.¹⁵

The French air force, which had been designed for tactical support of ground troops and was, in any case, very antiquated, had no chance to get involved in strategic air warfare after the country capitulated in spring 1940. As for the Soviet Union, let's be quite clear here that unlike Britain and the USA, it had to wage war on its own territory and therefore had other priorities for air war, which basically boiled down to supporting its ground troops. Apart from the important task of supplying partisan units with provisions, the Soviet air force successfully impeded the flow of supplies to German units from the air and also used aerial block-

12 Charles Webster/Noble Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive Against Germany, 1939-1945*. London 1961, Vol. IV, Appendix 2, 73.

13 Horst Boog, *Der angloamerikanische strategische Luftkrieg*, 433.

14 See H.A. Probert, *Die Auswirkungen des strategischen Luftkrieges auf die deutsche Moral 1940-1945. Britische Erwartungen und deutsche Reaktionen*, in: Klaus-Jürgen Müller/David Dilks (Eds.), *Großbritannien und der deutsche Widerstand 1933-1945*. Paderborn [etc] 1995, 197-216.

15 Webster/Frankland, *The Strategic Air Offensive*, Vol. IV, Appendix 4, 89.

ades to prevent the Luftwaffe from giving tactical support to German ground units. The 1942 operational handbook for Soviet bombers envisaged attacks by long-range aircraft on the enemy hinterland. The aim was the destruction of military-economic power, and the demoralisation of the troops and population.¹⁶ However, the Soviet bombers were neither suitably equipped nor capable of carrying out such a strategic bombing offensive against Germany, as the isolated attacks on Stettin, Königsberg and Berlin were later to demonstrate.

Another thing that should perhaps be pointed out here is that as far as international law is concerned, there was never any general prohibition on air warfare, even though various attempts were made in this direction. The Hague Declaration of 1899, before the development of bomber planes, included a ban on dropping explosives from aircraft. But by the Hague Conference of 1907 this had already proved to be unsustainable. By then many countries had discovered aircraft as at least a potential weapon for war. At the Washington Conference of 1921/22 there were renewed attempts to reach an agreement, but again in vein. In the end the Hague Lawyers' Commission of 1932 concluded that bombardment from an aeroplane with the intention of terrorising a civilian population should be banned. The problem is that this suggestion was never followed up by any agreement in international law. Apart from Japan and the USA, none of the great powers was interested in such a ban at the time. So it was that when Hitler unleashed the Second World War on 1 September 1939 no internationally recognised settlements existed for restricting war in the air.

This loophole in international law was what President Franklin Delano Roosevelt had in mind when, on the same day, he sent a note to the warring countries. He urged them to make a public declaration that they would not bombard any civilian population or unfortified town from the air. On that morning Hitler had already made a statement in the Reichstag on this subject. So he informed Roosevelt: „For my part I have already made it clear in my speech to the Reichstag today that the German Luftwaffe has been given orders to restrict hostilities to military targets.“¹⁷ We now that this was a lie, because the Second World War did not start at Danzig as we have learned in school. At 4:40 of September 1, 1939 a German Stuka Wing bombed the small Polish town Wielun. This first area bombardment of the Second World War destroyed 70 Percent of the town and killed 1.200 of its inhabitants. Wielun was not at all a tactical or strategic target; the Stuka Wing was just testing its new engines. On the following day both France and Britain complied with Roosevelt's request, though given Britain's approach to air war strategy, this can hardly have been meant seriously. None the less, this Anglo-French declaration was not unwelcome to Bomber Command, which was initially not keen to get involved and in any case had very few bombers and trained crews available.

How did the Luftwaffe feel about strategic bombing? It is clear that the main thrust of German aircraft armament and deployment was in the tactical sphere, that terror attacks were more the exception than the rule, and that the Luftwaffe did not carry out strategic bombing on any grand scale. In 1933 the Reich Aviation Ministry presented a memo to Hermann Göring entitled „The German Air Force“. It underlined the prevailing attitude among air war theorists, namely that the aim of air war should, amongst other things, be to break the enemy's will to resist and to continue hostilities: „It is clear that even the most well-organised

16 See Raymond L. Garthoff, *Die Sowjetarmee - Wesen und Lehre*. Köln 1955, 392-395.

17 Akten zur Deutschen Auswärtigen Politik, Series D, Vol. VII, Baden-Baden 1956, 423.

passive air defence is useless against planned attacks by an air force against a large town or industrial area. The speed with which the terrorisation of an enemy capital or industrial area will lead to the collapse of morale will increase in proportion to the weakness of the people's patriotism, the degree of materialism amongst the urban masses and the extent to which they are divided by social and party-political forces".¹⁸

The German „Conduct of Air War“ published in 1936 therefore required that air raids should be directed not only against enemy forces, but also against the „very root of the enemy people's will to resist“. Priority was given, however, to attacks on the enemy's fighting forces and the idea of attacking towns in order to terrorise the population was basically rejected. So-called retaliatory attacks of this sort would only be useful to deter the opponent from this brutal type of air war.¹⁹ During the Spanish Civil War the „Legion Condor“, as it was called in the Luftwaffe's assessment of its deployment, had gained „very valuable experience of the effects of bombing, both on morale and in concrete terms“. ²⁰ The attack on the town of Guernica, where various lines of transportation crossed, was supposed to block off just the suburb of Renteria, a bridge and a few streets, to prevent the Basque retreat. But in fact the deployment of the „Legion Condor“ and Italian fighter planes led to the destruction of the whole town, whose name has, ever since, been synonymous with terror attacks by aircraft on civilians.²¹

The attacks by German dive bombers on Warsaw showed that it was technically very difficult to avoid involving Polish civilians in the air war, and that in any case the Germans had little intention of doing so. The lead-up to the bombing of Warsaw makes it obvious anyway that any attempt to justify it was mere pretence. On 10 September the Luftwaffe General Staff issued the following orders: „The attack is to be regarded as retaliation for the crimes committed against German soldiers. The aim is to achieve widespread destruction in heavily populated areas of the city with the first attack.“²² A few days later Fliegerführer Wolfram von Richthofen urgently requested permission „to use the last opportunity for a major fire and terror attack.... If granted, [...] I will do everything in his power to wipe out Warsaw completely, especially since in future only a frontier customs office“. ²³ Von Richthofen was not, however, given permission to destroy the city of Warsaw completely.

Luftwaffe reports on the war against Poland stated: „Since its success in Warsaw, its [the fire bomb B 1 Fe] outstanding effectiveness against city residential blocks is no longer in doubt ... Dropped in large quantities, to start as many fires as possible ... Overlaid with waves of high-explosive and fragmentation bombs ... to keep the population in shelters, so that the

18 Klaus A. Maier/Bernd Stegemann, Einsatzvorstellungen und Lagebeurteilungen der Luftwaffe und der Marine bei Kriegsbeginn, in: Klaus A. Maier/Horst Rohde/Bernd Stegemann/Hans Umbreit, Die Errichtung der Hegemonie auf dem europäischen Kontinent (Das Deutsche Reich und der Zweite Weltkrieg, Bd. 2) Ed. by the Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt. Stuttgart 1979, 44.

19 Ibid, 45f.

20 Ibid., 53.

21 See Klaus A. Maier, Guernica, 26.4.1937. Die deutsche Intervention und der Fall Guernica. Freiburg 1975 (Einzelschriften zur militärischen Geschichte des Zweiten Weltkrieges, Bd. 17), 55f.

22 Olaf Groehler, Der strategische Luftkrieg und seine Auswirkungen auf die deutsche Zivilbevölkerung, in: Boog (Ed.), Luftkriegführung im Zweiten Weltkrieg, 332.

23 Ibid., 333.

individual fires could spread and lead to an inferno“.²⁴ And this, as early as 9 October: „This attack was the first manifestation of total war“.²⁵ At a later stage considerations of this sort were to prompt the Western Allies to use similar weapons, firebombs, aerial mines, high explosive and fragmentation bombs, against German towns.

The British and American concept of air war was based on the principle that bombers flying in close formation with defensive weapons on board could not be brought down. But this was soon called into question by the deployment of German interceptor planes. The RAF's initial attacks on German ships over the Heligoland Bight in December 1939 incurred heavy losses and led to a drastic re-think. In the years that followed British strategic bombing was carried out almost exclusively at night. The original idea of also carrying out precision bombing at night turned out to be impossible, even though the means of identification for target spotting at night were continually being improved.

The first Luftwaffe attack on British territory took place on 16 March 1940 and was aimed at military targets, i.e. RAF bases. The British responded in kind, with an attack on the naval air base at Hörnum on the island of Sylt. The reason for British reticence about bombing the Ruhr, even though it would be of great military advantage, was, as far as the War Cabinet was concerned: „The possibility that we could be accused of initiating the first indiscriminate bombing, and the fact that an act of this kind would probably lead to German retaliatory attacks against England“.²⁶ But to start with the Luftwaffe did not attack industrial targets in England and when it attacked Belgium, Luxemburg and Holland it was under strict instructions not to bomb residential and industrial areas without pressing reasons. There were two motives behind this: firstly to avoid British retaliation against the Ruhr and secondly, the Germans wanted to be able to make use of the industrial plants they intended to occupy.

British cabinet files clearly show that it was the dramatic deterioration of Britain's and France's position on the ground due to the imminent occupation of the French Channel coast, and not, as has often mistakenly been assumed, the German attack on Rotterdam, that ultimately provoked the British decision to start strategic bombing. This decision was „not a reaction to the way the Germans had been conducting the war, but the realisation of a concept long-since formulated for the event of a war ... the cabinet resolution of 15 May 1940 made Britain the first to embark on air war, and this was not directly related to land or sea operations“.²⁷ However, the first attack on the Ruhr on 15 May 1940 was not particularly successful and was unable to prevent the military defeat of France. But it was all Hitler needed to give the order for an air war against England, which should start with a „retaliatory act of annihilation“.²⁸ The consequence of this for towns like Dresden and others in Eastern Germany, regarded as less at risk due to their easterly location, was that the air-raid shelters now built on a large scale in Western Germany were completely missing in Dresden on 13

24 Ibid.

25 Ibid., 334

26 Boog, *Der angloamerikanische Luftkrieg*, 453

27 Eberhard Spetzler, *Luftkrieg und Menschlichkeit. Die völkerrechtliche Stellung der Zivilpersonen im Luftkrieg*. Göttingen [etc.], 256f.

28 Walter Hubatsch (Ed.), *Hitlers Weisungen für die Kriegführung 1939-1945. Dokumente des Oberkommandos der Wehrmacht*. Frankfurt am Main 1962, Nr. 13, 54.

February 1945. By July 1940 Prime Minister Winston Churchill, in contrast to his attitude as Munitions Minister during the First World War,²⁹ was convinced that: „Nothing will bring the German to his senses or to his knees except an absolutely devastating, exterminating attack by over-heavy bombs from this country against the Nazis' home territory“.³⁰

On the night of 24/25 August 1940 the Luftwaffe accidentally bombed London for the first time. This led to a British counter-attack on Berlin the next night, soon to be followed by further air raids. On 7 September 1940 Hitler ordered targets in London to be attacked. Until then neither the RAF nor the Luftwaffe had indulged in indiscriminate bombing. In fact, where British bombers had been unable to make out their targets they had brought back their bombs. However, there was no technical means of preventing bombs from dispersing, especially at night. This meant that henceforth all bombing attacks, in Germany and England, seemed like a sort of act of terror, even before they were actually intended as such. Thus several bombs had already hit towns in west and north Germany by the time the British war cabinet approved the first real „terror attack“ by Bomber Command on a German town, namely Mannheim. This took place as part of Operation „Abigail“, justified in British eyes by the German attacks on Coventry - the city was 80% destroyed on 14/15 November by German bombers - and Southampton. After the attack on Mannheim, and the way the bombs tended to disperse, measures were introduced to concentrate a certain number of bombers into a „bomber stream“ over the target and to improve target identification by marking it in advance with special luminous colouring.

Many more British attacks on German towns followed, for example on Cologne, Essen, Bremen, and of course Berlin. Places of cultural value were hit more or less as collateral damage, but were not specifically targeted. Basically, once the British realised that precision bombing was not viable and concentrated on area bombing instead, it became much more productive for Bomber Command to aim at town centres, which tended to be the most built-up and the most heavily populated. In turn, these British raids led to the so-called “Baedeker Raids” by the Luftwaffe on historic English towns like Bath, Canterbury, and York etc.

Let me end this paper with a quotation: This is what Thomas Mann wrote in his diary in May 1942 in California, when he heard of the bombing of Lübeck, his home town: “The old town of Lübeck is the victim of the latest British bombing raid on Hitler's Germany. It affects me it is my hometown. The harbour and sites of war industry have been hit. But there have also been fires in the town and I don't like to think that the Marienkirche and the marvellous renaissance town hall or the Schiffergesellschaft building may have been damaged. But then I think of Coventry - and cannot but accept the lesson that there is a price to pay for everything”.³¹

29 In October 1917 Churchill had written: “It is improbable that any terrorization of the civil population which could be achieved by air attack would compel the Government of a great nation to surrender...In our own case we have seen the combative spirit of the people roused, and not quelled, by the German air raids. Nothing that we have learned of the capacity of the German population to endure suffering justifies us in assuming that they could be cowed into submission by such methods, or, indeed, that they would not be rendered more desperately resolved by them...Any injury which comes to the civil population from this process of attack must be regarded as incidental and inevitable” Jones, *The War in the Air*, Vol. Appendices, Appendix IV, 19.

30 John Coleville, *The Fringes of Power. Downing Street Diaries 1939-1955*. London [etc] 1985, 186.

31 Thomas Mann, *Zeit und Werk. Tagebücher, Reden und Schriften zum Zeitgeschehen*. Berlin 1956, 655.

Brevi note su alcuni aspetti dell'amministrazione militare anglo-americana in territori liberati Italia dal 1943 al 1948.

MARIA GABRIELLA PASQUALINI

Un'amministrazione militare in territorio occupato, per riportare la democrazia nel governo dello stato, non è mai molto facile, anzi è operazione molto delicata e sensibile; le ultime esperienze in merito sono quelle alle quali stiamo attualmente assistendo: Iraq e Afghanistan. Per non ricordare Corea e Vietnam, esempi successivi al conflitto mondiale.

In tempi diversi e con un quadro storico certamente diverso, quella anglo americana in Italia dal 1943 al 1948 lo fu in modo particolare, anche se alcune modalità amministrative militari ricordano quanto recentemente attuato in Iraq e in Afghanistan: azzeramento o tentativo di azzeramento delle realtà politiche del passato regime, se non attuato dalle popolazioni locali, e successiva riconsegna del potere ad autorità civili insediatesi con il consenso popolare, ma sempre con l'accordo imprescindibile di chi detiene il potere militare. Nelle brevi note che seguiranno sarà possibile solo accennare ad alcuni aspetti del problema oggetto del presente scritto.

In Italia si trattava di riorganizzare strutture civili su un territorio non completamente 'occupato', nel senso di 'liberato', nel caso specifico, ma certamente ormai 'collassato', dopo la fine endogena del fascismo e nonostante il nuovo governo, legale, del Re d'Italia e del Primo Ministro designato dal Monarca nell'esercizio delle sue reali prerogative istituzionali.

Inoltre, ulteriore difficoltà, nella parte di territorio non ancora liberato, perché con un risuscitato governo del passato regime e occupato sostanzialmente dalle truppe tedesche, operavano ancora due 'categorie' di nemici: fascisti repubblicani e nazisti, che avevano però agganci importanti nel resto dell'Italia liberata. All'interno del conflitto tra le democrazie occidentali e quel che rimaneva dell'Asse italo-tedesco, si era poi concretizzato anche un conflitto civile nella popolazione italiana, che complicò ancora di più il quadro contingente: oltre alla degradazione della guerra, vi fu quella, forte e amara, di una guerra fratricida che da sempre contribuisce alla radicalizzazione dei problemi e dei contrasti, come stiamo assistendo ancora oggi nei Balcani.

L'ex nemico, l'italiano non più fascista, cioè colui che aveva firmato l'armistizio, non era considerato un 'alleato', ma solo formalmente un 'cobelligerante', perchè nella sostanza per lungo tempo non venne riconosciuto come tale, anche se partecipava più che attivamente alla completa liberazione della madrepatria. In molti casi, però, fu determinante proprio la partecipazione militare italiana per il successo finale: e furono le rischiose missioni effettuate dagli italiani insieme alle forze speciali anglo-americane a permettere notevoli progressi nella risalita, lunga ma vincente, della penisola da parte dei 'liberatori'.

Bisogna ricordare due momenti distinti nei rapporti fra gli italiani e gli alleati, anche temporali: lo sbarco in Sicilia e la firma dell'armistizio, con gli equivoci che questo comportò nella psicologia della popolazione, e l'effettivo insediamento delle truppe anglo-americane

sul territorio con relativa esercitata autorità civile e militare. Quando l'8 settembre fu dichiarato ufficialmente l'armistizio, non solo si pensò che la guerra era finita, ma vi furono alcuni interessanti avvenimenti che dimostrarono in prima battuta la gratitudine della popolazione verso gli anglo-americani: ad esempio, una massa di prigionieri di guerra, circa 50.000 sugli 80.000 in totale, che erano nelle mani degli italiani, furono liberati e per la maggior parte furono aiutati dalla popolazione italiana, perché se una parte degli aiuti fu organizzata, il resto dovette essere lasciato alla generosità dei singoli; generosità che però a volte non fu compresa totalmente da chi la ricevette¹. Così come molti dei militari anglo-americani, partecipanti a missioni rischiose, in territorio nemico, furono generosamente aiutati, anche a volte con il prezzo della vita, dagli italiani.

Non furono però idilliaci, dopo i primi momenti di gioia e riconoscenza, i rapporti fra popolazioni civili e amministrazione militare in Italia, iniziando, come è noto dal fatto che il disprezzo per il governo italiano di Badoglio e dei Savoia era molto forte sia tra i nuovi alleati sia tra i partiti politici antifascisti che si erano venuti formando e avevano dato vita al Comitato di Liberazione Nazionale (CLN). La monarchia, che pure non era stata toccata nelle trasmissioni antifasciste di Radio Londra, per espresso volere di Churchill², non godeva però di grandi simpatie, per la sua 'collusione' con il regime di Mussolini, sia tra gli alleati sia tra i partiti politici e una larga parte della stessa popolazione.

Gli americani avevano del resto una pessima opinione di Badoglio fin dal 1922, da quando l'addetto militare a Roma ne aveva tracciato un ritratto niente affatto lusinghiero e molto critico, soprattutto per quello che riguardava non tanto gli aspetti militari, ma quelli umani³; Washington non aveva cambiato opinione dopo più di venti anni⁴. E' infatti noto che il nuovo capo del governo da Brindisi cercò invano di persuaderli ad accettare l'aiuto militare italiano; praticamente solo nel 1944, quando erano a corto di risorse umane per il fronte italiano, dopo lo sbarco in Normandia, gli alleati accettarono il concorso delle truppe italiane, che pure furono importanti per conseguire la vittoria finale⁵.

Uno spazio non ancora molto esplorato di questo periodo riguarda ad esempio la collaborazione tra i servizi di informazione e sicurezza, quelli ricostituiti nel territorio liberato e quelli anglo-americani. Anche in questo caso vi furono da un lato splendide operazioni in

- 1 Roger Absalom, *A strange Alliance. Aspects of escape and survival in Italy, 1943-1945*, Olsky Editore, Firenze 1991, p.11-12.
- 2 Cfr. l'inventario delle trasmissioni per l'Italia di Radio Londra nei due volumi di Maura Piccialuti Caprioli, *Radio Londra 1940-1945*, Ministero dei Beni Culturali, Roma 1976.
- 3 Cfr. Maria Gabriella Pasqualini, *Carte segrete dell'intelligence italiana. 1919-1949*, Ministero della Difesa, RUD, Roma 2007, p.241 e NARA Archives, MID, 2022, rapporto del 5.2.1922 – G2. Per una biografia di Badoglio v. Piero Pieri-Giorgio Rochat, *Pietro Badoglio, Maresciallo d'Italia*, Oscar Storia Mondadori, Milano 2002.
- 4 Rimane molto interessante in generale a questo proposito il volume di Lamberto Mercuri, *Guerra psicologica. La propaganda anglo-americana in Italia 1942-1946*, Roma 1983.
- 5 Per la ricostruzione dell'Esercito Italiano, dopo l'8 settembre, v. tra gli altri David Ellwood, *Italy 1943-1945*, Leicester University Press, 1987; Roger Absalom, *Italia e Gran Bretagna nella lotta di liberazione*, La Nuova Italia, Firenze 1977. Tra gli autori italiani v. Giuseppe Conti, *Il Primo Raggruppamento Motorizzato*, Ufficio Storico – Stato Maggiore Esercito, Roma 1986; id., *La ricostruzione delle forze armate*, in "L'Italia in guerra – il quarto anno - 1943", Commissione Italiana di storia militare, Roma 1995, pp.401-412.

collaborazione, ma si verificarono difficoltà burocratiche e malintesi dovuti alla chiara *non-fiducia* nei confronti degli italiani da parte dei 'liberatori'.

Per meglio chiarire, la struttura organizzativa operativo-informativa degli anglo-americani in Italia, molto articolata, era la seguente: gli americani avevano il G-2 dell'*Allied Forces Head Quarters* (organo di informazioni militare) nel Mediterraneo, con sede ad Algeri e un distaccamento a Brindisi (G-2 *advanced*), il GSI (*General Staff Intelligence*) del 15° Gruppo Armate e della 8ª Armata, il G-2 della 5ª Armata, il CIC (*Counter Intelligence Corps*); da parte inglese il FSS (*Field Security Service*).

Dal *Secret Service* di Londra dipendevano sul territorio italiano o connesso con la situazione bellica italiana: a Brindisi il ISLD (*Intelligence Service Liaison Department*, MI6), incaricato del servizio informazioni offensivo, la *N. 1 Special Force* (designazione per la sezione italiana della SOE - *Special Operations Executive*), incaricata dell'attività di sabotaggio, la ISG, per il recupero dei prigionieri, il servizio di controspionaggio SCI (*Service Counter Intelligence*) e una speciale organizzazione incaricata degli interrogatori, con sede ad Algeri e distaccamenti a Napoli e a Bari, il CSIDIC (*Combined Service Detailed Interrogation Centre*)⁶. Per gli americani era presente anche l'OSS (*Office of Strategic Service*), con sede ad Algeri, e distaccamenti a Caserta, e una Centrale a Brindisi direttamente dipendente da Washington.

Al momento dello sbarco degli alleati in Italia (luglio 1943), fu considerato opportuno dagli anglo-americani che alcuni degli ufficiali del Servizio Informazioni Militare/Controspionaggio⁷ (SIM/CS), presenti a Brindisi dopo l'armistizio, ricreassero un sistema di informazioni e controspionaggio. Molti degli ufficiali italiani, già specializzati nel settore, che erano stati catturati in Africa, furono fatti rientrare in Italia., per andare a far parte del ricostituito Servizio a Brindisi il 1° ottobre 1943⁸. Fu chiamato a dirigerlo il colonnello Pompeo Agrifoglio, scelto dagli alleati e non dalle autorità militari italiane; era stato liberato dalla prigionia in Stati Uniti e inviato in Italia via Algeri. L'organizzazione del Servizio fu stabilita sulla base della tradizionale attività difensiva, con una Sezione Comando, Centri, Sottocentri e Nuclei, i quali operavano come rami del Comando Supremo Italiano, ma sotto stretto controllo alleato.

I contatti del ricostituito Servizio con quelli anglo-americani non furono facili e la collaborazione si impose soprattutto nei primi tempi, sul filo del rasoio, perchè gli alleati avevano

6 La lettura degli interrogatori dei prigionieri di guerra, ex-fascisti o ex-collaborazionisti fornisce chiavi di lettura di grande interesse. Sono reperibili sia presso gli Archivi Nazionali di Washington sia nel Fondo SIM presso l'Archivio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito

7 Il SIM era nato nel 1925 come Servizio Informazioni Militare con chiari compiti interforze, anche se non riuscì, nel corso del tempo, a diventarlo effettivamente. Solamente durante il conflitto furono attribuite a quel Servizio alcune competenze particolari e divenne così, dal settembre 1941, in qualche modo, un Servizio coordinatore degli altri di Forza Armata: ma era ormai troppo tardi per acquisire modalità e mentalità operative a reale livello interforze. Per i dettagli su queste trasformazioni cfr. Maria Gabriella Pasqualini, *Carte segrete...*cit., pp. 198-240.

8 Il rimpatrio dei prigionieri di guerra dai campi di prigionia fu molto lungo e diede luogo a rimostranze sulla progressione delle liberazioni, avvenute secondo criteri stabiliti da chi deteneva i prigionieri e non dall'Italia che attendeva il rientro dei propri connazionali. Le scelte per rapidi rientri furono sempre molto finalizzate all'andamento del conflitto o dell'amministrazione militare, peraltro logico sistema in un momento delicato, vicino al conseguimento dell'obiettivo.

bisogno assoluto della professionalità, che a volte peraltro contestavano, degli italiani nel settore informativo⁹. A metà novembre 1943, fu costituita la Sezione italiana controspionaggio presso l'8^a Armata inglese, di contrasto all'attività tedesca, fascista e squadrista, soprattutto considerando e selezionando le informazioni avute dalla polizia e dalla popolazione locale (valutando le notizie in base alle fonti di persone influenti e attendibili), per arrestare cittadini che si fossero particolarmente compromessi nell'attività fascista e in quella filo-tedesca. Avrebbe avuto due Sottosezioni; la dipendenza della Sezione era, per l'impiego dal Comando dell'8^a Armata inglese e per le direttive tecniche, per il personale e l'amministrazione, dal Comando Supremo, Ufficio 'I', Sezione 'Bonsignore'. L'8 dicembre 1943 si costituiva poi anche una Sezione di controspionaggio presso la 5^a Armata americana, con compiti identici a quelli della Sezione presso gli inglesi. Anche in questo caso, avrebbe avuto alle sue dipendenze due Sottosezioni; la dipendenza d'impiego, come per l'altra, dal Comando dell'Armata inglese e per le direttive tecniche, dal Comando Supremo.

Il 23 luglio 1944 il personale della Sezione 'Bonsignore', cioè l'808° Btg. CS (Controspionaggio), in quanto ormai parte integrante della *Special Force* inglese, partiva alla volta di Firenze al seguito delle truppe operanti. Con la graduale liberazione dell'Italia l'808° Btg. CS continuò a fornire un prezioso contributo agli organi di controspionaggio alleati, tanto che nel settembre 1944 esso era stato integrato nell'organico di guerra inglese con 69 ufficiali e 931 sottufficiali e truppa.

La collaborazione con gli anglo-americani dunque stentò ad ingranare, ma a mano a mano gli alleati si resero conto del lavoro professionale e leale che veniva svolto dagli organi informativi italiani e le responsabilità dirette vennero progressivamente ampliate, sia pur con grande prudenza da parte anglo-americana. Il controspionaggio italiano apportò un sicuro contributo nella neutralizzazione dei sempre pericolosi servizi di informazione tedeschi e questo venne riconosciuto a livello ufficiale: ovviamente il personale italiano aveva una conoscenza molto approfondita della situazione, della storia politica passata e dei movimenti clandestini e soprattutto conosceva anche molto bene il *modus operandi* dell'*intelligence* militare tedesca, non fosse altro per la collaborazione attuata in un passato recente, e anche perché il SIM, nonostante l'alleanza, aveva costantemente monitorato le truppe e l'attività spionistica tedesca.

Nel 1945, l'808° Btg. CS era strutturato con un Comando a Roma e centri sussidiari a Roma, Ancona, Bari, Bologna, Bolzano, Cagliari, Firenze, Genova, Milano, Napoli, Palermo, Pordenone, Torino, a Venezia (tutti con sottocentri); con un nucleo presso l'8^a Armata e presso la 5^a Armata. Vi era anche un Centro Speciale a Marsiglia, composto da due ufficiali e dodici sottufficiali, che operavano sotto la direzione del G-2 americano, *Delta Base*, il cui compito principale era la discriminazione degli italiani per il rimpatrio.

Le direttive per questo Battaglione erano impartite di volta in volta dal 15° *Army Group* del Quartiere Generale Alleato per controspionaggio e contro sabotaggio: bisognava rastrellare e processare un vasto numero di agenti che erano stati al servizio del Servizio Informazioni della Repubblica Sociale (SID, Servizio Informazioni Difesa)¹⁰; da ricordare

9 Cfr. NARA, NAUK WO 204/12359. V. anche Roger Absalom, *A strange alliance*, cit. p. 14-16.

10 Per i dettagli dell'organizzazione del SID, cfr. Maria Gabriella Pasqualini, *Il SID nella RSI. L'organizzazione ufficiale dell'intelligence militare della Repubblica Sociale Italiana*, in 'Annali della Fondazione La Malfa

che la cattura, l'interrogatorio, la raccolta, la divulgazione di informazioni e l'istruzione dei procedimenti penali dinanzi ai tribunali militari italiani era quasi interamente devoluta al controspionaggio. Per quanto riguardava la sicurezza civile, in collaborazione con gli alleati, il Battaglione doveva procedere all'indagine, all'osservazione di persone o movimenti ritenuti di natura sovversiva o comunque ritenuti pericolosi per le truppe italiane ed alleate e gli impianti sensibili. Si trattava anche di attività contro la formazione di movimenti neofascisti. Il generale lavoro di controinformazione, normalmente eseguito da distaccamenti delle truppe anglo-americane, però fu svolto anche dal Battaglione, ma su precisa richiesta delle autorità militari alleate. Anche questa era una maniera di amministrare civilmente, ma con strumenti militari, il territorio.

Era stato indicato dagli anglo-americani che il controspionaggio non doveva interessarsi di politica e non era desiderabile che lo facesse; poteva interessarsi dei movimenti politici solamente nei limiti della loro diretta importanza per la sicurezza dei militari italiani e degli alleati.

Oltre ai normali compiti di controspionaggio, l'808° Btg. C.S. ebbe una parte importante, molte volte risolutiva, in quasi tutte le operazioni della *Special Force* anglo-americana, riuscendo a guadagnare sul campo la stima degli ex-nemici, che evitarono così l'errore di azzerare un settore tanto delicato composto da operatori che conoscevano il territorio e l'organizzazione nemica.

Quando i vincitori consentirono ufficialmente alle Forze Armate italiane di riorganizzare un servizio di informazioni militari, sebbene non ancora interforze ¹¹, nel 1945, intesero continuare ad avvalersi dell'808° Btg. CS per la professionalità dimostrata.

Il Battaglione era direttamente responsabile verso il Quartier Generale americano e, dal punto di vista operativo, dipendente da quell'ente: quindi il suo primo obbligo era quello di assistere gli organi informativi di sicurezza e di controspionaggio alleati.

Solo il 15 agosto 1946, dopo 33 mesi di intenso lavoro, in seguito agli accordi tra il Quartier Generale delle Forze Alleate e il Ministero della Guerra, quella unità sarebbe rientrata, anche per la parte relativa all'impiego, alle dirette dipendenze dell'Ufficio 'I' dello SME, nella sua antica veste di 2^a Sezione, pur conservando la denominazione di *808° Battaglione CS*. Vi erano poi numerosi altri servizi civili di informazione nella Resistenza, che riguardavano anche aspetti militari.

Il 26 dicembre 1944 la Missione Militare Alleata in Italia aveva indirizzato al Ministero della Guerra una lettera con la quale si stabiliva che per il futuro i reparti del SIM, che avrebbe cambiato nome, sarebbero stati denominati, per i rapporti con gli alleati, cioè nel loro quadro di battaglia, *Italian Army Intelligence* (IAI) e *Security Police Units* (SP). Poi fu anche stabilito che nei servizi informativi poteva essere impegnato solo personale italiano che prestava servizio nei due reparti. Pertanto la sigla SIM avrebbe dovuto essere abolita, come fu dal 1° gennaio successivo e l'IAI divenne una realtà: l'808° Btg. CS (o Sezione 'Bonsignore'), rimase operante sotto la direzione alleata e compreso nell'organico di guerra

2008', in pubblicazione. Cfr. anche Donald Gurrey in *La guerra segreta nell'Italia liberata. Spie e sabotatori dell'Asse 1943-1945*, Libreria Editrice Goriziana, Gorizia 2004, alla p. 96 -98.

11 Solo il 1° settembre 1949 sarà ufficialmente costituito un Servizio Informazioni delle Forze Armate, il SIFAR, con compiti anche di coordinamento dei servizi informativi delle tre Forze Armate.

inglese. Un ente che fece diminuire, con la sua professionalità, una certa avversione degli ex-nemici nei nostri confronti.

Nel marzo 1945, dunque oltre l'IAI e la SP, permanevano però nelle strutture anglo-americane: l'862° reparto informazioni presso l'8^a Armata; il nucleo 'I' nella 5^a Armata. Le funzioni delle Sezioni erano le seguenti: servizio informazioni offensivo, operazioni controllate da un ufficiale inglese, il maggiore Page; informazioni di sicurezza (controspionaggio, sabotaggio e sovversione, sicurezza morale e civile), con un ufficiale di collegamento con gli organi alleati, il capitano inglese Stanhope-Wright, aggregato al Comando Centrale CS di Roma. L'ufficiale alleato venne distaccato presso quella che era rimasta la Sezione 'Bonsignore', alla Centrale, per coordinarne l'attività con quella degli organi paralleli alleati in Italia e cioè l'AFHQ - il Comando delle Forze Armate Alleate, Comando territoriale il cui servizio informativo era svolto da un reparto, il G-2 (CI) - e l'AAI - Comando Armate Alleate in Italia, il Comando tattico del gruppo di Armate e il suo reparto informativo, la GSI (b). Era presente anche un ufficiale americano, il maggiore Brod, con compiti amministrativi: La raccolta e collazione delle informazioni nemiche veniva fatta da e con gli ufficiali di collegamento inglesi, maggiore Cave e maggiore Coventry, del Quartiere Generale Alleato; la censura fu coordinata dal Quartiere Generale alleato e la sicurezza delle truppe italiane, dal GSI (b) 15 ° Army Group.

La direzione del Gruppo italiano, aggiunto al CSIDIC, per gli interrogatori dei prigionieri, disertori, fuoriusciti, fu controllata da un ufficiale inglese, il maggiore Jephson.

Dopo i primi mesi del 1945, le autorità militari alleate decisero che le funzioni della maggioranza dei reparti dell'IAI e della SP non erano più così importanti per il Comando alleato e quindi l'IAI, nel quadro di battaglia alleato, fu sciolto (mentre il Servizio Informazioni militare presso il Comando Supremo, aveva continuato una sua attività, indipendentemente dagli alleati, sia pur con la collaborazione dovuta dalle circostanze), ad eccezione dell'808° Btg. CS, e altri piccoli reparti che, fu disposto, sarebbero stati trattenuti sotto il controllo anglo-americano per un periodo di tempo indefinito. A quell'ente fu data la graduale consegna della responsabilità della sicurezza che comunque dipendeva dall'AFHQ e riceveva le direttive generali dalla cellula G2 (CI) di quel Quartiere Generale.

Tutte le agenzie di informazioni che operavano in Italia sotto copertura erano controllate dal G3 (*Special Operations*) del AFHQ e coordinate da un servizio interforze prima operante ad Algeri e poi trasferito a Caserta, che a sua volta si coordinava con l'HQ (*Middle East Head Quarter*) del Cairo, il War Office in Londra e il WAR Department in Washington¹². Insomma un controllo molto stretto e non sempre era un pugno di ferro in guanto di velluto, anzi... e questo aspetto si ripeté molto anche nel campo dell'amministrazione militare degli affari civili.

Come spesso vi furono contrasti nel campo dello spionaggio e del controspionaggio, ma risolti quasi sempre con la grande professionalità da ambo le parti, forti furono spesso le manifestazioni ostili da parte dei civili contro sia la burocrazia sia il comportamento singolo dei militari preposti al governo e all'amministrazione. Le ragioni erano molteplici.

Infatti subito dopo lo sbarco in Sicilia, proprio nell'isola aveva iniziato a funzionare un governo militare per i territori occupati, *Allied Military Government of Occupied Territories*

12 Cfr. NARA, Washington, RG. 226 e RG 331.

(AMGOT) poi, solo AMG, lasciando opportunamente cadere i riferimenti ai 'territori occupati' e una Commissione Alleata di Controllo (ACC).

Vi fu specialmente a sud, agli inizi della presenza anglo-americana "una situazione psicologica di sorda ostilità" verso gli alleati, come citata in numerosi rapporti dei Carabinieri Reali sull'ordine pubblico ¹³. Bisogna altresì ricordare che il Comando Supremo Alleato si era sempre riservato, anche a conflitto terminato, il diritto di dichiarare 'zona militare' territori che erano già stati restituiti per il controllo al Governo italiano, in caso di gravi turbamenti dell'ordine pubblico. Quando questo fosse accaduto, l'esercizio dei poteri di governo nella zona interessata sarebbe stato assunto di nuovo dal governo militare alleato ¹⁴. L'amministrazione militare anglo-americana rimaneva sempre assai incisiva e pronta a riprendere il controllo diretto.

Molto spesso decisioni importanti per la vita civile e soprattutto quella micro-economica di una provincia o di una regione erano state prese da autorità militari – e non sempre da ufficiali, ma anche da sottufficiali - che non avevano una preparazione adeguata, ad esempio, in campo economico, per non accennare ad una professionalità di comando su ambienti civili di un territorio militarizzato: le disposizioni, impartite ovviamente con mentalità di stretto controllo sugli spostamenti delle merci e delle persone, pur se logiche nel cotesto immediatamente post-bellico, frequentemente andavano contro i magri interessi della popolazione e non permettevano un sia pur timido avvio dell'economia locale, dopo la devastante esperienza bellica, ma l'abbattevano ancora di più, aggravando ulteriormente i disagi e la sopravvivenza delle popolazioni locali. Continue metodiche perquisizioni presso molte case, anche di gente assolutamente ligia alle regole, alla ricerca di materiale appartenente all'amministrazione militare alleata irritava profondamente la popolazione. Inoltre la requisizione di vari alloggi e uffici pubblici che veniva mantenuta anche dopo le impellenti ragioni di urgenza, impedivano molto spesso il rientro in possesso delle case da parte dei privati o un adattamento forzoso e difficoltà di operatività per gli uffici ed enti comunali e provinciali, per non menzionare quelli statali, ristretti spesso in piccoli spazi.

In sintesi, incarichi direttivi e di controllo erano stati affidati dagli anglo-americani a militari e non a politici o a economisti o esperti di amministrazione civile, anche se fra gli uomini in divisa si trovavano a volte alcune eccezioni di persone particolarmente preparate e illuminate¹⁵; la normalità era data da individui che erano in guerra provenendo da mondi vari e variegati, con professionalità sicuramente militare...ma non sempre.

Inoltre in qualche modo, gli alleati, soprattutto gli inglesi, erano rimasti legati ad una certa propaganda antitaliana, svolta in precedenza e che richiedeva ovviamente tempo per essere sradicata dalle menti ¹⁶. Contribuiva a questa situazione generale spesso anche il contegno dei singoli amministratori in divisa, a volte altezzoso, arrogante, purtroppo a volte anche con

13 Archivio Storico Stato Maggiore Esercito (AUSSME), Fondo SIM, 1^a divisione.

14 V. Ministero della Guerra-Gabinetto, circolare n.206000 del 4 marzo 1946, sull'impiego della truppa nei servizi d'ordine.

15 Cfr. Giuseppe Conti, *Amministrazione alleata e governo italiano nell'Italia liberata*, in "L'Italia in guerra – il quinto anno - 1944", Commissione Italiana di storia militare, Roma 1995, p. 77.

16 Cfr. l'inventario delle trasmissioni per l'Italia di Radio Londra nei due volumi di Maura Piccialuti Caprioli *Radio Londra 1940-1945*, Roma 1976.

ufficiali italiani. Le debolezze umane sono infinite e se unite alla mancanza di certa professionalità nel settore richiesto, costituiscono un serio ostacolo ad un dialogo produttivo.

Quando poi sono presenti su un territorio truppe di 'occupazione' o di 'liberazione' rientrano nel comportamento umano anche fenomeni di prostituzione, di contrabbando, di violazione di domicilio, di stupri, contribuendo al montare del risentimento di esseri umani che provenivano da un lungo periodo di sofferenze e privazioni e lutti.

Il rapido volume di piccoli e grandi affari non sempre leciti, legati alla presenza di truppe e agli aiuti economici e alimentari forniti dai vincitori, aveva comunque fomentato l'inflazione. Il costo della vita si era decuplicato in poco tempo e la 'borsa nera', nata durante il conflitto, invece di svanire, era aumentata per articoli e giro d'affari, avendo come reazione a catena i continui irritanti controlli.

In sostanza, accanto alla volontà diffusa di cominciare la ricostruzione dello stato e della vita in generale, vi era una situazione di disagio morale e materiale in Italia e la gente sfogava il suo disappunto in modo vario, ma che non aiutava una sostanziale collaborazione a tutti i livelli. Inni fascisti venivano spesso cantati sui treni alla vista di militari stranieri: ma queste manifestazioni non indicavano una reale nostalgia per il passato regime, quanto un'asserzione di identità nazionale da parte di chi reagiva così ad una situazione di effettive umiliazioni morali e materiali: lo stato di 'malumore' verso gli 'alleati' era molto forte. A questo proposito sono di particolare interesse le relazioni del *Comando Arma dei Carabinieri Reali dell'Italia liberata* – Ufficio Servizio e Situazione¹⁷ sulla situazione generale riguardante la popolazione italiana. Agli inizi del 1944 in molte zone dell'Italia liberata vi era comunque diffusa l'opinione che in realtà il governo di Badoglio avesse una autorità assai limitata e assolutamente irrisoria in rapporto alla necessità di imporre nel territorio liberato ordine e disciplina. Contribuiva a questa diffusa idea il fatto che molte delle cariche pubbliche conferite dalle autorità militari, soprattutto in Sicilia, non erano state revocate da Badoglio, come si auspicava, in quanto queste cariche erano state conferite in modo affrettato e senza una reale valutazione della preparazione morale e amministrativa degli eletti e meno che mai del consenso popolare.

Questo tipo di manifestazioni, che sembravano nostalgiche del passato, peraltro fu ampiamente sfruttato dalla attivissima propaganda fascista e filo-tedesca, ancora presente anche nei territori 'liberati'. Il momento dello sbarco anglo-americano in Sicilia, ad esempio, aveva dato luogo a gioiose manifestazioni, anche perché a torto si riteneva che finalmente sarebbe tornato rapidamente un certo benessere materiale. Nell'isola si ebbero ulteriori manifestazioni politiche per un separatismo che avrà il suo massimo esponente con Finocchiaro-Aprile e il 'milazzismo', cioè una tendenza a separare le proprie sorti da quelle del continente, che fu a lungo contrastata dal Governo militare alleato, con ampio risentimento da parte dei politici locali. Certamente la politica di richiedere una netta separazione dall'Italia non favoriva una costruttiva ripresa delle normali attività, anche nei riguardi dei 'liberatori'.

Questo fu soprattutto sentito a sud, in Campania e in Puglia in particolare, dove a lungo si attestarono le truppe di liberazione, prima di riconsegnare ad autorità politiche e militari italiane il governo della penisola, ciò che avvenne nel tempo e per settori: solo nel febbraio

17 AUSSME, Fondo SIM, 1^a divisione. Riprese il nome di Comando Generale dell'Arma dei Carabinieri Reali il 20 luglio 1944, essendosi ricostituito ufficialmente a Roma, nella sede di Via 24 Maggio.

del 1944, a causa di alcune inefficienze e *mistrust* del Quartier Generale di Algeri, sempre nei confronti dei nuovi governanti italiani, fu restituito a Roma il controllo di una prima parte dei territori liberati, cioè la Sicilia e la Sardegna: era questa anche una reazione all'ostilità dei partiti politici verso un militare di lungo corso, forse troppo lungo, che era stato una figura di punta del periodo fascista. Vi è anche rilevare che il governo Badoglio e i seguenti governi ebbero spesso scarsa autorità per imporre nelle zone liberate la propria volontà nel mantenimento dell'ordine e della disciplina. Il governo alleato aveva fatto nomine di funzionari statali e aveva dato promozioni che in alcuni casi avevano sovvertito non poco il principio gerarchico e di autorità e la nuova leva politica italiana ne voleva la rimozione, molto spesso non a torto. Errori ve ne furono da una parte e dall'altra. Ed è giusta ricostruzione storica analizzarli, senza enfatizzarli, per trarne, se possibile, qualche insegnamento.

In sintesi, l'amministrazione militare anglo-americana ebbe ovviamente un forte lungo impatto sulle popolazioni civili: non tutto fu luce brillante, anzi vi furono molte ombre, anche se senza il sacrificio di molti americani e inglesi, l'Italia forse non avrebbe ritrovato la via, questa volta repubblicana, ad una democrazia che era stata a lungo offesa per più di un ventennio.

Fonti: Documenti dell'Archivio Centrale dello Stato (ACS); dell'Ufficio Storico dello Stato Maggiore dell'Esercito (AUSSME); dei National Archives di Washington (NARA).

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Population, Occupation Administrations and Resistance Movement: Slovenia 1941-1945

DAMIJAN GUŠTIN, VLADIMIR PREBILIC

I. Slovenia during the Second World War is an example of how the population decided to resort to different survival strategies during the occupation and annexations, which resulted in a national catastrophe for this small nation. In regard to the valid 19th century doctrines of war, it surpassed its role of a passive element, an element not contributing to military operations.

II. In the spring of 1941 the war also engulfed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. Under attack of armies of Germany, Italy and Bulgaria, Yugoslav army capitulated on 17 April. In the utmost north-western part of the country, that means on Slovenian ethnic territory, the war quickly turned into Yugoslav defeat, since already on 11 April the majority of the Yugoslav army retreated to the interior of the state. Thus on 14 April Slovenia was already occupied by German and Italian forces. The Slovenian territory was first spiritually and then also physically separated from the Yugoslav centre after the self-proclamation of the Independent State of Croatia on 10 April 1941.

The region with the Slovenian population – ended up in three occupation zones: German, Italian and Hungarian and ruled by the occupying forces.

III. Since the invading forces had already before then been thought of as enemies of the nation – the Slovenian nation as well as Yugoslavia. In the eyes of Slovenians, Germany equalled German pressure and dominance within the Austro-Hungarian Empire, where the national struggle was hard and lengthy. Italy was seen as a country most hostile towards Yugoslavia, and it was also seen as the country which took a third of the ethnic territory from Slovenia after the First World War. The prevalent knowledge about the nationalist oppression of Slovenians in Italy, which intensified during the fascist rule, also has to be taken into account. The actions of all three occupiers had an even greater impact on the attitude of the population. The population did not know much about the plans of these three invaders. The decisive moment was the immediate realisation of the German programme – the annexation of the occupied territories in Slovenia and a violent forced Germanisation of approximately 800 000 people.

As soon as in May 1941 around 18 000 nationally conscious Slovenians were arrested, their property confiscated, and exiled to Serbia and Independent State of Croatia, while 45 000 people were also deported to Germany in October 1941. Public use of Slovenian language was forbidden, mass courses of the German language were introduced, and the propaganda tried to persuade the population that they were Germans. The people reacted with fear; the majority submitted themselves and outwardly accepted the demands of the occupiers. Around 17 000 of them fled to the Italian occupation zone and to Croatia. Germany

did not complete the annexation of the Slovenian territories, since it planned to carry that out as the final conclusion after thorough and comprehensive adaptations. However, in the end of 1941, due to the phenomenon of the armed resistance, the central authorities in Berlin decided not to carry out the annexation during the war, only the necessary legislation would be introduced.

The Hungarian occupation authorities introduced similar measures, though perhaps less violent, and they annexed the whole of the so-called Southern Territories in December 1941.

Italy, however, resorted to different tactics. Due to the uncertainty about whether it would be able to keep the occupied territories in the central Slovenia and Dalmatia, it annexed these territories as early as on 3 and 17 May 1941. The fascist leadership tried to ensure the people's consent to merging with the Italian state by treating the population and its political elite carefully. It wanted to gain the trust of a part of the political elite at that time, so that it would welcome the Italian takeover of power and that the population would therefore more easily assent to the Italian authorities. The Ljubljana province got a special status, bilingualism was permitted, men would not be obligated to serve in the Italian Army. A programme of public works and food supply was also developed and prices were maximised, all of which was supposed to ensure better living conditions.

We can conclude that the Slovenian population experienced the occupation in different countries or occupation zones, under variously strict occupation regimes.

IV. The armed resistance was organised by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, whose separate part was also the Communist Party of Slovenia. In Slovenia it also managed to include the opposing liberal and Catholic groups into its ranks by including them in the Liberation Front of the Slovenian Nation organisation. The core of the resistance was small and did not have more than a thousand or two thousand active members in the beginning. But gradually and with oral and written propaganda, the resistance managed to ensure the support and even active participation of a significant part of the population. Already before July 1941 the organisers of the resistance established 14 small guerrilla groups, partisan squads. Armed conflicts with the occupation forces started as early as in July 1941. The resistance movement declared itself as a national liberation movement, and the members of the resistance as a national army. Already in September 1941 the resistance movement declared itself as a temporary national representative (Slovenian National Liberation Committee).

V. The occupation authorities soon became aware of the change of the population's attitude towards them. Already in June 1941 they detected widespread defiance, which resulted in isolated incidents involving the Italian soldiers, and conflicts became more frequent already in the middle of July, including planned subversive activities – diversions and propaganda actions. In the beginning of July General Robotti in the Ljubljana province informed his superiors that the attitude of the population towards the occupying forces was changing gradually but firmly: increasing coldness became obvious; numerous and explicit outbursts of impatience towards the soldiers were observed; and people started showing despise and defiance.

We can conclude that the population overcame the psychological barrier of active resistance against the Italian army sooner. However, as far as the German authorities were concerned, fear remained the most prominent element of the Slovenian attitude towards them – fear because of the brutality with which the German occupiers carried out their demographic relocation programme, and even greater fear due to the harsh German reaction to the formation and actions of the rebels: they immediately started killing the civilian population by carrying out executions on the spot of any subversive actions in the ratio of 10 people executed for every member of the German occupation force killed. Because of this, the resistance did not turn into a mass phenomenon. However, in December 1941 around 1000 men from the more remote parts of the Gorenjska region joined the rebel partisans; this was the first distinctive people's uprising in Slovenia.

We should also bring the attention to something else. The violence that the occupying forces resorted to in order to suppress the resistance was severe, though not as extreme as in the east of Europe; nevertheless, the German occupiers managed to shoot 2700 rebels and members of the resistance movement, and they took around 16 000 people to the concentration camps. In terms of percentages around 2 % of the population suffered in this manner under the German occupation. The Italian violence reached its peak in 1942 in the form of numerous war crimes against the civilian population in the operations of cleansing and internment of around 25 000 people, also a couple of thousand women and children, which means that around 8 % of the population in the occupation zone suffered directly.

VI. The division of the Slovenian population, the formation of collaboration units and their use in the struggle against the resistance movement meant further deterioration of the situation for the people. Namely, the resistance movement caused the reaction of the political forces, which had been in authority before the occupation, especially the Slovenian People's Party, a Catholic and corporative party which had the support of around two thirds of the electorate. These forces started emphasizing the adverse effects of the resistance and equalling the resistance movement with communists in their propaganda. The violence of the resistance movement also contributed to the polarisation.

Especially in the Italian occupation zone the opponents started organising themselves in the military sense, and in August 1942 the Italian occupation authorities legitimised the detachments of the resistance movement opponents, called the village guards, as their supporting forces – called *Milizia volontaria anticomunista*. These forces soon equalled and even surpassed the number of the partisans, amounting to around 6000 troops.

Now the population started dividing itself according to its political – personal – ideological – genealogical definitions. The people who continued to be loyal to the resistance movement were not in an equal position. Above all, they were exposed to a much greater pressure, since the people around them knew about their orientation. The informing of the Italian authorities, which would mostly arrest such families and intern them into Italian concentration camps. All of this led to the war having an effect on villages and neighbours, while mutual control and denunciation became a constant of wartime life.

This situation also continued after the Italian cease fire, since the German authorities also allowed and even promoted the activities of the collaborators' formations in the Operation

Zone of the Adriatic Littoral – the Slovenian Home Guard and the Slovenian National Security Force – with obligatory military service.

VII. Finally, in 1943, the resistance movement became so strong it could establish itself on an equal basis with the occupation forces. Occupation forces were weakened due to their war efforts, therefore they resorted to using the Slovenian collaboration forces for the fight against the partisans and their supporters. The fate and the situation of the civilian population depended strongly on the geographical location. In principle, both of them had similar aspirations: to control the people, use them in their war efforts and unify them politically.

Since the beginning of the occupation, the occupation authorities have introduced the police system of supervising the population, supplemented by the army activities against the armed rebellion. To this end a dense network of police institutions and stations in the field was established, encompassing a total of 450 stations or approximately one per 3000 inhabitants.

The main means to this end was the prohibition of free movement of the population between the zones and limited movement within zones. Similarly to the occupiers' measures they introduced a system of passes.

The inclusion of the population in the war efforts by the occupation authorities as well as resistance movement had been going on since the beginning of the war. Germany and Hungary considered the people in the occupied zones their own citizens and introduced obligatory military service for them. Until the autumn of 1942 the servicemen – provisional citizens – had to serve in the German Army (Wehrmacht). Around 38 000 young men gave in to their fate and served in the German Army additional 7000 men from the Prekmurje region, serving in the Hungarian Army. In the other half of the Slovenian territory, belonging to the Operation Zone of the Adriatic Littoral, the German occupation authorities introduced obligatory military service, and allowed the men to serve in the collaborating formations. Thus these formations acquired around 18 000 troops.

On the other hand, in the fall of 1943, the resistance movement introduced the obligation that all Slovenians had to join the rebel partisan army, which had been an army of volunteers until then. Due to the mobilisation, the Slovenian partisan army strengthened its numbers considerably, to even more than 35 000 soldiers.

CONCLUSION

In May 1945 the war ended with the retreat of the German forces towards the north. Naturally, the people were relieved. The interned forced labourers returned to their homes. But the apprehension was not over yet. The people opposing the resistance movement mostly staid at home, since only around 10 000 of them retreated northwards towards the British zone together with the armed troops of the collaborating units. They expected the end of the retribution, which actually never touched the civilian population. While the Yugoslav and Slovenian authorities executed the majority of the armed troops, caught or surrendered or returned by the British authorities from Carinthia.

Violenza di guerra, violenza di pace, il caso delle foibe giuliane

RAOUL PUPO

Le ondate di violenza che dal 1943 al 1945 hanno toccato e in alcuni casi travolto i territori alto-adriatici, sono riconducibili in parte alle logiche di guerra ed in parte a quelle del dopoguerra. In questo secondo caso, tali violenze non hanno rappresentato soltanto una coda del conflitto appena concluso, ma hanno assunto una valenza strategica, in quanto costituenti degli assetti politici del dopoguerra medesimo, secondo una linea di tendenza ben evidente in tutta quella che al tempo costituiva l'area di riferimento della Venezia Giulia, e cioè la Jugoslavia di Tito.

Già questo primo inquadramento suggerisce quanta attenzione sia necessaria, per evitare fraintendimenti anche gravi, quando si esaminano gli eventi che la storiografia e più ancora la pubblicistica italiana hanno complessivamente denominato foibe, secondo un approccio che, se da un lato ha consentito di cogliere bene gli elementi di continuità fra le diverse fasi del fenomeno, come pure le sue specificità locali, per l'altro ha trascurato spesso vuoi le sue articolazioni, vuoi il suo rimandare a situazioni comuni lungo una larga fascia continentale che dal Baltico arriva al Mediterraneo. Fin da un primo sguardo, ad esempio, è possibile notare che la tipologia delle vittime esclude che alle foibe si possa senz'altro applicare la categoria della violenza contro civili, perché una parte consistente degli uccisi della primavera del 1945 è costituita da militari, che condivisero la sorte in genere riservata ai prigionieri tedeschi sul fronte orientale negli ultimi mesi del conflitto. Conviene quindi considerare in maniera ravvicinata i singoli momenti in cui si verificarono le violenze di massa, per cercar di comprenderne a fondo le logiche e le interconnessioni.

La prima crisi è quella dell'autunno 1943 e presenta due fasi ben distinte: la presa del potere partigiana e la controffensiva tedesca. Entrambe produssero vittime purtroppo copiose: fra le 500 e le 700 persone vennero uccise dai partigiani, alcune migliaia dai tedeschi. Ma non è il dato quantitativo a risultare determinante nella valutazione dell'accaduto: più significativo è il fatto che le due ondate di violenza colpirono in maniera asimmetrica i gruppi nazionali residenti sul territorio della Venezia Giulia. Ciò ha naturalmente generato percezioni diverse, che si sono poi consolidate nella memoria ed hanno dato vita a narrazioni reciprocamente incommunicabili.

La presa del potere partigiana è stata tradizionalmente presentata dalla storiografia jugoslava prima, e slovena e croata poi, come un'insurrezione della popolazione slava soggetta agli italiani, secondo una formula in cui è piuttosto trasparente un duplice intento: in primo luogo, enfatizzare la partecipazione delle masse al processo politico, allo scopo di legittimare gli organi che se ne fecero espressione e le scelte politiche da loro compiute; in secondo luogo, connotare gli eventi dell'autunno del 1943 come uno degli snodi fondamentali dell'epopea del risorgimento nazionale sloveno e croato realizzatosi con la guerra di liberazione.

Alcuni storici italiani, per converso, hanno fatto notare come, più che di una insurrezione popolare, avvenuta peraltro senza alcun contrasto, si dovrebbe parlare della capacità del mo-

vimento di liberazione sloveno e croato di riempire il vuoto di potere suscitato dal collasso delle istituzioni italiane e dal ritardo con cui i tedeschi procedettero all'occupazione del territorio, il che consentì all'amministrazione partigiana di insediarsi e di reggersi nell'interno dell'Istria per circa un mese.

Ciò è indubbiamente vero, ma lascia in ombra il fatto che, al di là dell'effettiva partecipazione di massa alle operazioni belliche ed all'attività dei "poteri popolari", le radicali esperienze dell'autunno 1943 vennero vissute dalla popolazione slava dell'Istria come un ribaltamento epocale, che conferiva il potere a chi fino ad allora ne era stato escluso o, addirittura, vittima. In uno studio recente ed assai più equilibrato di tante altre ricostruzioni di ieri e di oggi, uno storico croato ha sottolineato come la rilevanza dei "giorni di settembre" stia nel fatto che essi "hanno rappresentato l'esplosione, la rottura della rappresentazione mentale della sopportazione e della tolleranza *s'ciavona*"¹.

Quanto agli eventi, il comportamento tenuto dai poteri popolari sembra aver seguito, con un certo grado di approssimazione, uno schema già collaudato nel corso della guerra di liberazione / guerra civile jugoslava. In quel contesto, quando l'equilibrio delle forze ne dava la possibilità, le unità di Tito procedevano alla costituzione di zone libere, inevitabilmente effimere, ma nondimeno importanti, perché consentivano – oltre che di soddisfare necessità logistiche – anche di favorire impianto e radicamento delle nuove istituzioni espresse dal movimento partigiano, attraverso la creazione di un tessuto amministrativo, l'esercizio del diritto di leva militare e l'eliminazione degli avversari. Questi ultimi potevano essere diversi, in genere riconducibili ai domobranzi sloveni, agli ustascia croati ed ai cetnici serbi, ma tali definizioni non vanno intese in maniera rigida perché, a seconda dei momenti e dei luoghi, per i partigiani ciò che contava era "smascherare" e liquidare varie tipologie di antagonisti, che non comprendevano solo i nemici in armi, ma spaziavano dalle bande concorrenti alle élites locali diffidenti nei confronti del comunismo o che, semplicemente, pressate da richieste speculari di obbedienza, si erano esposte con la parte sbagliata al momento sbagliato. Tutti costoro venivano considerati "nemici del popolo" e la loro sorte era segnata.

In Istria accadde più o meno lo stesso. Il principale piano d'azione fu quello politico, l'unico in cui i partigiani raggiunsero in pieno gli obiettivi che si erano prefissi, con le dichiarazioni di annessione del Litorale alla Slovenia e dell'Istria alla Croazia: si trattava di dichiarazioni niente affatto platoniche, perché stabilivano la legittimità esclusiva delle istituzioni afferenti al movimento di liberazione e consentivano quindi di considerare chi vi si opponesse come traditore e fomentatore di guerra civile.

Sul piano repressivo, c'era solo l'imbarazzo della scelta. L'intera classe dirigente italiana era sicuramente avversa al nuovo potere, e quindi andava colpita. Non si poteva evidentemente eliminarla tutta, perché si trattava di decine di migliaia di persone, ma i poteri popolari si sforzarono di dare un segnale forte che i tempi erano cambiati. Le direttive politiche prevedevano che la repressione si articolasse su due livelli: le uccisioni e la deportazione nei campi di lavoro, ma le cose andarono diversamente. Le fonti sono concordi nel segnalare la grande confusione in cui precipitò la dirigenza del movimento partigiano, formata da quadri ancora inesperti². Sul piano militare, ciò condusse alla scelta insensata di affrontare in cam-

1 Darko Dukovski, *Rat i mir istrarski*, Cash, Pula 2001, p. 327

2 Vedi in particolare il rapporto del capitano Zvonko Babi -Zulja al Centro informativo regionale per il Litorale-

po aperto le unità tedesche al contrattacco e, conseguentemente, alla completa distruzione delle forze partigiane. Quanto alla repressione, funzionò a macchie di leopardo: alcune zone vennero “ripulite” in maniera considerata soddisfacente, in altre invece i comandi locali si rivelarono assai più incerti nell’individuazione dei “nemici del popolo” e più disponibili a chiudere un occhio, di quanto i vertici del movimento avessero desiderato. Ovunque, mancarono tempo ed organizzazione per realizzare i campi di lavoro, ed agli arresti seguì quasi sempre l’uccisione, nella maggior parte dei casi decretata dopo processi sommari, e seguita dal’occultamento dei cadaveri nelle cavità naturali o minerarie abbondanti sul territorio.

La selezione delle vittime, al di là della varia tipologia, rivela un criterio di fondo: quello del potere italiano da decapitare. Il potere trovava espressione negli uomini delle istituzioni – dai podestà alle guardie campestri – nei quadri del regime, nei possidenti terrieri, nei dirigenti industriali, nelle personalità più visibili delle comunità italiane, che in un contesto rurale potevano essere anche il farmacista e il medico condotto, simboli tutti di una realtà che doveva scomparire.

Anche su questo piano, la confusione fu notevole. L’insurrezione e l’avvio della repressione avevano scatenato un’ondata di risentimento nazionale e sociale dentro la quale trovavano modo di esprimersi odio etnico, conflitti di interesse, rese dei conti, pulsioni criminali, logiche di violenza premoderne, come l’incendio dei catasti: e quindi tra le vittime troviamo anche parenti di ricercati non trovati, donne seviziate, sospetti di usura, minatori originari di altre parti d’Italia, levatrici che non erano riuscite a condurre a buon fine un parto difficile.

L’effetto complessivo dell’ondata di violenze fu assolutamente sconvolgente per gli italiani, che si sentirono globalmente attaccati in quanto tali, e che videro materializzarsi sotto i loro occhi, nella maniera più radicale possibile, uno dei miti politici più diffusi del nazionalismo italiano nelle terre di frontiera, quello del “pericolo slavo”. Sconvolti rimasero anche gli antifascisti italiani, che capirono con un certo ritardo come in Istria aveva fatto il suo ingresso un modo d’intendere la lotta antifascista completamente diverso da quello cui erano abituati. Esempio eloquente della nuova dimensione dello scontro, oltre alla rapida sostituzione dei comitati di salute pubblica creati dagli italiani dopo l’armistizio con gli organi del movimento di liberazione croato, fu la gestione dei prigionieri: squadristi e gerarchi arrestati dagli antifascisti italiani nelle cittadine costiere per essere sottoposti a processo, vennero presi in consegna dai partigiani, e senz’altro fucilati³.

La controffensiva tedesca venne condotta con grande decisione, colpendo sia i partigiani armi, che i sospettati di aver in qualche modo collaborato con i poteri popolari, che, ancora, in molti casi, la popolazione residente nel territorio degli scontri, italiana o slava che fosse. Ciò nonostante, l’arrivo dei tedeschi venne in genere percepito con sollievo dagli italiani e la durezza del loro comportamento è stata nella memoria catalogata fra le “normali” violenze di guerra, non troppo dissimile dai bombardamenti alleati, mentre invece le stragi delle foibe hanno costituito uno spartiacque mentale ed un momento periodizzante della storia degli

le croate e l’Istria, della seconda metà di ottobre 1943, pubblicato in “Vjesnik”, 1983 e parzialmente tradotto in R. Pupo, R. Spazzali (a cura di), *Foibe*, Bruno Mondadori, Milano 2003, pp. 58-61; altri documenti sono stati pubblicati da G. Scotti, *Dossier foibe*, Manni, San Cesario di Lecce, 2005.

3 L. Giuricin, *Il settembre ’43 in Istria e a Fiume*, in «Quaderni» vol. XI, Centro di ricerche storiche, Rovigno 1997.

italiani dell'Alto Adriatico.

La seconda crisi è quella iniziata alla fine di aprile del 1945, quando le forze jugoslave raggiunsero la linea dell'Isonzo che costituiva l'obiettivo strategico della loro offensiva finale: un obiettivo di rilevanza politica così elevata – posto che si trattava di assumere il controllo dei territori appartenenti all'Italia oggetto di rivendicazione – da giustificare un notevole dispendio di forze, l'assunzione di rischi militari considerevoli ed il rinvio della liberazione di Lubiana e Zagabria.

L'esito delle operazioni condusse in mano jugoslava un numero altissimo di prigionieri, che ricevettero un trattamento differenziato. Simile fu la sorte dei prigionieri tedeschi e italiani, che subirono una serie di fucilazioni sommarie immediatamente dopo la resa e poi vennero trasferiti nei campi di prigionia. Invece, gli aderenti alle formazioni collaborazioniste domobranze, ustascia e cetniche, compresi quelli che si erano arresi agli inglesi in Austria ma erano stati restituiti agli jugoslavi, furono sterminati tutti in pochi giorni. Come sempre, le stime in proposito sono assai difficili, ma per i domobranzi oscillano attorno alle diecimila unità, per gli ustascia parecchie volte di più⁴.

Nei campi di detenzione, i prigionieri tedeschi e italiani si trovarono in una situazione estremamente precaria: condizioni abitative e igienico-sanitarie terribili, lavoro duro, maltrattamenti, ma soprattutto mancanza quasi totale di cibo, causa prima di una mortalità altissima. Se l'animosità verso il nemico, il furore ideologico e lo scatenamento di istinti criminali spiegano le brutalità nei confronti dei prigionieri, la crisi alimentare trovava le sue ragioni strutturali in due elementi combinati.

In primo luogo, La massa di prigionieri portò all'immediato collasso il sistema di detenzione jugoslavo, che impiegò alcuni mesi per organizzarsi. Contemporaneamente, tutti i territori appena liberati dai tedeschi soffrirono di una gravissima carenza di risorse. L'ordine di priorità nella distribuzione del poco che c'era, vedeva ai primi posti il rifornimento dell'armata e il nutrimento della popolazione, a cominciare da quello delle città come Trieste dove si misurava, sotto gli occhi degli anglo-americani, la capacità della nuova amministrazione di far fronte all'emergenza. In questa gerarchia della sopravvivenza ai prigionieri nemici era riservata l'ultima posizione e per loro non rimaneva quasi nulla: quindi, morivano. La logica è atroce, ma non difficile da comprendere.

Non si trattava comunque di una situazione solo locale, ma largamente comune alla fascia centro-europea che vide il collasso finale del dominio nazista, e largamente simile fu la sorte dei prigionieri tedeschi. Ad esempio, Secondo alcune stime, nel teatro di operazioni compreso fra la Vistola e l'Oder-Neiße, furono oltre 800 mila i militari tedeschi fatti prigionieri dall'Armata Rossa nell'ultima fase del conflitto. Durante l'esate ne morirono circa centomila in seguito alle disastrose condizioni di detenzione; in particolare, due campi dell'area di Breslavia giunsero a ospitare contemporaneamente oltre 300 mila prigionieri, di cui circa il 20% morì in breve di fame o di malattie⁵. Si tratta di proporzioni comparabili – se pur ovviamente su di

4 J. Tomasevich, *War and revolution in Yugoslavia, 1941-1945, Occupation and Collaboration*, Stanford University Press, Stanford 2001, pp. 751-777; J. Corsellis, M. Ferrar (a cura di), *Slovenia 1945*, LEG, Gorizia 2008.

5 D. Artico, *L'espulsione dei tedeschi dalla Polonia*, in G. Crainz, R. Pupo, S. Salvatici (a cura di), *Naufraghi nella tempesta della pace. I drammi del 1945 e le memorie divise d'Europa*, Donzelli, Roma 2008.

una scala molto diversa – a quelle del campo di Borovnica, in Slovenia, il peggiore fra quelli che ospitarono i prigionieri italiani⁶.

Ma chi erano questi prigionieri italiani? Soprattutto – com'è naturale – alcune migliaia di militari della RSI di stanza nella Venezia Giulia; e poi gli appartenenti alle forze di sicurezza che – per quanto ne sappiamo – vennero in genere subito fucilati e infoibati; i componenti di altre formazioni armate come la guardia di finanza e la guardia civica – che pure, infiltrate dal CLN, avevano partecipato ai combattimenti finali contro i tedeschi – ed anche alcuni aderenti al corpo volontari della libertà che, sempre agli ordini del CLN giuliano, avevano lanciato alla fine di aprile a Trieste un'insurrezione contro i tedeschi, parallela e concorrenziale a quella scatenata dalle organizzazioni comuniste filo-jugoslave.

La ragione delle apparenti incongruenze di questo elenco, che mescola fascisti e antifascisti, è in realtà piuttosto semplice: il criterio di riconoscimento di amici e nemici non passava attraverso l'aver combattuto a fianco o contro i tedeschi, ma dall'aver combattuto e dall'essere disponibili a rimanere agli ordini del movimento di liberazione jugoslavo. Qualsiasi formazione armata rifiutasse di porsi a disposizione dei comandi jugoslavi andava considerata truppa di occupazione, e qualsiasi soggetto che si proclamasse autonomamente antitedesco andava considerato fomentatore di guerra civile⁷.

Siamo quindi in presenza di un criterio di giudizio eminentemente politico, a definire il quale concorrevano certo anche le accuse di comportamenti ostili al movimento di liberazione e, più in generale, alla popolazione slava della regione, ma vi era pochissimo interesse per l'effettivo accertamento dei fatti, mentre prevalevano la logica della colpa collettiva, legata cioè automaticamente alla partecipazione dei sospettati all'attività di istituzioni e organizzazioni ritenute nemiche.

La medesima logica governò anche la repressione dei civili, che si esprime in almeno una decina di migliaia di arresti, concentrati principalmente a Gorizia e Trieste, ed avvenuti in base a liste di sospetti redatte dalla polizia politica, l'OZNA, che operava in conformità alle direttive del comitato centrale del Partito comunista sloveno e di quello croato, direttive che prescrivevano un'immediata e larga epurazione della società giuliana, da realizzare selezionando i bersagli in base non all'appartenenza nazionale ma a quella politica⁸.

Si trattava quindi, ancora una volta come nel 1943, di colpire i "nemici del popolo", categoria elastica che si prestava a comprendere tutti i rei, o anche soltanto i possibili rei, di attività antijugoslave, che potevano spaziare dallo squadristo negli anni Venti, allo spionaggio per conto dei tedeschi, alla militanza nel CLN o in organizzazioni autonomiste come quelle esistenti a Fiume, alla più generica ostilità nei confronti dell'annessione alla Jugoslavia ed all'instaurazione del comunismo.

La natura politica e l'ampiezza dello spettro accusatorio spiegano come nella rete della repressione caddero elementi sloveni e croati anticomunisti, ma anche come nella Venezia Giulia gli italiani furono colpiti in proporzione assai maggiore. Tra la popolazione slava infatti, era molto limitato il dissenso nei confronti del nuovo potere, che si presentava come

6 F. G. Gobatto, *Borovnica e gli campi per prigionieri nell'ex Jugoslavia 1945*, Silentes Loquimur, Pordenone 2005; G. Barral, *Borovnica 1945*, Edizioni Paoline, Milano 2007.

7 Vedi al riguardo la documentazione pubblicata in R. Pupo, R. Spazzali (a cura di), *Foibe*, cit., pp. 68-71.

8 *Ibidem*

vendicatore dei torti storici subiti da sloveni e croati e come realizzatore delle loro aspirazioni nazionali. Viceversa, non solo gli italiani avevano avuto il monopolio del potere a tutti i livelli – e ciò offriva già un gran numero di bersagli da colpire – ma nella loro maggioranza desideravano il mantenimento della sovranità italiana. di conseguenza, nei loro confronti la repressione doveva avere anche un effetto intimidatorio generale, volto a scoraggiare sul nascere qualsiasi forma di opposizione al nuovo ordine.

Nella primavera del 1945 dunque, la popolazione della Venezia Giulia sperimentò la prima ondata di violenza politica scatenata dal regime comunista jugoslavo contro i suoi stessi cittadini, quella chiamata “l’epurazione dei collaborazionisti”. In verità, non si può dire che la repressione nei territori giuliani sia stata più dura di quella avvenuta nelle contermini repubbliche jugoslave⁹, ma la sua specificità, legata alle caratteristiche del popolamento e della storia locale, sta nel fatto che essa colpì preferenzialmente uno dei gruppi nazionali viventi nella regione di frontiera, quello italiano e si inserì in una più lunga vicenda di conflitti e sopraffazioni nazionali. La dimensione nazionale della crisi è quindi quella che è stata immediatamente percepita come prioritaria dai contemporanei, e tale sensibilità si è poi consolidata nella memoria e riverberata nella storiografia.

Ciò ha consentito di parlare delle stragi che vanno sotto il nome complessivo di foibe giuliane ben prima che l’attenzione degli storici si appuntasse sui drammatici eventi che contrassegnarono la conclusione della guerra di liberazione in Jugoslavia, ma ha comportato per converso alcune deformazioni interpretative. Da qualche anno a questa parte siamo finalmente in grado di ricucire i diversi aspetti di quella vicenda terribile e di fornirne una lettura critica globale.

9 B. Godeša, T. Tominšek Rihtar, *La Slovenia e le sue vittime (1940-1946)* e M. Manin, *La Croazia negli anni della guerra e del dopoguerra*, entrambi in P. Pallante (a cura di), *Foibe. Memoria e futuro*, Editori Riuniti, Roma 2007.

Dr. Franz Riedweg and the Enforcement of non-German 'Germanic Civilians' to SS Standards during the Second World War

MARCO WYSS

INTRODUCTION

The life of Franz Riedweg, a Swiss Medical Doctor from Lucerne and labelled the 'most successful Hitler Swiss' and 'Himmler's advisor on Swiss matters', is only superficially known. This former Pan-European, after having temporarily struggled for the Swiss extreme right wing party the National Front, joined in the second half of the 1930s the Swiss National Action against Communism (*Action nationale suisse contre le communisme*) of former Federal Councillor Jean-Mary Musy. Through the latter organisation's anticommunist network and not – as often stated – through his marriage with Marshal von Blomberg's daughter, he could join the SS in 1938 with the rank of an officer without major difficulties. During his whole lifetime, anti-bolshevism was the ideological and political principle which seemed to be the driving force for his actions¹.

As I have already discussed the lack of attention Riedweg has received by Swiss historians and his efforts regarding the recruitment of non-German volunteers for the *Waffen-SS*², in this article I would like to emphasise another aspect of his zealous service in the SS: the enforcement of non-German 'Germanic' civilians to SS standards. In a total war like the Second World War, a large variety and amount of resources are mobilised in order to win the war. In regard to the non-German 'Germanics' in occupied Europe, the Nazis not only tried to enforce them in order to win the war, but also according to an ideological design, a 'Germanic Reich'. The question was, however, which form this Reich would have. Riedweg saw the future Europe as a 'Confederation of Germanic tribes, with the Germanic countries bordering Germany allied to the Reich, but without political dependence'³. Himmler seemed to agree, because Riedweg later recalled the *Reichsführer-SS* saying: 'You can be reassured: it does not matter at all if the President of the coming Europe will be a Swiss, a German or a Dutch!'⁴.

Riedweg came to the position to influence the enforcement of non-German 'Germanic' civilians after having participated as a medical doctor in the campaign against France and after having been somehow 'prepared' for it through 'internships' in the *Reichssicherheitshauptamt* (RSHA) (Reich Security Head Office) and the *Auswärtige Amt* (AA) (Foreign

1 Wyss, Marco, « Un Suisse au service de la SS. Dr. Franz Riedweg et le « travail germanique de la SS », in *Revue Suisse d'Histoire*, Vol. 57, No. 4, 2007, pp. 417-418.

2 *Ibid.*, pp. 418-419, 423-429.

3 Seidler, Franz W., *Die Kollaboration*, München; Berlin: Herbig Verlagsbuchhandlung, 1995, p. 451.

4 AfZ (Archiv für Zeitgeschichte) ETH Zürich, Nachlass Riedweg / 3, Das Spruchgericht Hiddesen 20. Spruchkammer, Urteil in dem Spruchgerichtsverfahren gegen den ehemaligen Zivilinternierten Dr. med. Franz Riedweg, 18. November 1948.

Office)⁵. While the office he worked for, as will be seen, was primarily established for the recruitment of non-German ‘Germanic’ *Waffen-SS* volunteers, it soon became an important player in the SS general European policy. The enforcement of these ‘Germanic’ civilians will be shown as follows: first I will tackle the creation and the ‘empowerment’ of the office Riedweg used to implement the SS policy; second – once the tools are there – I will show the measures, techniques and means for enforcement, such as the attempts to develop the ‘Germanic SS, youth and science’ to be similar to ‘German models’ through brainwashing and propaganda.

OFFICE

a. Creation

While the war spread into other directions of the world after the campaign in the West and SS recruitment slowed down inside the Reich through the *Wehrmacht*’s priority⁶, the *Waffen-SS* intended to start recruiting ‘foreign Germanics’ on a large scale⁷. Hence, Himmler ordered the creation of the *Germanische Freiwilligen-Leitstelle (GFL)* (Germanic Volunteers Office) under the authority of Gottlob Berger, who was since 1 June 1940 head of the *SS-Hauptamt (SS-HA)* (SS-Main Office)⁸. The new office had the task of managing and coordinating the recruitment and education of ‘Germanics’ outside the Old Reich’s borders⁹. Himmler must have informed Riedweg that he would be the head of this new office in the second half of 1940. Most probably, the idea for this office came from Riedweg himself and after the war he argued that he was chosen to direct it, not only because was he among the few foreign SS officers, but he was also highly politicised. Finally, he started working at the head of a functioning *GFL* somewhere in March 1941¹⁰.

While the *GFL*’s first task was the recruitment of ‘Germanic volunteers’ for the *Waffen-SS* and the assistance of the recruits, the objective was the ‘planning of all the political work in the Germanic space’¹¹. The office had three main services: the ethnic-Germanic direction (*Volksgermanische Führung*), the ethnic-Germanic recruitment (*Volksgermanische Ergän-*

5 Wyss, *op. cit.*, p. 420.

6 Höhne, Heinz, *Der Orden unter dem Totenkopf, Die Geschichte der SS*, München: Orbis Verlag, 2002, p. 421.

7 Stein, George H., *Geschichte der Waffen-SS*, Düsseldorf: Droste Verlag, 1999, p. 129.

8 The SS-Main Office arose on 30 January 1935 from the *SS-Amt* (SS-Office) (Buchheim, Hans, *Anatomie des SS-Staates*, Band I, *Die SS – Das Herrschaftsinstrument, Befehl und Gehorsam*, Olten und Freiburg im Breisgau: Walter-Verlag, 1965, p. 242). Under August Heissmeyer, it was the central technical administration for all SS units, except the *Sicherheitsdienst (SD)* (Security Service). The SS-Main Office, was reorganised after having also received the administration of the armed units, the *Reiterstandarten* (Cavalry Regiments) and the financial administration of the SS. Several responsibilities were taken away from the SS-Main Office to create new offices (Höhne, *op. cit.*, p. 136). Berger ran a trimmed down SS-Main Office which had as tasks the ideological education and recruitment of the *Waffen-SS* (*Ibid.*, p. 424).

9 Wegner, Bernd, „Auf dem Wege zur pangermanischen Armee“, in *Militärgeschichtliche Mitteilungen (MGM)*, 28 (1980), p. 102.

10 Wyss, *op. cit.*, pp. 420–421.

11 AF (Archives Fédérales (Switzerland)), E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte, Luzern, 20.12.1947, p. 36.

zung) and the ethnic-Germanic education (*Volksgermanische Erziehung*)¹².

On 1 June 1941, Riedweg was promoted through Himmler's personal order¹³ from the rank of *SS-Hauptsturmführer* (Captain) to the rank of *SS-Sturmbannführer* (Major) of the *Waffen-SS*¹⁴. Equipped with this superior rank, Riedweg redoubled his efforts in the SS' 'Germanic work'. As stated above, contrary to a previous article in which we have mostly focused on the recruitment aspect of this work¹⁵, in this paper we focus on the political work – the enforcement of SS standards – regarding non-German 'Germanic' civilians.

b. Political Power

Himmler's SS established its authority late in the so-called 'Germanic space'. It dominated, however, the last phase of the Nazi's 'Germanic policy'. Although the SS had in 1940 its first bases in the occupied 'Germanic territories' through its police function in the persons of Higher SS and Police Leaders (*HSSPF, Höhere SS und Polizeiführer*) and recruiting offices in Oslo, Copenhagen and The Hague, its leadership wanted more. Calling on the *Blutsgedanken* (the blood thought) it wanted a greater influence in the 'Germanic countries' and thus tried to reinforce its position¹⁶. The office which had to fulfil this policy was the *GFL*. In January 1942 it received the necessary money and on 12 August 1942 the head of the Party Chancellery, Martin Bormann, ordered the formal mandate to edict regulations by extension¹⁷, confirmed on 6 February 1943 by a decree signed by the head of the Reich's Chancellery, Hans Heinrich Lammers¹⁸.

Although the Reich's other services in the occupied 'Germanic territories' maintained the responsibility in their field, the situation had changed dramatically. The Reich's Commissioners, who until now were under Hitler's direct authority, had a new intermediary in the person of the *Reichsführer-SS (RF-SS)* Himmler. The NSDAP's staff also had to coordinate their activities with the *RF-SS* rather than with the Reich's Commissioners and the Party's Chancellery¹⁹. Consequently, the SS came closer to its goal to become the driving force in the reorganisation process, which intended to integrate the occupied 'Germanic countries' in the 'German Germanic Reich' on the model of the German unification of 1871²⁰. Riedweg

12 BA (Bundesarchiv) Berlin, NS 31/96, Gliederungsplan des SS-Hauptamtes, nur für den Dienstgebrauch, 1941/42.

13 BA Berlin, SS-Führerpersonalakte Riedweg, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes SS-Gruppenführer Berger an den Chef des SS-Personalhauptamtes SS-Gruppenführer Schmitt, betr. des SS-Hauptsturmführers Dr. Riedweg, 30. Mai 1941.

14 BA Berlin, SS-Führerpersonalakte Riedweg, Beförderungsschreiben mit Wirkung 1. Juni 1941 an den Hauptsturmführer Riedweg, gez. Himmler.

15 Wyss, « Un Suisse au service de la SS... », *op. cit.*, pp. 417-440.

16 Looock, Hans-Dietrich, „Zur ‚Grossgermanischen Politik‘ des Dritten Reiches“, in *Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte*, (A) 8, 1960, pp. 55-56.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 59.

18 BA Berlin, NS 31/455, SS-Hauptamt-Amtsgruppe D, Germanische Leitstelle, An RF-SS, Pers. Stab, betr. Verhandlungen mit den germanisch-völkischen Gruppen in den besetzten Gebieten, 12.3.1943.

19 Looock, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

20 Wegner, Bernd, *Hitlers Politische Soldaten: Die Waffen-SS 1933-1945. Studien zu Leitbild, Struktur und Funktion einer nationalsozialistischen Elite*, Paderborn: Ferdinand Schöningh, 1990 (4. durchgesehene und verbesserte Auflage), p. 297.

himself was convinced of the SS' exceptional right in the organisation of a 'new European-Germanic life order'²¹.

Although the SS-Main Office and thus the *GFL* had already a certain monopoly regarding the 'Germanic work' before Bormann's order, on 15 March 1942 the *RF-SS* officially transferred to the SS-Main Office 'all the tasks related to the *Waffen-SS*' recruitment in the Germanic countries, to the build-up, direction and education of the "Germanic SS" and to take care of the Germanic youth organisations'²². A document issued by the *GFL* also mentions that the *RF-SS*, once he had received the monopoly in the 'Germanic work', appointed Berger and his office to execute this work²³. With Himmler having received the only responsibility regarding the 'Germanic interests' in the occupied countries, the *Germanische Freiwilligen-Leitstelle* – to which the maintenance of these interests were delegated – changed name. The *Freiwilligen* was abandoned for the new name *Germanische Leitstelle (GL)*²⁴.

ENFORCEMENT

a. 'Germanic SS'

Although at the end of the war most enforcement projects of the *GL*'s branches in the occupied territories were only at their beginning, one can see their intentions. The first aim was in all concerned countries an extension of the 'General SS'²⁵. Riedweg denied after the war that these organisations were based on SS ideologies and said that they were only familiar with the German SS²⁶. However, this 'Germanic SS' and Riedweg's office's influence were not as innocent.

Soon after Himmler received his power extension in 'Germanic policy', SS units in the occupied 'Germanic countries' were official named 'Germanic SS'. Before they had particular names related to their country, such as *Norges SS* or *Nederlandse SS*²⁷. With the intention to prepare the merger of the SS with the police in these countries, recruiters were particularly interested in policemen²⁸. Outside the Reich the SS used political slogans free from separatist language, as they were promoted by parties such as Vidkun Quisling's, the Norwegian Nazi collaborator. There was only the question of the 'Germanic Reich', the 'Führer of all Germanics' and the fusion of nations into a 'community of racial destiny'²⁹.

A *GL* report of October 1942 illustrates the state of this 'Germanic SS' after its definitive

21 *Ibid.*, p. 298.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 300.

23 BA Berlin, NS 31/455, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Statistische Aufstellung über zur Waffen-SS und Legion eingestellte, entlassene und gefallene germanische Freiwillige. Stand: 30.10.42, 14.12.1942, p. 2.

24 Seidler, *op. cit.*, p. 451.

25 Looock, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

26 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft, Einvernahme Dr. Riedweg Franz, im Ausland, 13. November 1946, p. 6.

27 NAW, Procès verbaux d'auditions, Record Group 238, World War Two, War Crimes Records, International Military Tribunal: Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, APO 124 A, Evidence Division, Interrogation Branch, Vernehmung des Dr. Franz Riedweg am 19.11.1947 von 14.00 – 16.30 Uhr durch Mr. Konrad Swart, Im Auftrag des Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam, Nuremberg, p. 12.

28 Looock, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

29 *Ibid.*, p. 58.

integration into the 'general German SS'. In Norway, the establishment of the 'Germanic SS' had provoked troubles within the *Hird*, the armed militia of Quisling's *Nasjonal Samling*³⁰. The agreements between the SS and the *Hird* were not respected by the latter. However, many left the *Hird* for the SS. The 'Germanic SS' in Norway had at this time 463 members and the amount of donor members was 1099³¹. In Denmark, Fritz Clausen, the head of the country's Nazi party³², was opposed to the establishment of the 'Germanic SS'³³. In the Netherlands, Anton Mussert, the leader of the *Nationaal-Socialistische Beweging (NSB)*³⁴, only agreed lately to change the name of the *Nederlandse SS*. At the time the report was written, however, the Dutch 'Germanic SS' had 2518 members, among whom 226 were policemen. Moreover, there were 1229 donor members. Despite this more or less important amount of members, the *NSB* continued to create difficulties for the recruitment process³⁵. In Flanders, the 'Germanic SS' received each day more registrations. At the time of the report it had 391 members³⁶. Nevertheless, as the numbers are not very impressive, it is easily understandable that Riedweg and his colleagues emphasised the ideological educations of the 'Germanic SS' members.

Already at the beginning of 1942, Riedweg, as the *GL*'s chief of staff, received the mission to politically form the SS and its similar organisations in 'Germanic countries' in the 'Great-Germanic' idea³⁷. Soon after Bormann's order of 12 August 1942, Riedweg sent a secret document to the *GL*'s services regarding 'Germanic education'. Besides insisting on the education of *Waffen-SS* leaders, he emphasised the need of the education of 'Germanic SS' leaders. For the fulfilment of the *RF-SS*' political tasks in the 'Germanic space', he considered the creation of a 'corps of Germanic leaders' a necessity³⁸. This 'Germanic education' was not limited to the SS' *Junkerschule*³⁹ at Tölz. The *GL* organised a variety of courses. The first one, of a week's duration, took place from summer 1942 in a holiday residence of the Berlin-Babelsberg police force (*Ordnungspolizei*). The courses were inaugurated by Riedweg. The participants – 60 to 80 men – were deployed by the *GL*⁴⁰. The presentations they followed were about German, 'Germanic' and European history, the 'science of races', politics, the *NSDAP*'s programme, *Mein Kampf*, the ideology and life of the 'political soldier'⁴¹. The

30 Durand, Yves, *Le nouvel ordre européen nazi 1938-1945*, Bruxelles : Editions Complexe, 1990, p. 18, Seidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 431-438.

31 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 4.

32 Durand, *op. cit.*, p. 251; Seidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-138.

33 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 8.

34 Seidler, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-398.

35 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 9.

36 *Ibid.*, p. 11.

37 AF, E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte, Luzern, 20.12.1947, p. 48.

38 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Geheim, betr. Germanische Führerausbildung in Tölz, Riedweg, 24.8.1942.

39 The *Waffen-SS*' military academies (Kammer, Hilde; Bartsch, Elisabeth, *Lexikon Nationalsozialismus. Begriffe, Organisationen und Institutionen*, Hamburg: Rowohlt Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002 (6. Auflage), p. 270).

40 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Verhör des Dr. Heinrich Büeler durch den eidgenössischen Untersuchungsrichter O. Gloor als Beschuldigter, 9.11.1946, p. 22.

41 AF, E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte,

'teachers' were SS leaders of the *GL* and specialists from the *Rasse- und Siedlungshauptamt-SS (RuSHA)* (SS Race and Settlement Office) and the *Amt Ahnenerbe* (Office of Ancestral Heritage)⁴². Riedweg himself concluded the courses with a speech on the 'Germanic SS'.

In 1943, he transformed the former monastery Saint Michaelis in Hildesheim into a house called *Germanien*, in which so-called 'political courses for leaders' (*politische Führerlehrgänge*) were held. The ideological education was complemented by paramilitary exercises. The participants wore the black uniforms of the 'Germanic SS'. At the end of the courses in Babelsberg and Hildesheim, they had to pass a written and an oral exam. The most able entered the *Waffen-SS' Junkerschule* at Tölz or joined the *GL*⁴³.

The education of the 'Germanic SS' was further developed with the establishment of similar schools on occupied territory such as Konsvinger (Norway), Avegoor (Netherlands), Hoveltegaard (Denmark) and Schoten (Flanders)⁴⁴. Moreover, in the years 1942 and 1943 Riedweg organised 'Germanic congresses' at Magdeburg, Tölz and Hannover. The *GL* invited speakers – joined by Riedweg – from Germany and various bordering countries⁴⁵ who argued in favour of the 'Germanic way of thinking'⁴⁶. However, to enforce the SS way of thinking in the 'Germanic countries', the education of the youth could not be neglected.

b. Youth

In order to educate the youth in the 'Germanic countries' the *GL* established *National-politische Erziehungsanstalten (Napolas)* (National Political Institutes of Education)⁴⁷ in the latter countries⁴⁸. As soon as these schools were established outside the Reich's borders, they were under the *GL*'s control. This appears clearly through an organisational chart of the *GL* branch in Flanders, in which the *Napolas* figure in the first place under Section V⁴⁹. There was, however, another non-SS Nazi organisation which particularly interested the *GL* and was supposed to spread outside the Reich and affect the non-German 'Germanic' youth.

According to Riedweg, it was Himmler or Baldur von Schirach, the *Reichsjugendführer* (Leader of the Reich's Youth)⁵⁰, who wanted to educate men of the 'Germanic *Waffen-SS*'

Luzern, 20.12.1947, p. 49.

42 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Verhör des Dr. Heinrich Büeler durch den eidgenössischen Untersuchungsrichter O. Gloor als Beschuldigter, 9.11.1946, p. 22.

43 AF, E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte, Luzern, 20.12.1947, pp. 49-50.

44 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, pp. 4, 8, 9, 11.

45 Almost exclusively professors and other scientists from Norway, Denmark, The Netherlands, Flanders and Germany (AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Verhör des Dr. Heinrich Büeler durch den eidgenössischen Untersuchungsrichter O. Gloor als Beschuldigter, 9.11.1946, p. 24).

46 AF, E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstrafgerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte, Luzern, 20.12.1947, pp. 50-51.

47 *Napolas* were National Socialist boarding schools which led to the baccalaureate (Kammer; Bartsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 160-162).

48 Loock, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

49 BA Berlin, NS 21/930, Germanische Leitstelle, Aussenstelle Flandern, Dienststelle SS-Brigadeführer Jungclaus.

50 Weiss, Hermann (hg.), *Biographisches Lexikon zum Dritten Reich*, Frankfurt a. Main: Fischer Taschenbuch Verlag, 2002, pp. 404-406.

to place them as *Jugendführer* (Youth Leaders) in Norway, Belgium and the Netherlands, countries where youth organisations existed already⁵¹. Although Riedweg denied in an interview by the Dutch authorities in 1947 that he played a role in the enforcement of the 'Germanic youth' in collaboration with the *Reichsjugendführung* (Youth Leadership of the Reich)⁵², the facts prove the contrary.

In Denmark, the *GL* elaborated, in cooperation with the Youth Leadership of the Reich, plans for the foundation of a German-Danish youth organisation seen as a precursor to a Hitler Youth. In the Netherlands and in Norway, it tried to do the same⁵³. In Belgium, the *GL* – with the help of the *Deutsch-Vlämische Arbeitsgemeinschaf DeVlag* (German-Flemish Working Community) – placed a certain amount of young boys between age 10 and 14 in Hitler Youth camps⁵⁴. In agreement with Schirach's successor, Arthur Axmann⁵⁵, it also coordinated the assistance of the Flemish Youth, an organisation specific to the country⁵⁶. It is undeniable that the *GL* was interested in the enforcement of the youth in the 'Germanic countries', because as in the *Napolas*' case, the field 'youth' figured in Flanders under Section V⁵⁷.

According to Riedweg's Nazi-colleague and Swiss citizen Büeler, the *GL* wanted its ideas to penetrate the Hitler Youth and the youths of the 'Germanic countries'. This breakthrough would have been made possible through *Wehrtüchtigungslager* ('Germanic military preparation camps'⁵⁸). These camps were organised together with the Hitler Youth on the model of the German camps, with the exception that the *GL* cared for ideological education⁵⁹. However, the enforcement of 'Germanic civilians' was not always as direct as in the case of the 'Germanic SS' and the youth, but was indirect, such as through the adaptation of science to SS standards.

c. Science

On 14 August 1942 Berger ordered the cooperation between the *Amt Ahnenerbe* and the *GL*. Introducing his order he wrote that the *RF-SS* had entrusted the Office of Ancestral Heritage with the carrying out of all scientific research tasks and works regarding the great global tasks of the SS. One can understand that he wrote here about the SS' 'Germanic work',

51 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft, Einvernahme Dr. Riedweg Franz, im Ausland, 13. November 1946, p. 13.

52 NAW, Procès verbaux d'auditions, Record Group 238, World War Two, War Crimes Records, International Military Tribunal: Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, APO 124 A, Evidence Division, Interrogation Branch, Vernehmung des Dr. Franz Riedweg am 19.11.1947 von 14.00 – 16.30 Uhr durch Mr. Konrad Swart, Im Auftrag des Rijksinstitut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam, Nuremberg, p. 7.

53 Looock, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

54 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 11.

55 Weiss, *op. cit.*, pp. 81-82.

56 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 12.

57 BA Berlin, NS 21/930, Germanische Leitstelle, Aussenstelle Flandern, Dienststelle SS-Brigadeführer Jungclauss.

58 For a brief description of these camps, see Kammer; Bartsch, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

59 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Verhör des Dr. Heinrich Büeler durch den eidgenössischen Untersuchungsrichter O. Gloor als Beschuldigter, 9.11.1946, p. 26.

because once the functioning of this cooperation was mentioned, 'the research work in the setting of the great Germanic work' was also mentioned. For the collaboration, the *Ahnenerbe* was to establish a separate section in its organisation and in each of the *GL*'s branches an *Ahnenerbe* representative was to be placed. Berger ended the order by insisting on the necessity of the 'scientific research work in the Germanic space' and ordered Riedweg's office to help as much as necessary⁶⁰.

Riedweg wrote on 5 October 1942 to the heads of the *GL*'s branches to inform them about the cooperation with the Ancestral Heritage Office. After the description of this collaboration, he mentioned that the *GL* had received an extraordinary budget for this, that the representative of the *Ahnenerbe* was under the orders of the *GL* branch's head only regarding conduct, and that the representatives' reports were directly to be sent to the *Ahnenerbe* in Berlin⁶¹. The incorporation of the Ancestral Heritage Office's representative can be seen through the organisation chart of the *GL*'s branch in Flanders, where the field *Ahnenerbe* is under Section III⁶².

This cooperation – also called *Germanischer Wissenschaftseinsatz* ('Germanic Science Deployment') – brought about the support of *Ahnenerbe* in the recruitment of volunteers for the *Waffen-SS* and the attempted link of regional, national and autonomous movements of the occupied territories through common cultural, scientific and propaganda projects. The idea was to win over these movements for the German plans and the reorganisation of Europe after the War⁶³. Furthermore, this cooperation even tried to install itself in the 'Germanic countries' universities⁶⁴. This 'Germanic ideology' was, however, also propagated through a rather traditional media, the press.

d. Propaganda

The *GL*'s first publication known to us was the *Germanische Leithefte* ('Germanic Guiding Magazine')⁶⁵. Vis-à-vis Himmler, Riedweg was responsible for it, as shown by his appointment on 29 March 1941 with the *Reichsführer-SS* to discuss about it⁶⁶. The magazine's content propagated the SS 'Germanic policy'⁶⁷. While Riedweg only supervised this publication, in 1942 he started editing the magazine *Germanische Gemeinschaft* ('Germanic

60 BA Berlin, NS 31/72, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes, Stabsbefehl Nr. 14/42, Stabsverteiler 2, betr. Zusammenarbeit des Amtes „Ahnenerbe“ im Persönlichen Stab des Reichsführers-SS mit dem Amt VI des SS-Hauptamtes, Gottlob Berger, 14. August 1942.

61 BA Berlin, NS 21/935, Abschrift, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, betr. Führer des Ahnenerbes, Bezug Stabsbefehl 14/42, gez. Riedweg, 5.10.42.

62 BA Berlin, NS 21/930, Germanische Leitstelle, Aussenstelle Flandern, Dienststelle SS-Brigadeführer Jungclaus.

63 Lerchenmüller, Joachim, „Das Ahnenerbe (AE) der SS“, www.shoa.de.

64 Looock, op. cit., p. 61.

65 Seidler, op. cit., p. 450.

66 Lohalm, Uwe; Wildt, Michael (Redaktoren), *Der Dienstkalender Heinrich Himmlers 1941/42*, Hamburger Beiträge zur Sozial- und Zeitgeschichte, herausgegeben von der Forschungsstelle für Zeitgeschichte in Hamburg, Quellen, Band 3, Hamburg: Christians, 1999, p. 142.

67 AF, E 4320 (B), 1984/29, Urteil des Bundesstraßengerichts in Sachen Franz Riedweg und 18 Mitangeklagte, Luzern, 20.12.1947, p. 6.

Community') himself⁶⁸. It portrayed the non-German volunteers' brotherhood in arms with the Germans of the *Waffen-SS* on a common historical background of Western culture⁶⁹.

Riedweg wrote several articles in it. In one from 1942, entitled *Rasse und Universalismus* (Race and Universalism), he wrote that with the National Socialists takeover a new spiritual era was born because the race is always the central issue. Then, he went on to demonstrate that universalism was impossible because of 'racial differences'⁷⁰. In his following article, *Rasse und Auslese* (Race and Selection), he continued with the 'differences of races and the praise of the Germanic race'⁷¹. In the second issue, Riedweg wrote about the 'Germanic man' at the front, in an article entitled *Erbe und Zukunft* (Heritage and Future). According to him, in the fight against bolshevism at the front the renaissance of the 'Germanic man' took place. Even though the men had different nationalities, their 'Germanic heritage' was above their differences. They rediscovered their 'Germanic values' like obedience, courage and honour. This 'Germanic man' had become the 'political soldier', sharing its values with National Socialism. Finally, Riedweg insisted on the nobility of these 'Germanics' blood and that their destiny was to lead their homeland towards a 'Germanic Europe'⁷².

At the end of 1942, Riedweg is said to have founded the magazine *Aufbruch* (Renew), a monthly publication dedicated to his idea of a Europe based on equality and right wing socialism⁷³. Under the same title, he published a collection of 'Germanic volunteers' front letters, entitled *Briefe germanischer Kriegsfreiwilliger* (Letters of Germanic Volunteers). This book – quoting Himmler in the opening – aimed to represent the 'Germanic volunteers' as a community of fate in the fight against bolshevism⁷⁴.

In February 1943, Riedweg wanted to create a magazine specifically for the 'Germanic volunteers' at the front. The reason was not the soldiers at the front, but the publicity for the *Waffen-SS* in the volunteers' homeland. This magazine – entitled *Wiking* – was supposed to be published in German and in every other language spoken in the 'Germanic corps'⁷⁵. The last of the *GL*'s publications I know about is the *Germanisches Volksgericht* ('Germanic Peoples' Court') which – according to Riedweg – was a photographic collection of which we do not know the message.

68 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 15, Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft an den Präsidenten des Bundesstrafgerichts in den Bundesstrafsachen Franz Riedweg und 17 Mitangeklagte sowie Theodor Stadler, Beweisein-gabe, 14. Oktober 1947, p. 8.

69 Seidler, *op. cit.*, p. 450.

70 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, „Rasse und Universalismus“, gez. F.R., in *Germanische Gemeinschaft*, Folge 1, Herausgeber und Schriftleiter Dr. Franz Riedweg, 1942, pp. 16-17.

71 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, „Rasse und Auslese“, gez. F.R., in *Germanische Gemeinschaft*, Folge 1, Herausgeber und Schriftleiter Dr. Franz Riedweg, 1942, p. 48.

72 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, „Erbe und Zukunft“, gez. Franz Riedweg, in *Germanische Gemeinschaft*, Folge 2, Herausgeber und Schriftleiter Dr. Franz Riedweg, 1942, pp. 22-23.

73 AF, E 4320 (B), 1973/87, Bd. 10, Schweizerische Bundesanwaltschaft, Einvernahme Dr. Riedweg Franz, im Ausland, 13. November 1946, p. 11.

74 AfZ ETH Zurich, Nachlass Franz Riedweg / 5, *Aufbruch. Briefe germanischer Kriegsfreiwilliger*, Hrsg.: Der Reichsführer SS, SS-Hauptamt (Germanische Leitstelle), 1942, 101 p., copy.

75 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, Geheim, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes, Germanische Leitstelle, Amt VI, SS-Obersturm-bannführer Riedweg, an Ostufab. Dr. Brandt, Reichsführer-SS Persönlicher Stab, betr. Frontzeitung „Wi-king“, 12. Februar 1943, pp. 1-2.

The *GL*'s publications were distributed in Germany and the 'Germanic countries'⁷⁶. In Norway for instance, the *Germanische Leithefte* had in October 1942 a print run of 15,000⁷⁷. The magazine *Wiking* was also supposed to be distributed in all 'Germanic countries'⁷⁸. Furthermore, beside its own the *GL* also distributed other SS publications in the 'Germanic space', such as 60,000 copies of the booklet *Der Untermensch* (The Subhuman) in the Netherlands in October 1942⁷⁹. Moreover, in the framework of the SS 'Germanic policy', Riedweg bought publishing houses and edited newspapers in the 'Germanic countries'⁸⁰. This way the *GL* published the *Germaneren* in Norway, the *Hamer*, *Storm*, *Sibbe* and *Volksche Wacht* in the Netherlands and the *Famer* in Flanders. In the Netherlands, the *GL* even produced 'cultural films' on the 'Germanic people's propriety' (*Germanisches Volksgut*)⁸¹.

CONCLUSION

Riedweg and his office seem to have been very dedicated to the enforcement of non-German 'Germanic civilians'. The *GL*'s efforts in the field of the 'Germanic SS, youth, science and propaganda' were multifaceted and enormous. It created the 'Germanic SS' on the model of the German SS and educated its leaders to prepare them for a future European order inspired by SS 'Germanic ideals'. The youth was also targeted as it tried to bring its education into conformity with Germany through youth organisations based on the Hitler Youth and education institutions like *Napola*. SS 'science' was also promoted through collaboration with the Office of Ancestral Heritage in an aim to replace the science in these occupied countries with a 'Germanic science'. Finally, all the ideas about such things as the 'common Germanic heritage' and the 'fateful fight against bolshevism' for a 'Germanic Europe' were propagated by the *GL*'s very active press machine. The Swiss Franz Riedweg and his office were thus the executioners of the enforcement of SS standards on 'Germanic civilians'.

However, after disagreements with Himmler and Berger on the form the future 'Germanic Europe' was to have and on the treatment of volunteers, Riedweg was disowned, left his position as head of the *GL* and was muted to the front on 7 February 1944. He joined the *III. Germanisches Panzerkorps* (IIIrd Germanic Tank Corps) – which he had helped to create⁸² – upgraded to an *Obersturmbannführer* (Lieutenant-Colonel) and lived the end of the war as Adjutant of its commander Felix Steiner⁸³. As Himmler told Riedweg that he could imagine a Swiss or a Dutch as future president of a 'Germanic Reich', evidently, – as we know now

76 NAW, Procès verbaux d'auditions, Record Group 238, World War Two, War Crimes Records, International Military Tribunal: Office of U.S. Chief of Counsel for War Crimes, APO 124 A, Evidence Division, Interrogation Branch, Vernehmung des Dr. Franz Riedweg am 19.11.1947 von 14.00 – 16.30 Uhr durch Mr. Konrad Swart, Im Auftrag des Rijksinstituut voor Oorlogsdocumentatie in Amsterdam, Nuremberg, pp. 14-15.

77 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 4.

78 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, Geheim, Chef des SS-Hauptamtes, Germanische Leitstelle, Amt VI, SS-Obersturmbannführer Riedweg, an Ostubaf. Dr. Brandt, Reichsführer-SS Persönlicher Stab, betr. Frontzeitung „Wiking“, 12. Februar 1943, p. 2.

79 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 9.

80 Looock, op. cit., p. 61.

81 BA Berlin, NS 31/375, SS-Hauptamt-Amt VI, Monatsbericht / Oktober 1942, 20.11.1942, p. 4, 9, 12.

82 Wyss, op. cit., pp. 425-426.

83 *Ibid.*, p. 429.

– he was not sincere. Himmler thought it was useful to let his subalterns develop the idea of a European union, but he and Hitler never abandoned the idea of a ‘Great Germanic Reich’ governed from Berlin⁸⁴. Moreover, the aims of Riedweg and the *GL* themselves, when they propagated a ‘supranational racial community’, were not merely ideological. With the increasing importance of the non-German ‘Germanics’ in the *Waffen-SS*, it was necessary to give them and the ‘Germanic civilians’ prospects of a bright future to continue a successful recruitment⁸⁵.

Finally, it is hard to believe that Riedweg was fooled by Himmler. He certainly was aware that the enforcement of the non-German ‘Germanic civilians’ served the ultimate goal to prepare the Nazi, if not the SS, takeover of a ‘Germanic Europe’ directed from Berlin. Moreover, as head of the *GL*, he must have been aware that a large amount of the ‘Germanic propaganda’ served mainly to win new recruits for the bleeding *Waffen-SS*. It seems obvious that he tried to justify himself by partially referring to a Pan-European logic he had adhered to when he was a student. Nonetheless, he was not only a useful tool but also a driving force for the SS in the enforcement of its standards on non-German ‘Germanic civilians’.

84 Stein, *op. cit.*, p. 131.

85 Wegner, *op. cit.*, pp. 299-300.

Vernichtungskrieg: Strategy, Operations, and Genocide in the German Invasion of the Soviet Union, 1941¹

GEOFFREY P. MEGARGEE

For most of the past sixty years, most of the literature on the Nazi-Soviet war has suffered from a fundamental and artificial division in subject matter. Military historians have long devoted themselves to the sweep of armies across the vast spaces of the Soviet Union, usually to the exclusion of such topics as occupation policies. Holocaust historians, on the other hand, while sometimes displaying an awareness of military affairs, often lacked the expertise to discuss the war itself. Thus an ordinary reader could be excused for thinking that military strategy and operations, on the one hand, and occupation policy, on the other, had little or nothing to do with one another. That, of course, was exactly what many former German generals wanted people to believe.² The truth was very different, however. The actions of German military and paramilitary forces were as important for the Soviet civilian population as they were for the Red Army, and the consequences of those actions affected, in turn, the military situation that the Wehrmacht faced.

One does not often find a single document that sums up issues such as these. Among the documents that relate to Operation Barbarossa, however, there is one that highlights many of the connections between the military and genocidal aspects of the conflict. The document in question is an order issued by Field Marshal Walter von Reichenau, commander of Sixth Army, on October 10, 1941.³ I intend to examine that document point by point and use it to illustrate the interaction of civilian and military spheres during the campaign. The text begins thus:

Regarding the behavior of the troops in relation to the Bolshevik system, there still exist many unclear ideas.

The most important goal of the campaign against the Jewish-Bolshevik system is the complete destruction of its instruments of power and the eradication of the asiatic influence in the European cultural realm.

1 This paper is drawn from my recent work, *War of Annihilation: Combat and Genocide on the Eastern Front, 1941* (Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 2006). The opinions expressed herein are my own and do not necessarily reflect those of the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum.

2 For an examination of German efforts to create the image of the *Aclean* Wehrmacht, see Ronald M. Smelser and Edward J. Davies II, *The Myth of the Eastern Front: the Nazi-Soviet War in American Popular Culture* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2008).

3 This document can be found in a number of places. A facsimile is included in Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, hg., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht. Dimensionen des Vernichtungskrieges 1941-1944. Ausstellungskatalog*. (Hamburger Edition, 2002), 331; another, along with clear text, can be seen on the website NS Archiv: Dokumente zur Nationalsozialismus (<http://www.ns-archiv.de/krieg/untermenschen/reichenau-befehl.php>). It is also quoted in several works, including Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden: Die Wehrmacht und die sowjetischen Kriegsgefangenen 1941-1945*, 2d ed. (Bonn: Dietz, 1997), 115. Emphasis in the original. This translation is the author's.

The key point here is the conflation of identities: Jewish, Bolshevik, and asiatic. In the Nazi mind and in the wider right-wing German mind of the period these were the entities against which Germany was fighting. The fear of the so-called asiatic hordes had a long history, of course. The idea of Jewish-Bolshevism was of more recent vintage but necessarily, since Bolshevism itself was relatively new. It came to the fore in the years following the First World War, and the effort to fight it eventually formed the basis for a natural alliance between the army, which was staunchly conservative, and the Nazi Party, even before the latter took power.⁴ The appearance of such phrases in an army order is an indication of the extent to which many of the senior generals believed in the Nazi cause, and this is certainly not the first time that the troops were exposed to them.

In this connection there also exist tasks for the troops that go beyond the traditional, one-sided definition of a soldier. The soldier in the east is not only a combattant according to the rules of warfare, but also the bearer of an inexorable racial idea and the avenger of all the bestialities that have been committed against the German and related peoples.

Therefore the soldier must have full understanding for the necessity of the harsh but justified punishment of the Jewish subhumans. It has the further purpose of forestalling uprisings in the rear of the armed forces, which experience shows were always instigated by Jews.

Here again, the ideological side of the war stands out. The Germans fought both for Lebensraum, living space, and to ensure the survival of the so-called Aryan race. The fate of the Slavs in the east was immaterial, while the Jews were to be eradicated. Note Reichenau's use of such phrases as "harsh but justified punishment" and "Jewish subhumans." Such so-called punishment had been going on from nearly the start of the campaign, in the form of point-blank shootings of Jewish men, women, and children, as well as Communists and the handicapped. The massacre at Babi Yar, for example, in which nearly 34,000 people lost their lives, took place less than two weeks before Reichenau issued his order, and in his army's rear area.

One should also note Reichenau's remark to the effect that such punishment would also forestall uprisings that Jews instigate. That conflates Judaism, not just with Bolshevism, but also with partisan activity. The threat of partisan warfare is a theme with a long history within German military thinking. The Germans first encountered a serious partisan threat during Prussia's war with France in 1870-71.⁵ Their reaction then, and in the decades since, had been to apply the maximum possible level of brutality, in an effort to cow the populace into submission, if not outright collaboration. That approach was clear in the First World War, when the Germans executed hostages, razed villages, destroyed cultural monuments, and even used civilians as human shields.⁶ In the Second World War such policies became much

4 On the ideological background to the conflict, see esp. Omer Bartov, *Mirrors of Destruction* (Oxford, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2000); George Mosse, *The Crisis of German Ideology: Intellectual Origins of the Third Reich*, 2d ed. (New York: Schocken Books, 1981) and same, *Fallen Soldiers: Reshaping the Memory of the World Wars* (Oxford University Press, 1990); and Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889-1936: Hubris* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1999) and *Hitler: 1936-1945: Nemesis* (W.W. Norton, 2000).

5 On this conflict, see Geoffrey Wawro, *The Franco-Prussian War: The German Conquest of France in 1870-1871* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 2003).

6 See John Horne and Alan Kramer, *German Atrocities, 1914: A History of Denial* (New Haven: Yale Univ.

more widespread. When the army's leaders were planning Operation Barbarossa, they faced a problem with something our army today calls rear area security. The German army had a vast amount of territory to control and too few troops with which to do it. Thus the generals were quite happy to accept the assistance of the SS Einsatzgruppen, Waffen-SS, and Order Police units to assist the army's security divisions and military police in keeping the population under control. Even though they knew of those units' real role. After the war, many former officers would claim ignorance of the SS's activities, but that is nonsense. As, in fact, this order also demonstrates.

Note, also, that the Germans' attempt to defeat this threat in the USSR was largely preemptive, especially at this stage; by October 1941 there had in fact been little sign of organized resistance. There were indications that such might emerge, including orders from Stalin to begin a partisan campaign against the invader, but there was little to show for such orders yet. Some historians have stated that the so-called antipartisan campaign was merely an excuse to wipe out the Jews, but one could perhaps more accurately say that the Wehrmacht's leaders applied a veneer of so-called military necessity, in which they really believed, over a genocidal policy of which they generally approved in any case.

The battle against the enemy behind the front is still not being taken seriously enough. Insidious, cruel partisans and degenerate women are still being taken as prisoners of war; snipers and tramps, half-uniformed or in civilian clothes, are being handled like decent soldiers and taken away to the detention camps. Yes, the captured Russian officers tell sneeringly that the agents of the Soviets move about unhindered on the streets and frequently eat with the German troops at their field kitchens. Such behavior by the troops is only to be explained through complete lack of thought. This, however, is the time for the superiors to evoke the meaning of the present fight.

Here Reichenau is reminding the troops of the instructions they had received before the campaign even began.⁷ The high commands of the armed forces and of the army had disseminated a series of orders that spring, orders that included the following points:

- Any resistance to German rule was to be suppressed with the utmost brutality. As one order put it: A Self-assured and ruthless behavior toward anti-German elements will prove an effective preventive means.⁸
- Civilians accused of crimes would not be tried by military courts; anyone suspected of a crime would be brought before an officer, who would decide whether or not the suspect was to be shot. Any overt resistance was to be crushed by the troops on the spot.
- Where individual offenders could not be identified, an officer in the position of battalion commander or higher could authorize A collective measures@ against a locality from

Press, 2001), and also Alan Kramer, *Dynamic of Destruction: Culture and Mass Killing in the First World War* (Oxford, New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 2007).

7 For facsimiles of the orders mentioned here, see Hamburger Institut für Sozialforschung, hg., *Verbrechen der Wehrmacht*.

8 Quoted in Jürgen Förster, A Operation Barbarossa as a War of Conquest and Annihilation, @ in *Germany and the Second World War*, ed. Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt (Research Institute for Military History), vol. 4, *The Attack on the Soviet Union* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1996), 485-486.

which an attack took place.

- There was no obligation to prosecute a member of the Wehrmacht who committed a crime against a civilian, even if the crime constituted an offense against military law.
- Political commissars/Buniformed members of the Red Army/Bwere to be shot upon capture by the front-line troops.

As Reichenau pointed out, the troops had obviously not been following such instructions carefully enough. Reichenau's order was one of many that would enjoin the soldiers to act in accordance with National Socialist dogma.

Feeding of local inhabitants and prisoners of war who are not in service with the Wehrmacht, at troops' kitchens, is exactly as misplaced a human gesture as is giving away cigarettes and bread. What the homeland spares, what the leadership brings forward under great difficulties, the soldier is not to give away to the enemy, also not when it comes from booty, which is a necessary part of our supply.

Here the great lie: that the homeland is suffering so that soldiers can have what they need.

One of the lesser-known German policies is what historians have come to call the Hunger Plan. This plan arose from two parallel concerns. The army's planners knew, long before Barbarossa began, that the available transportation assets would not be sufficient for the army's needs. They decided to give priority to ammunition, fuel, and other military supplies, while the troops lived off the land. At the same time, the Reich Food Ministry was worried that food shortages in Germany might spark the same kind of political unrest that had led-Bor so many Germans believedBto defeatism and surrender on the home front in the First World War. And so the army and the Ministry met and, in May 1941, agreed that so-called surplus food from the USSR's more fertile regions would be confiscated for the benefit of the Wehrmacht and German civilians. They defined Asurplus@ as the food that normally went to feed people in the less fertile regions of the USSR and in the cities. In the memo they produced, they estimated that Aumpteen@ million Soviet citizens would have to starve; that figure was later refined to 30 million.⁹

The authorities did not count on the fact that, for one thing, soldiers at the front would feel sympathy for the plight of starving women, children, and old people, and would give back with one hand what they had taken with the other. For that and other reasons, the Hunger Plan was only a partial success--but even then, millions of POWs and civilians suffered and died as a result.

The Soviets have frequently set fire to buildings during their retreat. The troops have an interest in firefighting only inasmuch as necessary troop accommodations must be preserved. Furthermore, the disappearance of the symbols of the former sovereignty of the Bolsheviks, also in the form of buildings, falls within the context of the battle of annihilation. Neither historical nor artistic considerations play a role in this regard here in the eastern territory. The command will issue the necessary directives for the maintenance of economically important raw materials and production sites.

⁹ For a discussion of the hunger plan, see Christian Gerlach, *Krieg, Ernährung, Völkermord: Forschungen zur deutschen Vernichtungspolitik im Zweiten Weltkrieg* (Hamburg: Hamburger Edition, 1998).

Here we see the influence of the theory of total war, which appeared during the First World War; it was more a loose collection of assumptions than a governing doctrine, but it did shape German policy. It held, for one thing, that every source of enemy strength was a legitimate target. Such targets could include sources of moral strength for the enemy civilian population, since civilians supported the war effort. Thus the reference here to the idea that destroying buildings falls within the context of the battle of annihilation: the Wehrmacht considered such actions justified according to the idea of Amilitary necessity, @ which, according to prewar German legal thinking, would always trump any Alaws of war. @

The complete disarmament of the population in the rear of the fighting troops is urgent, considering the long, vulnerable supply chain; where possible, captured weapons and ammunition are to be recovered and guarded. Should the military situation not allow that, weapons and munitions are to be made unusable. If it is established that individual partisans are acting under arms in the rear of the army, drastic measures are to be taken. These are also to extend to the male population that would have been in a position to hinder or report attacks. The nonparticipation of many allegedly anti-Soviet elements, which springs from a Await-and-see @ attitude, must be turned to a clear decision for active collaboration against Bolshevism. If not, then no one can complain of being judged and handled as a follower of the Soviet system. The terror of German countermeasures must be stronger than the threat from fragmentary Bolshevik elements that are wandering around.

Here again we see the emphasis on applying maximum brutality in order to control the population. Such an approach, when paired with the often equally brutal tactics of the Soviet partisans, guaranteed that the civilians in the middle would suffer terribly, with each side demanding support, and punishing cooperation with the enemy, often on the flimsiest of pretexts.

We should also note that the Along, vulnerable supply chain @ to which the order refers was, after all, a byproduct of the Germans' strategic and operational concepts, and a predictable one at that. By deciding on a ground invasion of the Soviet Union, using fast-moving armored spearheads, the Germans set themselves up for logistical difficulties, especially in a country with a primitive infrastructure. By alienating and abusing the civilian population, they also guaranteed a lack of security in their rear.

And now for the conclusion of the order:

Far from all future political considerations, the soldier has to fulfill two different goals:

- 1) *the complete destruction of misleading Bolshevik doctrine, the Soviet state and its armed forces;*
- 2) *the merciless eradication of foreign insidiousness and cruelty, thereby securing the life of the German Wehrmacht in Russia.*

Only thus will we do justice to our historic task, to free the German people from the Asiatic-Jewish danger once and for all.

One can only marvel at the depth of the xenophobia and racism in those words. No wonder so many Soviet civilians, especially those old enough to remember the last great conflict, experienced such shock at German behavior. They remembered that German troops had, on the whole, acted in a civilized manner the last time they were in Russia. Now the Russians confronted a truly genocidal force, a force that was apparently so convinced of its own superiority that it was willing to kill millions of other people in its quest for domination.

And what of the order itself? Reichenau sent a copy to Gerd von Rundstedt, commander of Army Group South, who liked it so much that he had copies sent to his other army commanders and the commander of his rear area. Hitler also got a copy, and insisted that it go to every unit on the eastern front.

We cannot easily gauge the effect the order had on ordinary German troops; in an army of millions, there is room, of course, for nearly every opinion imaginable. From the letters that many German troops wrote, we know that a significant proportion of them shared Reichenau's opinions. They had, after all, heard them many times before. At the same time, however, senior commanders rarely feel obligated to explain policy matters to their troops. This order's existence is thus an indication, and indeed it states explicitly, that not all troops were toeing the Nazi line. Many of them acted decently within the narrow scope afforded them, even while many of them believed in the fundamental rightness of their cause.

The Soviets, naturally, had a different perspective. By the time this order came out, they had already formed an understanding of what German victory would mean. Here the Germans' statements and actions backfired strategically. They succeeded in the difficult task of convincing many Soviet citizens that Nazism was worse than Stalinism. Their reward would be unrelenting resistance and brutality at the front and behind it, culminating in defeat and destruction for the Reich they thought they were protecting.

Military demographic losses and recovery - the case of 20th century Russia

M MAYZEL

The purpose of this paper is to explore the question of the huge losses in human life in the wars of Russia in the 20th century, and the associated problem of demographic recovery of Russian/Soviet military [and society]. Casualties, i.e. human losses in war, are, by definition, an essential component of war. It would be very difficult to exaggerate its significance for the conduct of war, for the theoretical study of war and for knowledge of military history. Yet this is the one subject least discussed in theoretical and historical literature on war. In this paper I would like to present one case, of Russia/USSR in the past century, in which the problem of casualties took gigantic proportions. As a matter of analysis of wars in the 20th century, the era of mass industrial wars, I shall try to compare this case with other cases of great human losses, of different forms, structure, causes and results.

Russia suffered great losses of population in the 20th century. These were caused by a number of factors: war, famine, epidemics, forced labor, and political repression. The demographic disasters varied in size and dimension, from a few million dead (military and non-military) in WWI and during the Civil War to tens of millions in the 1930s and in WWII. Indeed, the argument that Russian history is paved with events entailing great population losses is one of the fundamental historical perceptions of Russia, complementing the popular (however unproven) notion of Russian disregard for human life. Many of the accusations, directed at the autocratic regime of the Russian Empire, and the political and ideological debate on the Soviet Union, revolved around the problem of human losses. This problem is pivotal to the historical judgment of the rule of Stalin, and is the basis for the great historical significance of WWII. The first half of the 20th century in Russia is a period of demographic disasters of huge magnitude. In the present paper I shall concentrate only on Russia/USSR military human losses, suspending the discussion on non-military casualties. However, one has to make clear one very important point, that even though that the greatest losses of human life in Russia's history were non-military they occurred during and as an essential part of the greatest military event of them all - WWII.

Let us look at Russia's wars in the 20th century. These are concentrated in the first half of the century, and only a small number of small-scale military engagements occurred in the second half of the century. It is, perhaps, an illustration to the changing nature of war and changes in the patterns of how states conduct their affairs in the international arena. Only military casualties are discussed here, as different from other causes of human losses, such as famine, epidemics, and others.

Here is the list, in chronological order:

The war with Japan, 1904-05, which was one of the most salient military events of its era, a precursor of the First World War. Russian casualties in this war were 31,630 soldiers and officers, both land forces and naval [including in the naval battle of Tsushima] killed. In ad-

dition, 11,170 soldiers and officers died of sickness and disease. Japanese casualties, according to Russian official sources and other European sources of the time, were 49,400 killed. To this number one has to add those who died of combat injuries, all together more than 58,800 killed. To these it is necessary to add about 27,200 who died of sickness and disease. Japanese casualties, then, were clearly much higher than those of the Russian Army.¹ An American contemporary medical source gives very interesting data on Japanese casualties. 43,892 killed on the field, about three and a half as many - 145,527 - combat injuries, over 9,000 of which died of their wounds, almost 7 and a half thousand died of disease and more than 4,500 of contagious disease. Thus Japanese human losses at that war were 64,938, much higher figure than the one given by the Soviet historian. Thus, in terms of military ability, Japan certainly could not continue the war. Moreover, even during the war with Japan the great majority of the Russian Army was stationed in the European part of the empire. Giving the size of the population of the Russian Empire [almost 141 and a half millions at the beginning of 1904, almost 144 millions at the beginning of 1905], in terms of demographic impact, the war of 1904-5 did not have any effect on Russian population and, of course, on the demographic basis for the armed forces.

From 1905 to 1907 there were a series of empire-wide peasants' rebellions, suppressed by the army. Most casualties were peasants civilians, data is hardly available, its accuracy is highly suspected, thus it would not be discussed here.

The First World War was one of the two greatest and most destructive wars of the 20th century, yet it is dwarfed in comparison to the huge human losses and destruction of the Second World War. On the Russian front WWI ended in gradual manner, thus it has a number of termination dates, from November 1916 to November 1917. The formal diplomatic end-of-war treaty was signed in Brest-Litovsk only in march 1918 [8 months before the cease-fire on the Western front]. In this war Russia fought on two fronts, one against the weaker enemy, the Ottoman Empire, on the Caucasian front. The main front, however, was in Europe, against the German Empire and her allies - the Habsburg Empire and Bulgaria. Unlike the front in Western Europe, the front between Russia and her enemies was dynamic, shifting, ultimately involved great territorial losses for Russia. This of course involved also great reduction in size of the population.

The scope of Russian casualties in WWI is a matter of debate. The numbers given by different sources vary to high degree, but for our purpose in the present paper we can accept the data suggested by General N. N. Golovine [of the Russian Imperial Army] of 1,260,000 which includes killed on the field and missing in action.² To this one has to add death because of sickness and disease, approximately 43,400 men. This has to be compared with combat losses of other European power: Germany's combat losses, dead and missing, were 1,531,200. The entire British Empire suffered 908,371 dead soldiers and officers.³ France

1 B. Ts. Urlanis, *Istoriia voennykh poteri* [St.-Peterburg, 1994], pp. 133-4; pp. 288. L. L. Seaman, *The Real Triumph of Japan* [New York, 1906], pp. 4-5.

2 B. Ts. Urlanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 141-150. N. N. Golovine, *The Russian Army in the World War* [New Haven, Co, 1931], pp. 86-93.

3 Quoted in Urlanis, *op. cit.*, pp. 150, 154-5.

suffered much greater losses than her allies or enemies, in sum 1,397,800 dead.⁴ Of course, each of the other European powers had much smaller demographic basis than Russia. The impact of these great losses on French society and politics were widely discussed in political and historical literature, and it is a matter of debate even today. On the other hand, French society had a period of peace - 20 years - to recover from these losses. No so for Russia. The First World War was followed by the Revolution, then civil war, combined with famine, epidemics, and vast emigration.

For the whole length of WWI Russia mobilized the largest army of all warring countries - approximately 15,798,000 soldiers, compared with France - 7,891,000, Great Britain - 5,704,000, and Germany - 13,200,000 mobilized soldiers. In September 1917, practically the end of the war in Russia, the Russian Army [no more "Imperial"] reached its numerical peak, somewhat over 9,000,000 men. This, among other things, proves the fallacy of Lenin's famous saying that the Russian soldiers opposed the war and deserted in mass, by 'voting with their feet'. In fact Russian soldiers [and officers] did not desert the army, they were revolutionary **and** patriotic, they hated the Germans and they stayed on to fight. In terms of casualties as part of the whole army, Russia's losses were lower than some other powers: Of every 1,000 mobilized Russian soldiers 115 died in the war, compared with 168 per 1,000 in the French army, 125 in Britain, 154 in Germany. Other countries suffered even greater losses: The Ottoman Empire - 268, and Romania - 250 dead per 1,000. Because of her large population the demographic impact of the military death was felt less in Russia than in other countries: Of every 1,000 Russian males of 15 to 49 years of age 45 died in the war, compared with 133 in France, 62 of the British army, 125 of the German army. Of the entire population of the country, in Russia 11 died for every 1,000 persons, compared with 34 in France, 16 in Britain, 30 in Germany. The greatest losses occurred in Serbia: 371 dead of ever 1,000 mobilized, 227 of every 1,000 males 15 to 49 years of age, 57 of every 1,000 of the total population [less than 5 millions].

Needless to say, these great human losses of the First World War, especially of males in their productive years [both economically and biologically] have an enormous effect on Russian society and politics. Yet this effect cannot be measured, because of two main reasons: the poor state of vital records and statistics in Russia, then and later, and because the war was immediately followed by revolution and another major war, famine and epidemics. Therefore the demographic and social results of each of these major historical events cannot be isolated and differentiated from the others. Society did not have time to recover from one catastrophe before it was hit by the next.

In 1916 erupted a revolt of indigenous people in Central Asia, in the Guberniyas [provinces] of Turkestan and Semirechi [mainly Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan of today]. The overwhelming numbers of casualties in this event, some hundreds of thousands, were ethnic natives of the region as against only negligible Russian losses, civilian and military. However it did have an effect on what became later Soviet population development. As it is an event of civilian losses it is outside the terms of the present discussion.

The Russian revolution, for the sake of the present discussion, is defined here in very narrow chronological terms, from February to October 1917. While the Russian Army was a

4 M. Huber, *La population de la France pendant la guerre* [Paris, 1931], p. 414.

major participant in the events of the Revolution, military losses of the Revolution [as different from the war] were very small, thus it will not be discussed here.

The Civil War in Russia came in continuation of the First World War in Russia. It started in July 1918, ended formally in early 1920, but in fact continued in series of rebellions in some outlying parts of Soviet Russia and these brought suppression operations by the Red Army. There are great methodological difficulties in acquiring data on military casualties, and generally on demographic losses. Soviet statistics and census result are insufficient and problematic. Data on the 'White', anti--Soviet forces and the areas under their rule are even more difficult to obtain and are even more problematic than data on the Soviet side. Estimates range between 2 and 5 millions deaths during the years of the Civil War in Russia, mostly civilians, mostly because of famine and disease. In regards to military losses, without going into too many details, the best estimate for the present discussion is that combat losses of the Red Army in the years from 1918 to 1922 were almost 940,000. This includes killed in action, died of injuries, missing in action, POW that did not return, and those who died of disease. It is assumed that losses of the 'White' armies were similar to those of the Red Army. This includes also losses in the war with Poland, in which Poland suffered over 250,000 casualties of all kinds.⁵

During this period there were series of peasants rebellion in Russia, mainly on the Volga, in 1918-22. The best known is the Tambov Rebellion [named in Russian *Antonovshchina* after its best known leader Aleksandr Antonov]. These were suppressed in military operations by the Red Army, employing artillery, air power, and chemical weapons. There were approximately 250,000 dead, mainly civilians, mainly of famine and disease.

Irrecoverable losses in the inter-war period. These numbers, given by Soviet sources of the 'Perestroika' era, are very low, perhaps much lower than estimates by other, mainly non-Soviet sources:

Against the 'Basmachi' [Basmachestvo], 1922-1931: 626 Soviet deaths.

Sino - Soviet conflict, October-November 1929: 187 Soviet deaths.

'Volunteers' in the 'Military assistance to the Spanish Republic', 1936-1939: 158 Soviet deaths.

Military assistance to China, 1937-1939: 195 Soviet deaths.

Soviet - Japanese armed clashes on Lake Khasan, on the border of the USSR, Korea and China [Manchuria/Manchukuo], 30 July-12 August 1938: 989 Soviet deaths.

Campaign against the Japanese Kwantung Army on the river Khalkhin-Gol [on the most eastern point of the border of Mongolia and Manchuria/Manchukuo], June-September 1939: 8,931 Soviet deaths. According to these Soviet sources the Japanese forces suffered 61,000 casualties, about 25,000 of them killed, while Japanese sources give only 8,440 killed.

Occupation of Western Ukraine and Western Byelorussia, 17 September to 2 October

5 G. F. Krivosheev [General editor], *Grif sekresnosti snyat. Poteri vooruzhennykh sil SSSR v voynakh, boyevykh deistviyakh i voennykh konfliktov* [Moskva, 1993]. Translated into English as *Soviet casualties and combat losses in the twentieth century* [London, 1997], pp. 26-7. Iu. A. Polyakov, *Sovetskaya strana posle okonchaniya grazhdanskoi voyny: territoriya i naselenie* [Moskva, 1986], pp. 102-3. V. A. Isupov, *Demograficheskiye katastrofy i krizisy v Rossii* [Novosibirsk, 2000], pp. 62-3. Uralis, op. cit., pp. 180-88.

1939: 1,139 Soviet deaths.

The “Winter War” with Finland, 30 November 1939 to 13 March 1940: 126,875 Soviet deaths [71,214 killed in action and died during casualty evacuation, 16,292 died in hospitals, 39,369 missing in action never returned].⁶

The longest, and certainly the most lethal and destructive war fought by Russia/USSR was The Great Motherland War, as the Second World War on the Russian front is called in Russian/Soviet terminology. It was fought for 1,418 days, just a little less than 4 years, from June 1941 to May 1945 against Germany and her allies in Europe. It was followed with a war against Japan in August 1945. Undoubtedly it was the greatest and most lethal and destructive war in history. It was fought mainly on Soviet soil, occupied the overwhelmingly greater part of the Wehrmacht, in which both opposing military forces - the Red/Soviet Army and the Wehrmacht suffered most of their losses. When the war started the Red Army had already more than 4,826,900 men in service. During the war 29,574,900 persons - men and women - were mobilized, in all 34,476,000 men served in the Soviet armed forces during the war. On June 1941, on the eve of the war, the population of the Soviet Union was 196,700,000 persons.⁷ It was, then, an extremely high rate of mobilization, approximately 17.5% of the total population, probably the highest in modern history. The turnover in manpower in the war was 21,700,000, that is 62.9% of all persons mobilized.

Of these 34 and a half millions mobilized Soviet citizens 11,944,100 persons were operational ‘irrecoverable losses’, i.e. killed in battle, died of disease, MIA and POWs, or perished because of another reason, never to return to service.⁸ Thus for every 1,000 persons mobilized 346 were killed, died, or perished because of another cause. Of the total population of the USSR in 1941 the military operational irrecoverable losses were 61 for every 1,000. The demographic irrecoverable losses were somewhat smaller: almost a million soldiers, left in encirclements and occupied areas were re-conscripted when those areas were liberated. Of approximately 5 millions POWs lost to the Red Army, only slightly more than 1,800,000 returned [the others died in captivity]. The net demographic irrecoverable losses were, then, 8,668,400 persons.⁹ Clearly a comparison with other countries is needed. The Western Allies suffered only a fraction of Soviet losses, Britain suffered 382,600 war deaths in WWII, and the U.S. had 407,300. Germany suffered very heavy losses, 5,500,000 military deaths, but even this is much lower than that of the USSR.¹⁰

Demographic losses of the USSR in WWII were much greater. It is estimated, and this number is accepted by most researchers, that Second World War deaths in the Soviet Union were 26 to 27 million.¹¹ This is over 13% of the pre-war population, indeed a shocking number. As for the military losses, the structure of these losses, in age groups, is of great im-

6 G. F. Krivosheev, *Soviet casualties and combat losses in the twentieth century*, pp. 40-82.

7 *Naselenie Rossii v XX veke, Istoricheskii ocherki*, t. 2 [Moskva, 2001], p. 13

8 *Naselenie Rossii v XX veke, Istoricheskii ocherki*, t. 2 [Moskva, 2001], p. 26-27.

9 G. F. Krivosheev, *Soviet casualties and combat losses in the twentieth century*, p. 85.

10 R diger Overmans. *Deutsche militärische Verluste im Zweiten Weltkrieg*. Oldenbourg, 2000. G. F. Krivosheev, *Soviet casualties and combat losses in the twentieth century*, p. 276

11 Michael Ellman and S. Maksudov, “Soviet deaths in the Great Patriotic War: A Note” in *Europe-Asia Studies*, vol. 46, no. 4, pp. 671-680.

portance. Of the 8,668,400 irrecoverable deaths, 1,560,300 were 20 years of age or younger. Indeed towards the end of the war the mobilization machine reached the bottom of the demographic barrel and started to recruit younger men. 1,907,000 deaths were of the age 21 to 25, 1,517,000 were 26 - 30, 1,430,000 were 31 - 35, 1,040,200 age 36 - 40, 639,000 age 41 - 45, 433,400 age 46 - 50, 86,700 were older than 51 years.¹² In this way the war decimated the vital and most productive segment of the population, it destroyed a very large part of the central age group of the Soviet society. More than previous wars, destructive as they were, WWII arrested the development of Soviet population, hence Soviet society and, of course, Soviet/Russian military. Its effects are seen clearly even in our days, almost three generations later.

12 Lyudskie poteri SSSR v Velikoi Otechestvennoi Voine [St. Peterburg, 1995], p. 78.

Asymmetric Warfare at sea. One Italian family against three Navies

BENNY MICHELSON

CREATING A NAVY – SEARCHING FOR WEAPONS

Captain “Sea-wolf” (Volodia Izkovitz), may be the most capable seaman in Palestine, at the time, was sent in March 1948, two months before Israel became independent, by David Ben Gurion to purchase naval equipment in Italy. He had to acquire ships in order to establish the backbone of the Israeli, just borne, Navy. Captain Sea-wolf began to search Italy from south to north, looking for related items. After purchasing some Patrol Boats and Landing crafts he reaches Livorno, where in the harbor, he observed, a small boat in bad conditions and without engine, as a professional sailor with experience in the British navy during World War 2 he recognized it immediately. During the war it was a threatening weapon who receives great respect by the English fleet. The Captain had intention to find those boats for the Israeli navy. He acquired the boat with 50 \$, measured it and took several pictures by his camera. Afterwards he returns to Palestine.¹

Captain Sea-wolf reported twice to Ben-Gurion during April regarding his purchasing in Italy but didn’t mention those special boats.² Only after the purchasing of the Patrol Boats and the Landing Crafts, began the Captain to deal with the small special boats. During May 1948, after returning to Italy he made continues effort to find those boats. After consulting the MOSSAD chief in Zeneve, Saul Avigur, he approaches the uncle of his wife, Efraim Ilin, a successful textile merchant who lived in Italy and was involved in the MOSSAD efforts to purchase weapons for the newly born state of Israel. The Captain met him in Milan and asks him to assist in finding the source of the boats and to finance the purchasing. Ilin become enthusiastic regarding that special weapon who might gave an advantage to the young navy who doesn’t had any capital ships but was full with brave and patriotic warriors. Ilin began to ask ship agents that had business connection with him about the boats. When he approaches, one of his friends, Commandant Fermuda, that person understood immediately the subject and directed him to the right place - a factory near Milan by the name CABI-CATTANEO. The Commandant told to Ilin that the Company produces during the war the assault-boats (Medzi-Assalto) for the Italian Navy but as far as he knows, that company is now under bankruptcy and nobody exist to speak with. He add also that he is not sure if any boat exist because after the war, the conditions of the surrender agreement of Italy to the allies includes a definite commitment to destroy all the stock of those boats, to deliver the manufacturing plans and not developing or producing such boats or similar in the future. Nevertheless, Ilin decide to try is fortune. At the beginning he tries to reach CABI by phone but no answer, finally he took his car and drive to the factory. When arriving he understood in short time that this is a business in bankruptcy. Three years after the war, all Italian MOD and Navy orders

1 Captain Sea-wolf, *Ships Stories*, Tel Aviv, 1968, p.34.

2 David Ben-Gurion, *the War Diary*, Tel Aviv, 1983, p. 299.

were canceled; nobody else was interested in their products and without income the company had to be closed. During that time the process of liquidation was in progress. Ilin observes negligibility and gunk all over, only one sentry was at the gate. After a short conversation the guardian offers to call the account that works inside the building for the dismantling. Ilin accept the offer and in ten minutes the account arrives. It was a respectful and nice person and in a short time Illin develops with him understanding and friendship relations. They had a long conversation including a nice dinner and Illin learn everything about CABI-CATTANEO and the owners.³ Incidentally, the Israeli agent, met two of the most capable and famous engineering inventors in the 20th century.

GIUSTINO AND GUIDO CATTANEO

C.A.B.I. Cattaneo was established in 1936 by Giustino Cattaneo and his son Guido. C.A.B.I. is the acronym of Cattaneo Applicazione Brevetti Industriali.⁴

In 1905 Isotta Fraschini, who became one of the famous Italian automobile company, hired engineer Giustino Cattaneo to be Isotta-Fraschini's technical director. This would prove to be one of the greatest decisions ever made by the company, as Cattaneo, through his endeavors with Isotta-Fraschini, would become one of the greatest Italian engineers of all times.

The acceptance and praise of Isotta-Fraschini in these early years can largely be credited to the company's successes on the racetrack, of which there were many. Winning a race in the budding years of the automobile industry not only earned a company excellent promotion, but it proved to be the ultimate display of reliability, something that was not automatically assumed by customers when buying a new vehicle.

However, the first Isotta-Fraschini race car designed by Giustino Cattaneo may be the most famous, and certainly not for its racing success. The Isotta-Fraschini Tipo-D race car was powered by a 17,195 cubic centimeter, (1,050 cubic inch) four-cylinder engine. This massive roadster did not last the first lap, but it taught Cattaneo an important lesson: more than power was needed to win a race. Just one year after Cattaneo was hired to lead product development, Isotta-Fraschini managed to secure second place behind Fiat as *Italy's largest producer of automobiles*. The 300 automobiles they built in 1906 were a far cry from Fiat's 1,800 but, given the company's relative infancy, this was quite an achievement.

Seeking further advantages in Isotta-Fraschini's now very successful racing campaigns, the company began working on a *four-wheel braking* system that would improve the car's performance dynamics. Confident with the new design, they decided to showcase four-wheel braking to the general public at the 1910 Paris Auto Salon on one of their production vehicles. The innovation was received with widespread skepticism. Pioneers in front-wheel braking had found that attempting to slow down the front wheels of a vehicle in motion created dangerous instability, and everyone had given up on the idea, save one man. *Cattaneo picked up where all others had failed*, and managed to create a four-wheel braking system that was inherently balanced, providing equal braking force to the front wheels no matter the steering input or position.

3 Ilin Efraim, *Sign by him*, Tel Aviv, 2002, chapter 17.

4 www.cabicattaneo.it.

WORLD WAR ONE

Giustino's design and manufacturing skills were demonstrated in World War One, with the extensive use of his unique designs in Italian Air Force aircraft, especially flying boats. He also developed and manufactured the engines for the celebrated MAS Torpedo Boats.

On the Adriatic theater of operations, specialized aircraft and a plethora of small craft took over the duties of the absent capital ships at the Italian side. Most of all, fast, flat-bottomed motor torpedo boats and gunboats did the main work of the battleships and destroyers, deterring the small but nonetheless powerful Austro-Hungarian battle squadron from all but one, disastrous sortie. All the while, the small boats were tireless in raiding enemy anchorages, escorting coastal convoys, and supporting infantry with naval gunfire.

Naval Aviation. In support of these varied surface craft, Italy developed an extraordinary range of water-based, high-performance fighters, bombers, and reconnaissance airplanes. Along the Adriatic, Austria-Hungary and Italy faced each other across 75-100 miles of water along a front stretching 400-500 miles. Aircraft could attack almost any point along the enemy coast, provided that airbases could be found close to the water. This was frequently a problem for landplanes, however, particularly in Italy. To the south of Venice, the malarial swamps, mudflats, dunes, and drainage canals of the *Maremma* provided few suitable fields reasonably close to the coast. Much of the land further west was, in any case, rice paddy, subject to periodic inundations by the Po and its tributaries. This same area was, however, amply supplied with small anchorages, sheltered canals, and fishing ports that could support marine aircraft.

Italian industrial capacity was still modest when war commenced. Italy could not supply sufficient numbers of indigenous warplanes. So Italy relied heavily on imported and license-built foreign types. Obtaining adequate numbers of coastal patrol and convoy escort aircraft posed a particular problem given Italy's long coastline. Accordingly, the *Regia Marina* imported large numbers of French FBA flying boats. These were somewhat small for use in the North Sea and the Bay of Biscay, so they were not used extensively by the French and British, who preferred longer legged Curtiss, Felixstowe, and Tellier boats. Over the short ranges typical of the Adriatic, FBAs were entirely satisfactory, however. FBAs were used extensively for antisubmarine patrol, convoy escort, and general, maritime reconnaissance.

The first successful indigenous type, the Macchi Type L general-purpose flying boat, was a direct copy of an Austrian captured Lohner Type L, made at the express request of the Italian authorities. Some batches of the aircraft introduced a semi-enclosed cabin for the crew or a different, rounded fin and rudder, but all were essentially similar to their Austrian originals. An *Isotta-Fraschini V4B*, designed by *Giustino Cattaneo* substituted for the Austro-Daimler of the captured machine. Bombs, depth charges, and 6.5-mm Revelli machineguns were the usual armament. But many carried a 25-mm, quick-firing Revelli cannon instead, often supplemented by a twin-barreled, 9-mm Vilar-Perosa submachine gun.

By combining its experience reverse engineering the Lohner with that gained from license manufacturer of Nieuport scouts, Macchi went on to produce the most successful flying boat fighter of all time, the *Macchi M.5*. This combined the Ls Lohner-like hull and *V4B* engine (*V6B* in late-production machines) with the graceful sequin-plane wings of a Nieuport 17. The resulting boat was fast (117 mph) and maneuverable enough to fight landplanes

on almost equal terms. Early models were armed with the unreliable, 6.5-mm FIAT-Revelli machine gun, but later aircraft substituted a pair of Vickers guns. In 1918, M.5s were starting to be replaced by the Macchi M.7, which standardized on the *more powerful Gustino's improved V6B engine*⁵ and introduced a new wing cellule.⁶

The MAS (for *Motoscafo Anti-Sommergibile* “anti-submarine motorboat”) were in some ways the most typical of the Italian forces in the Adriatic campaign. Originally ordered as a hurried, ill thought-out, largely unsuccessful answer to the menace of Dalmatia-based Austrian and German submarine, the MAS became the quintessential Italian warship almost by accident. In the prewar period, Italy had neglected construction of escort and patrol vessels in favor of more glamorous capital ships and ultra-fast, torpedo-armed destroyers. In 1916, the little MAS were attractive only because it was cheap and drew on no critical materials or labor. Being of wooden construction, MAS could be built quickly by the myriad small boat yards that supplied the fishing craft, power launches, and water taxis of the Venetian lagoon. Their manufacture did not require heavy machinery and large amounts of steel, both of which were suddenly in short supply. More importantly still, they did not demand the attention of the harried, overworked navy yards at Genoa and La Spezia. Even the converted aero-engines that gave the MAS their spectacular speed were not a matter of design. They were a temporary expedient dictated by a temporary surplus of aviation power-plants and a corresponding shortage of the intended, lower-powered, American-made marine engines.

The MAS was derived from an unsuccessful, prewar SVAN (*Società Veneziana Automobili Navali*) design for a torpedo-armed motor gunboat. SVAN specialized in large, fast power boats, so the MAS closely resembled the off-shore racing craft of the day. The crew huddled in an open, mid-ship cockpit or clustered near the stern enjoying what little protection the long, rounded turtle-back deck had to offer. Because they had to be cheap, MAS were built of plywood using the most easily built hull form, a long, slender hard-chine hull with a knife-edge stem and a flat, planning bottom aft. Sea-keeping was, as a result, poor in all but the smoothest water. If any sort of speed were maintained in a seaway, pounding quickly made life unbearable for the crew. But given adequate *engine designed by Giustino Cattaneo*, typically a pair of 225-hp *Isotta-Fraschini L.56* and calm conditions, the resulting boats could easily outrun even the fastest destroyers.⁷

This happy coincidence led to the first change of role for the MAS. The powerful engines were not happy or economical at the low rpm dictated by patrol work and the poor sea-keeping qualities of the hull. The small depth charges that MAS could carry were of little value as anti-submarine weapons, and the noise of their hulls and engines made their primitive hydrophones useless for detecting submerged targets. So, when the first boats were delivered, the Royal Italian Navy was at a loss as to how it might use them. The navy flirted briefly with the idea of using its powerful little MAS as small, fast minelayers. But the availability of the 45-cm Whitehead-Napoli torpedo made the *silurante* (motor torpedo boat) role unexpectedly

5 www.cabicattaneo.it.

6 Robert Craig Johnson, *On the Edge of the Great War: Italian Combined Operations in the Adriatic, 1915-18*, Eagle Droppings, the Newsletter of the Rocky Mountain Chapter, IPMS/USA.

7 www.cabicattaneo.it

attractive. These torpedoes were being retired as quickly as possible because their warheads were deemed inadequate for use aboard contemporary destroyers. The success of a simple, side-dropping gear like that used on late-model, Second World-War PT boats meant that no expensive launch gear would be required, and crews could be recruited from among the motorboat enthusiasts of the voluntary naval reserve.

Offensive use of such small vessels nonetheless presented problems. MAS were, of course, vulnerable to air attack, operating, as they did, close to shore in a narrow sea. One to four 6.5-mm Colt “potato-digger” machineguns provided some nominal anti-aircraft defense, but the boats were largely defenseless in daylight. They had to work closely with friendly aircraft. Given clear visibility, they could also be hit by the gunfire of shore fortifications, the secondary batteries of capital ships, and pursuing destroyers. A hit from even a small shell would generally destroy the boat. So MAS had to have the support of friendly destroyers that could screen their retreat. To get themselves to the Italian destroyers’ patrol line, the MAS crews pioneered the near-universal MTB tactic of using shallow-fused depth charges and smoke floats to discourage pursuit. These tactics were so successful that only one MAS was lost to enemy action during the war. Accidental gasoline fires and collisions proved to be the principle threat to the boats.

Given their limitations, the *siluranti* had to carry out most of their missions at night, much like their WW-2 descendents. They would lie in wait off anchorages or among the rocky islands and net defenses that kept Allied destroyers and submarines away from Austria’s Dalmation convoys. Using their anti-submarine hydrophones to listen for propellers and their silent-running, 5-hp, Rognini electric motors for station-keeping, they would wait until a convoy or patrol vessel attempted to enter the harbor. Then, still on electrics only, they would tuck in behind, slip through the boom defenses, launch their twin 45-cm torpedoes, and retire at high speed in the resulting confusion. These operations were so successful that the Austrians mounted an unsuccessful commando raid on Ancona with the express purpose of seizing MAS for their own navy.

Smoke and depth charges was a useful defensive expedient, but they did nothing to answer the other shortcoming of an all-torpedo armament: the expense and uncertainty of attacking the shallow-draft coastal shipping and sailing vessels Austria relied on for much of its transport with expensive and temperamental high-technology weapons. Italian boats were, moreover, increasingly subject to attack by Austrian small craft. While Austria never managed to produce its own equivalent to the MAS, it nonetheless possessed a small force of armed launches, motor gunboats, picket boats, and impressed motor yachts that could, at times, engage MAS. Gun-armed MAS would thus be invaluable in inshore waters where friendly destroyers could not safely follow. Many were accordingly outfitted as *cannoniere* with a quick firing, 47-mm cannon mounted on top of the forward hatch. Maids of all work, *cannoniere* screened *siluranti*, destroyers, and torpedo boats (small destroyers), escorted in-shore convoys, recovered downed airmen, landed spies and saboteurs, covered the flanks of coastal advances, and functioned as miniature navies on the large, glacial lakes that grace the foothills the Austro-Italian border region.⁸

Attack on Trieste. But it is the MAS, with Cattaneo innovative power-pack, that are most

8 Robert Craig Johnson, *Ibid.*

often remembered, largely for two epic victories carried out under the leadership of one man, Capt. Rizzo. On the night of 9/10 December 1917, Rizzo set out with two boats, MAS 9 and 13, to cut off the Austrian battleships *Wien* (launched 1895, 5600 tons, four 24-cm and six 15-cm guns) and *Budapest*, then engaged in their nightly bombardment of Italian shore batteries. To save time, fuel, and wear and tear on the boats' highly tuned gasoline engines, destroyers towed the MAS to a point near the Austrian naval base at Trieste. The battleships had beaten them back, so Rizzo decided to enter the harbor itself. Using hydraulic shears brought for the purpose, the Italians cut the three 60-mm steel booms that guarded the mouth of Muggia bay and slipped into the harbor on electric power. At 200 meters, the boats salved their torpedoes against the two pre-dreadnoughts. At 02:32 MAS 9 weapons hit the *Wien* amidships and sank her almost immediately. MAS 13 missed her target. Both boats then slipped away unobserved. On 10 June 1918, Rizzo and the MAS fought a still more spectacular action against an Austrian battle fleet in daylight. Fearful of mutiny, Bolshevism, and revolution (all of which in fact broke out within a matter of weeks), the Austrian navy decided to boost morale with a sortie against the drifters and destroyers tending the Otranto barrage. A fast, unexpected sally might well destroy the blockade before Italian heavy units could react, allowing German and Austrian U-boats free access to the Mediterranean for the first time in years. Two dreadnoughts, the sister ships *Tegethoff* and *Szent Istvan* (launched 1914, 21,370 tons, twelve 30.5-cm and twelve 15-cm guns) set out with a strong escort of destroyers. Alerted by Italian reconnaissance, Rizzo in MAS 15 led MAS 21 and an escort of torpedo boats to intercept the raiders. The dead calm and haze let the MAS close the Austrian battleships unseen and at high speed. At the last minute, *Tegethoff* managed to evade the torpedoes launched by MAS 21. But Rizzo's torpedoes hit the brand-new *Szent Istvan* amidships. She immediately started to list and, in minutes, rolled over and sank with all hands. Again favored by near perfect conditions, the MAS easily out-ran pursuing destroyers despite having to weave through heavy and accurate shell fire. What was to have been a morale builder thus proved to be an absolute disaster. The Austrian ships fled back to their bases where mutineer sailors, Soviets and Yugoslavian nationalists, seized them shortly after.⁹

BETWEEN TWO WORLD WARS

As impressive as *Cattaneo's front-wheel braking* was, and its contribution to the Defense of Italy during World War 1, its significance was overshadowed shortly after, when Isotta-Fraschini introduced the automobile Tipo 8/50. It is generally agreed that the *Giustino Cattaneo-designed engine powering this car was the world's first production inline eight-cylinder engine*. The Tipo 8/50 marked a polar shift for Isotta-Fraschini: no longer were they interested in producing a wide variety of vehicles and chasing success on the race track. In a bold and deliberate move, Isotta-Fraschini put all its eggs in one basket and decided to become a single model car company. This model would be unlike any other, as Isotta-Fraschini had decided to start building the most luxurious cars in the entire world. Their reasoning? After the War, only the wealthy in Europe and America would be able to afford a new car.

The Tipo 8 was succeeded by the 8A, which by every measure proved successful in re-

9 Barry Taylor, *Military History magazine*, April 1996.

defining all known conventions of luxury. Primarily responsible for this was the mechanical refinement and overall dimensions of the motor car. With light alloy pistons, drop forged connecting rods, overhead valves, and a ten main bearing crankshaft, the engine was powerful, reliable, smooth running and quiet. Naturally, the four-wheel braking was advanced for its time; with four huge drums at each corner and a vacuum servo booster (a technology that remains essentially unchanged today), the big car could easily and quickly come to a stop from high speeds. The chassis, made of heavy gauge stamped steel, had a standard wheelbase of 145.6 inches but could be stretched up to 157.5 inches for limousine coachwork.¹⁰

Giustino Cattaneo, was at the root of everything that produced by the firm from 1907 to 1933.

In 1925, he was appointed engineer “Honoris Causa”, and then he became technical director, then managing director of Isotta Fraschini.

Between the Wars his engines were used in aircraft that were successful in international and transoceanic competitions. This success increased Italian presence and prestige in the international aircraft arena. The “ASSO” series of aircraft engines were produced in principal European countries under his direction and license. This type of engine was used on the Atlantic flights in 1931 and 1933 when the Italian Air Force, leaded by the famous Air-Marshal Italo Balbo, was planning air routes to the Americas with the famous aircraft Savoia-Marchetti S.55 (that use the same engine concept of the Machi from WW1).

Giustino Cattaneo was awarded with the gold medal for Aeronautical achievement with the following distinction: “He was a clever designer with unique and state-of-the-art ideas. He understands the requirements for the manufacture and production of advanced engines. His unique designs were used successfully in Aeronautical, Marine and Automotive applications.”¹¹

He spent the entire financial galley of the company until his recovery in the group of Giovanni Caproni. Disagreeing with him, he resigned from the executive board and became director of engineering controls production where he was later replaced by his son Guido.

Having declined an offer from the Soviet government, he entered at Alfa Romeo in the Department of Aerospace and industrial vehicles as technical director. Giustino Cattaneo, took over as head of the Alfa Romeo aeronautical division in 1933. His main work there was the design of the double row, 18-cyl. Alfa 135, an assembly of two radial-nines similar to the AR126s. As soon as he finished the design of that engine, he left Alfa to found his own engineering company called CABI-Cattaneo. It seems he was too independent-minded for the Alfa Romeo environment. His engine was certainly an impressive one; yet, maybe in part because he was no longer there to follow its development, it took 4 years of work on the test benches to address all the reliability problems that arose. In the end, the engine would have received its homologation after 150 running hours, including the severe requirements of the pilots for in-flight tests, where the 135 replaced the central engine on a SM82 tri-motor. The Germans, after they seized Alfa 135 in September 1943, took away some units and fitted them on a FW 200 Condor with excellent results. The Reichlin test bench was poorly designed for this application, stressing the engines so much that no double-row engine, BMW or Pratt &

10 Franz Rodi-Morabito *Italian History Dell' Automobile*, Isotta Fraschini.

11 www.cabicattaneo.it

Whitney from shot down US planes, ever lasted more than 4-5 hours, due to poor cooling; however, the Alfa 135 ran for an unheard of 29 hours before an exhaust pipe overheated. The Germans then ordered a production of 500 per month. Overall, 150 were ever built. At the time of its first running in 1938 and 1939 it was the most powerful radial engine in the world, generating just less than 1492 kW (2000 hp) on 100-octance fuel. Who become the engine of the best axis bombers in WW2, the Italian LEONE and the German FW-200 CONDOR.¹²

Giustino Cattaneo, by his accomplishments, has been placed among the leaders for Aeronautical development.

GUIDO

In 1936, his son who left his post at Isotta Fraschini had created an office of consulting engineers. Short time after, Giustino join his son in establishing their own company C.A.B.I. CATTANEO, where he become Chairman until 1962.

Eng. Guido a sometime auto racer and successful hydroplane driver, has been a most valuable technician as well, and, following his father's traces, has strengthened the Company technical heritage with the development of several products, particularly in the marine field. One of the first Cattaneo designs was Theo Rossi's Isotta engine hydroplane Alagi (built by Baglietto), one of the most successful race-boats of all time. In the late '30s, CABI-Cattaneo pioneered the development of outboard-type stern drives for powerful inboard engines. The design was successfully tested on Guido's Asso hydroplane, which won a couple of major races on the eve of World War II. It was just natural that Guido will be engaged soon in the defense field.

THE MTM "BARCHINO"

Admiral Iachino, in his book "Sunset of a Great navy" describes the M.T.M. as small motorboat-torpedo, and commonly known as "barchini", piloted by a single man who would throw himself into the water about 100 meters before hitting the target, abandoning the vessel in full speed. Explosive Motor Boats were the most famous of Italian assault crafts. These vessels, as well as the Torpedo Boats, were used extensively by the 10th Light Flotilla. They were found as far east as the Black Sea during World War Two. EMB's were designed for one way missions against enemy vessels. The "Kamikaze's of the seas" so to speak. The pilot of the small craft would aim his boat at an enemy vessel, accelerate to full speed, lock his rudder in place and jump overboard before impact against the keel of the enemy ship. The navigator is held afloat by the boats backrest, which is designed as a life raft. He would either be picked up by other Italian vessels or attempt to swim to shore. The crafts proved to be invaluable to the Regia Marina. The screw and rudder could be lifted out of the water to clear harbor nets and their impact against the enemy ships keel caused a devastating chain reaction. A ring of explosives separated the fore and aft section of the hull. The fore section held a large keg of explosives which sank to a predetermined depth. Once this occurred, the water pressure would cause a detonation. The detonation would form a vacuum and the result

12 Patrick Italiano, *Story of the Alfa Romeo factory and plants: Part 2 Alfa Romeo under a khaki uniform, the new technical guard arises*, p.17.

would be a huge hole torn through the side of the enemy ship below the water line. Most EMB's were 19 feet long, held 660 pounds of internal explosives and could reach speeds in excess of 27 knots

Those boats were used successfully by the Italian Navy during WW2. The boats idea arises by Captain Giorgio Giorgis during the Ethiopian war in 1935. At that time it was a threat from the British navy to interfere against Italy. The first development order for a prototype was presented to the famous race-bout producer, Baglietto. Bat after preliminary tests it was clear that the boat will not functioning without a special power-pack. The engineer Cantieri Baglietto new from his experience that only one man can save the problem – Guido Cattaneo (who cooperates with him during last 5 years in the race-boats field) and he ask him to join the development phase. Very fast it was clear that the engine and the transmission are the backbone of the project, so, Guido receives overall responsibility to realize the Explosive Boat. At 15 June 1936 the first order from the Italian navy was received by Baglietto with Guido Cattaneo as prime contractor and project manager with the condition that the boat has to be feted by CABI-CATTANEO special “Z” configuration, Giustino's invention power-pack.¹³ It was a direct continuation of the innovative race boats, (Guido's profession). The M.T.M represented an evolution of a fast surface attack vessel first conceived in 1936 as the M.A. (assault motorboat) and the M.A.T. (airborne assault motorboat) that the Duke of Aosta has thoughts about attacking distant harbors, locating the MAT between the two floats of the S-55 Flying-boat (powered by Giustino's engine – sea above)¹⁴. Those same producers (Cattaneo-Baglietto), in 1938-39, built two series of the new type M.T.; the first of 6 vessels, and the second, slightly larger and with a larger motor of 95HP, of 12 vessels. This last construction period, in 1940-42, for the development and building of the M.T.M. of which about 50 were built. From the M.T.M. derived, in 1942-43, the M.T.R. and the M.T.R.M. of which about 20 vessels were built, but only one entered service with the navy of the Repubblica Sociale Italiana¹⁵

THE FORMIDABLE ATTACKS AGAINST THE BRITISH NAVY IN WW2

SUDA BAY - 1941

The British Cruiser HMS York was badly damaged on 26 March 1941 by 2 Italian explosive motor boats in a dawn attack at Suda Bay, north Crete. The motorboats, each packed with 300-kg (667 lb) charges in the bows, were piloted by MMI Lt. Cabrini and Tedeschi impacted her amid ship, flooding both boiler rooms and one engine room, causing her to settle on the bottom in shallow water.

The six attack units, some very light and extremely fast assault/blast boats, were launched from the destroyers Crispi and Sella under the command of Lieutenant Luigi Faggioni (the other men on the mission were: Alessio de Vito, Emilio Barberi, Angelo Cabrini, Tullio

13 Marco Spertini and Erminio Bagnasco, *I Mezzi d'assalto della Xa Flottiglia MAS, 1940-1945*, Elmano Arbetelli Editore, 1996, p.69.

14 J. Valerio Borghese, *Sea Devils*, London, 1952, p. 17.

15 Adapted from: “*Imagini di Storia - Decima MAS: I mezzi d'assalto della Marina Italiana*” - N7 Janury 1995

Tedeschi and Lino Beccati). After having managed to bypass the harbor water defenses and having avoided searchlights, the units were finally able to reach the inner harbor. Here, the heavy cruiser York, famous for powerful guns and a not-too-graceful silhouette, was the target of the first attack. The British, who wanted to avoid her loss, beached the unit, which was sinking rapidly.

Nevertheless, the ship was a total loss and also the source of a future controversy between the R.M. and the Luftwaffe over credit for her sinking. The matter was solved by British war records and by the ship's own war log.

The Cruiser Coventry was missed by less than two meters, while the tanker Pericles was sunk and soon followed by a second, smaller tank and a cargo ship. All six daring attackers survived and were caught by the British, but news of the splendid victory soon reached the base at Serchio (La Spezia), thus rejuvenating the Xa fighting spirit.¹⁶

THE "PIG"

The two formidable inventors participate as major contributors in the invention and production of another asymmetric weapon at sea. The submerged "Human Torpedo", built from 1942. Electrically powered submersible with crew of two equipped with diving suits and breathing apparatus sitting astride the torpedo-shaped hull. Armed with detachable 500 kg bow charge. Developed by the Italian Navy and nicknamed "Maiale" or pig.¹⁷ Their greatest triumph was the sinking of "Queen Elizabeth" and "Valiant" in Alexandria harbor on the 19th December 1941, although both British battleships were raised and put back into service. Design of captured craft developed by the Royal Navy and named "Chariots".

ALEXANDRIA 1941

A new attempt, a very successful one indeed, was made the night of 18th December 1941, when three two-man human torpedoes penetrated the defenses of the harbor at Alexandria and deposited their delayed-action charges under the battleships Queen Elizabeth and Valiant and the tanker Sagona. The submarine Scirt, commanded by Lieutenant Borghese, deposited the attack vessels within a few yards of the designated point and safely returned to La Spezia. The three attack units, taking advantage of the temporary opening of the outer defenses to the harbor, entered the highly protected harbor and directed their weapons toward the designated targets. Since the expected aircraft carrier Eagle was no longer in the harbor, the third team placed its charge under a large tanker instead.

Despite having been captured and jailed in the same ship they had just mined, Lieutenant De La Penne and diver Bianchi refused to provide any information of military value. Only a few minutes before the weapon went off, Lieutenant De La Penne asked the commanding officer of the Valiant to save his crew. This was done, but De La Penne was returned to his jailed were escaped just after the terrifying explosion.

At 06.00 hours of the following morning, the first charge detonated under the tanker Sagona and badly damaged both the tanker and the destroyer Jervis, which was moored

¹⁶ Borghese, *Ibid*, p. 82-83.

¹⁷ Marco Spertini and Erminio Bagnasco, *Ibid*, p.130.

alongside for refueling. The charge under Valiant detonated at 06.20, and the one under the Queen Elizabeth at 6:24. The depth of water was fifteen to fifty feet and the charges weighed about 300 kilograms.

All crew members were taken prisoners, some a few days after the attack, and were confined to a prisoner of war camp for the rest of the conflict. Their action, undoubtedly, has transcended history and become a legend

Valiant's charge exploded under the port bulge, abreast 'A' turret, and holed and forced upwards the lower bulge over an area of sixty feet by thirty feet. Internal damage extended from the midline to the lower bulge compartments and the inner bottom, lower bulge, 'A' shell room and magazine, and the adjacent compartment up to lower deck level immediately flooded. The main and auxiliary machinery was undamaged, but the revolving trunk of 'A' turret was distorted, and some minor shock damage was done to electrical equipment. The ship had a trim by the bow, but could have proceeded to sea in an emergency. Temporary repairs were made at Alexandria, and eventually she sailed for Durban where permanent repairs were carried out between 15th April and 7th July 1942.

The charge below Queen Elizabeth detonated under 'B' boiler room and blew in the double bottom structure in this area, and, to a lesser extent under 'A' and 'X' boiler rooms, upwards into the ship. Damage to the ship's bottom covered an area of one hundred and ninety feet by sixty feet and included both the port and starboard bulges. 'A', 'B' and 'X' boiler rooms, and the forward 4.5inch magazines flooded immediately, and 'Y' boiler room and several other compartments in the vicinity, flooded slowly up to main deck level. The boilers, and the auxiliary machinery, together with its electrical equipment were severely damaged by the explosion and subsequent flooding. The armament was undamaged. But all hydraulic power was lost, and the guns of the main and secondary batteries could have been used only at greatly reduced efficiency. The ship sank to the harbor bottom, but was raised and temporary repairs were carried out in the floating dock at Alexandria. She subsequently preceded to the USA, where permanent repairs were carried out, between 6th September 1942 and 1st June 1943, at the Norfolk navy yard, Virginia. Queen Elizabeth was out of action for a total of seventeen and a half months.¹⁸

CREATING THE ISRAELI NAVAL COMMANDO

As mentioned above, After Italia's surrender to the allies at the end of WW2, the Cattaneo Company loses all its market and was denying (by the surrender agreement) of producing weapons. The company was under bankruptcy procedures when Ilin arrive there. It took some time until Ilin studied the subject and understood from Giustino and Guido that there are still some tenth of E-Boats in the factory yard, but without maintenance and in bad conditions. It is possible, after deep rehabilitation to prepare some and make them operational. Slowly Ilins began to understand the potential and decide to convince the IDF/Naval HQ in Israel to approve the purchase – 30 assault-boats for 100,000\$. Ilin asks Guido to give him a model (1.5 m') of the Barchino that they had in the factory, packed it well and drive by its private car to Avigur at Zeneve. Avigur wasn't a naval professional but decide to send Ilin to

18 Borghese, *Ibid*, p.143-160.

Israel in order to present the subject to the Navy HQ. AT 14 June 1948 Ilin flew to Israel where he met with Navy Commander Gershon Zak and his COF Paul Shulman. For the two it was a new and revolutionary weapon that they never hear about, after a long presentation they decide to send Ilin back to Italy and send Commander Arie (Lova) Eliav to check Ilin's report. Eliav was in Italy to deal with all Sea-wolf purchasing and at the middle of June he arrived in Milan to visit CABI-CATTANEO where he had the opportunity to test the E-Boat on the lake at night. Commander Eliav was impressed deeply by the speed and other boat's performances. He suggested warmly to Tel Aviv to buy.¹⁹ Now it was in Ilin's hands. It took him some time to find a way to design a frame-contract enabling Guido to produce the MTMs for Israel and deliver them. Receiving the Israeli order of 30 "assault Boats" at a cost of 100,000\$ was a salvation robe for Cattaneo. That sum assists the company to recover from bankruptcy. All the operation of production the boats and delivering them to Israel were by clandestine nature due to the circumstances. The delivery was done by camouflage the E-Boats as civilian motor-boats to Egypt and 6 boats arrive in Israel at middle of August 1948.²⁰ Now arise another problem, to find some professional X-Flotilla veteran to train the Israeli sailors and assisting to build a new naval force. Fiorenzo Capriotti, a staff-sergeant from the X Flotilla who was in British captivity since the failure of the attack on Malta in July 1941, was founded by Ada Sireni's assistant in Italy, Calusio, and was recommended as the man for the job. At that time he was un-employed after his release from the prison, without profession and occupation. He passed some interviews with Ilin and Eliav who were positively impressed by his warrior-spirit and his skilful and approved him. He received a new name Katz and was sanded to Israel as a new Jewish emigrant where he landed at 5 August.

At 15 August the new Israeli Naval unit was created under the command of Captain Yohai Ben-Noon and Capriotti as chief-instructor. Those boats and that operation (bringing them to Israel) in a critical period, save the campaign at sea during that war.

SINKING OF THE EGYPTIAN FLAGSHIP

During the Israel War of Independence - 1948, the Israel Navy undertook a number of actions and campaigns which led to Israel's command of the sea, despite the clear superiority of the enemy naval forces. The most impressive Israeli naval operation during the war was the sinking of the Emir Farouk — the flagship of the Egyptian fleet — and the sever damaging of an Egyptian minesweeper which had been escorting troops and equipment to be landed in the combat areas.

In late October 1948, the Israeli Navy performed another feat of daring and resourcefulness to mark a new chapter in the history of Cattaneo E-Boats. For some days a flotilla of Egyptian vessels had been coming very close to the Israel coastline. This included the flagship of the Egyptian Navy, the Emir Farouk. For a number of days the Israeli and Egyptian Navies had been acting in a threatening manner which was liable to escalate at any time. This mini-escalation took place amidst the largest IDF offensive of the war - Operation Yoav, which was a major Israeli advance into the Negev, all the way down to Beer-Sheba

19 Aria Eliav, *Testimony to the author*, June 2007.

20 Ilin, *Ibid*, *Ibid*.

and against the Egyptian Army deployment along “Gaza strip”. The Emir Farouk’s actions were seen as a threat to Operation Yoav and the IDF General Staff ordered action. The Emir Farouk was to be sunk.

This would not be an easy operation. The Emir Farouk moved about with another ships for escort, a minesweeper, and both usually stayed within protective range of coastal gun-batteries. The small Israeli Navy could not sink it with conventional methods. The small E-Boats, special operations unit, under captain Ben-Noon would have to be activated. That unit, who was established just two months ago, specially trained by Capriotti, would undertake the operation.

Yochay Ben Nun was born in Haifa in 1924 and volunteered for service in the Haganah at an early age. By 1942, at the age of 18, he was already a recognized figure in the Palmach - the elite strike force of the Haganah – leader of the naval demolition squad of the Palmah against the British mighty navy who blocked the Israeli coast from Jewish refugees fleeing from Nazi Europe. Serving in the Jerusalem Theater of operations during the war, where he was severely wounded. He turned out to be “one of the most capable infantry squad leaders in the Palmach”, noted for his prowess. He would remain in IDF Navy Service for the next thirty years, rising to the rank of commander.

Trained to deal with the freezing cold and to swiftly and silently approach their targets, Yochai Ben Nun’s crew was the obvious choice to perform the operation against the Emir Farouk. The operation, however, almost never got off the ground. Yigael Yadin, the IDF Chief of Operations, refused to authorize the operation. Undaunted, the Israeli Naval Commander Gershon Zaq drove to the home of Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion to argue his case.” At first Ben-Gurion was very much against the plan, but Zaq soon convinced him it could be done. The news was quickly relayed to the wireless set on the main ship they would be using, the Ma’oz.

Ben-Nun and his men went to work right away. They approached the Egyptian flotilla off the coast of Gaza. They had four E-Boats. At dark, the Ma’oz crew lowered four small vessels (assault/explosive motor boats) into the water. It took nearly an hour for them to reach the Egyptian ships. The pilot of the first vessel gunned his boat toward the Farouk, explosives armed. At the last moment, he leapt into the water. He heard an explosion and saw that the Farouk had been hit. Almost immediately, the second assault boat scored a direct hit on the huge warship, which erupted in flames and sank within minutes. As the Farouk slipped below the surface, the retrieval boat plucked the commandos from the sea.

This was a tremendous feat for the young Israeli Navy. But the minesweeper still remained, and the Egyptian soldiers aboard began firing wildly in all directions in the hope of hitting something. But Yochay Ben-Nun, the naval commando leader, was determined to take out the minesweeper. He positioned himself for a headlong rush at the ship. As he did so, a high powered Egyptian searchlight illuminated his boat and the Egyptians focused their fire on him.

Ben-Nun ejected his flotation device but it simply would not eject. He was stuck. Faced with the prospect of being neck-high in water about to absorb a 300-kilogram blast did not sit well in Ben-Nun’s head - neither did driving his boat straight into the mine-sweeper’s hull. He tried to manually free himself 100 meters from his target, but the lever wouldn’t give. He

pulled until the handle snapped. At 40 meters from the minesweeper he jumped, still attached to his boat. Finally at 30 meters from his target he jostled free - just a few seconds before his boat scored a direct hit on the minesweeper, severely damage it.²¹

The sinking of the Farouk was Israel's most dramatic naval victory in the War of Independence. Some five hundred Egyptian sailors perished, many from that nation's upper class. However, the event received little formal publicity at the time: Israel wanted to draw no attention to its new-secret weapon, the Egyptians hoped to keep the Israeli triumph a secret. Nonetheless, news of the enormous loss reached the Egyptian public and for nearly a year the Egyptian navy had difficulty recruiting new sailors.

Ben-Nun and his four-man crew were picked up in the water and taken safely back to base. They had accomplished an incredible mission. The IDF General Staff was ecstatic about the sinking of the Emir Farouk, though they only authorized the press to release word about the ship's sinking - not how it was accomplished. Israeli Naval special warfare was now on the map. It had scored a remarkable victory. This unit, soon to be called "Shayetet 13" or "Flotilla 13" would be heard from again and again in the years to come. It becomes the direct predecessor of the Italian 10th Flotilla. For the time being, however, "Ben-Nun and company were secretive celebrities in the upper echelons of power in the State of Israel. Ben-Nun and his warriors were granted a private audience with 'The Old Man', Prime Minister Ben-Gurion, who was adamant about hearing every little detail about the raid...

Yochay Ben-Nun was awarded Israel's highest award for courage under fire for commanding the sinking operation of the Emir Farouk, the flagship of the Egyptian Navy.

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www.cabicattaneo.it.

21 Alex Tal, *Naval Operations during the Independence War*, Tel Aviv, 2002, p. 169-171.

The Jewish detention camps in Cyprus during the Palestine crisis

CHRISTOS IACOVOU

The purpose of this paper is to deal with the British government's overall policy of transshipping illegal immigrants during the period between the end of the Second World War in 1945 and the establishment of the State of Israel in May 1948 and it examines, in particular, the fate of those who were transhipped to the Cyprus detention camps.

At the end of the WWII when the Labour Party came to power in Britain hope sprang within the Zionist movement that the new government would rescind the policy embodied in the White paper of 1939 and allow free immigration into Palestine - a promise made by the Labour platform on the eve of the previous elections. To the Zionist movement's great disappointment it became clear that the Labour government had no intention of fulfilling this promise and so the campaign over Palestine's political future began. The Jewish community in Palestine (Yishuv in Hebrew) decided to concentrate its efforts on the immigration front. Their main weapon in its efforts on the immigration which was intended to exert pressure on the British government and, and by sheer force, break down the gates of Palestine to allow free Jewish immigration. Those who would have to bear the main burden in this effort were the thousands of refugees - survivors - who had resolved to leave Europe after the terrible events of the Holocaust and make their way to Palestine to join a Jewish settlement in its struggle for a Jewish State.

The British government, which was aware of this fact, looked for ways to restrict the number of illegal immigrants and to prevent them flooding the country. One of the main ways they could do this was by then transshipping the immigrants to Cyprus and detaining them there in camps especially erected for this purpose. Between August 1946 and May 1948 nearly 52,000 illegal immigrants were transhipped to Cyprus in this manner.

The Cyprus detention camps existed from August 13, 1946, when they were opened and the first immigrants were brought there until February 10, 1949, when they were closed and the last detainees left for the state of Israel. By then the State had existed for nine months and its gates had throughout that period been wide open to free immigration. However, this paper concludes with the first truce in the Arab-Israeli War in June 1948 - a date which opened a new era. Why were the Cyprus detention camps not closed with the end of the British Mandate, for it was due to the Mandate's immigration laws that the camps were originally established? However, the continued implementation of these laws is a political issue which lies beyond the bounds of the British war on illegal immigration and for this reason it is beyond the scope of this paper.

THE BRITISH DECISION TO TRANSHIP JEWISH IMMIGRANTS TO CYPRUS

With the renewal of illegal immigration in August 1945 the first voices among the Chiefs of Staff and commanders of the British Army were raised in opposition to such activity for fear that the whole issue would undermine security throughout the Middle East. Thus,

as soon as illegal immigrants began to enter Palestine, the above mentioned British Army personnel endeavoured to bring it to an end. The solutions they proposed were extreme. Among them were suggestions to tranship the illegal immigrant from Palestine and return them to the counties they had left. The politicians, on the other hand, who had to decide on a policy as regards the war on illegal immigration, were very cautious. Thus, as long as illegal Immigration was on a small scale and there was hope, with the aid of the United States, of finding a comprehensive solution to the question of Palestine, there was no hurry to adopt the recommendations of the top military echelon. As far as the politicians were concerned it was preferable to intercept the boats of illegal Immigrant, confiscate them and release the passengers in return for including them in the monthly quota of Jews allowed into the country. This was the policy followed during the first year after the WWII. It caused great financial losses to those organizing illegal immigration without, in fact, succeeding in bringing more immigrant into the country than was allowed by the British official quota. This situation changed in the summer of 1946 when the Jewish Organization, Aliya Beth, learned to cope with the problem and due to the fact that the small stream turned into an ever-increasing flow. Following the attack by a Jewish underground organization, (the National Military Organization) on the King David Hotel in Jerusalem (22 July, 1945) which was the seat of the Mandate government secretariat and the British HQ for Palestine, heavy pressure by the British commanders and the High Commissioner for Palestine was again brought to bear on the government in London. They wanted Whitehall to adopt a strong-arm policy against the Jewish community in Palestine in order to break the power of the latter and, at the same time, put an end to illegal immigration by transshipping the immigrants from Palestine. This demand was accompanied by the caution that if the government did not show sufficient strength and did not halt illegal immigration, there was a danger that the Arabs in Palestine would react with such violence that the British army would not be able to regain control over the situation. In the end, British interests in the whole region would be damaged. This pressure placed the British government on the horns of a dilemma due to the special political circumstances of the time. At the end of July 1946 the US president Truman dashed the hope that he would be prepared to support a political solution to the Palestinian question before the immigration of 100.000 Jewish refugees from Europe had been assured by the British. There was no room in Palestine to accommodate and guard the thousands of illegal immigrants who began to arrive from May 1946 onwards while in the background there was the danger that if the flow was not stemmed in time, the unstable security situation in Palestine could deteriorate even further. At the beginning of August 1946, the British cabinet decided to tranship the illegal immigrants they caught to Cyprus as a means of halting the flow. The decision was taken without giving a great deal of thought to what was to happen subsequently to the thousands of stateless refugees after they had been transhipped to Cyprus and when the British authorities would, finally, have to concern themselves with their fate.

When the Jewish Community in Palestine found out at the beginning of August - 1946 that they could expect illegal immigrants to be transhipped from Palestine, many were afraid that the immigrants would resist and that there would be hundreds of casualties. The Jewish Agency took diplomatic steps in London and Washington in an attempt to persuade the British government not to tranship Immigrants from Palestine, but to no avail. With the capture

of the “Henrietta Szold” and “Yagur” boats, on August 12 “Operation Igloo” began. The passengers of these two ships were transhipped in detention camps especially established for this purpose a few days before they had been brought to Palestine. The Yishuv reaction to this transshipment was a mass demonstration in Haifa which tried to break into the port but it was forcefully dispersed by the British army.

THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN JOINT DISTRIBUTION COMMITTEE (AJDC)

The AJDC (hence The Joint) was the only Jewish institution the British authorities allowed to operate inside the Detention Camps in Cyprus. As an American welfare organization which had experience of working in various countries and with various government bodies, the Joint also succeeded in adapting itself to the special conditions of Cyprus thereby making a valuable contribution towards easing the conditions under which immigrants lived in the camps. From the beginning of the transshipment policy, the Joint paced a team of professional welfare workers recruited from the Yishuv in the Cyprus camps and they succeeded in developing an extensive welfare system for those who recruited it. They took on the responsibility for operating clinics, improving the nutrition of those who were especially in need of such help.

Due to the political circumstances in which the camps were set up in Cyprus, the Jewish Agency had no official status. Therefore the AJDC also took on tasks which would normally have been undertaken by the Jewish Agency and which lay outside the normal role of a welfare organization. Furthermore, by allowing the Joint to provide welfare to the refugees, the British government deflected any pressure or criticism emanating from American Jewry regarding the severe attitude adopted by the British towards the Holocaust refugees as they held in detention.

WHO WERE THE IMMIGRANTS TRANSHIPPED TO CYPRUS?

The majority of the immigrants transhipped to Cyprus were relatively young. About 80% were between the ages of 13 and 35 and they were among the brightest of the survivors. Most of them had definite political affiliations and were organized in parties which had been established after the Holocaust. A large number chose the path of immigration not only in order to reach Palestine and build and rehabilitate their lives as individuals but also due to clear Zionist recognition that they were participating in the struggle for free immigration to the Jewish State. They knew that by choosing this path they could expect to be caught and sent to Cyprus and that they would live there in difficult conditions of detention for a long period of time until they were finally able to return to Palestine.

The immigrants' leaders and their autonomous institutions did their best to develop social and cultural activities in the camps run by the detainees themselves, but they did not always succeed because of the lack of means and the limited number of professionals among them able to occupy such a large public in cultural and educational activities. The lack of teachers was especially felt. In these spheres the various emissaries who reached the camps from Palestine made an extremely valuable contribution especially those who lived in the camps with the immigrants.

The transshipment of illegal immigrants to Cyprus was one of the main means available

to the British government in the war on illegal immigration. This policy's only achievement was in preventing Palestine being flooded with thousands of illegal immigrants but it did not manage to put an end to the waves of immigration. This war, which became pointless, cost the British government large sums of money as well as loss of prestige in the international arena. It caused the British in Palestine to be despised and had a cumulative influence on her decision to return the Mandate to the UN and remove her forces from the area. The British authorities who were responsible for the camps in Cyprus were aware that their war on illegal immigrants was unpopular. Thus, they decided to show sensitivity to public criticism and allowed the detained refugees to manage their lives within the detention camps as they wished. By so doing they avoided any unnecessary difficulties. At the same time the British government was concerned that the financial burden of maintaining the immigrants in Cyprus should not fall on the British taxpayer and, therefore, this obliged the Mandate government in Palestine to bear the costs from its own budget which derived mainly from the Jewish taxpayer.

As regards the attitude of the Jewish Community in Palestine to the detained immigrants in Cyprus it should be said that the political leadership saw illegal immigration first and foremost as a political means of attaining the political objective of free immigration. For this reason the Jewish Agency tried to make it as difficult as possible for the British authorities to implement the transshipment policy even when this sometimes had a somewhat adverse effect on the immigrants themselves. The political leadership of the Yishuv adhered to this policy throughout the whole transshipment period and this placed them in a moral dilemma - how far could they use these refugee immigrants as political pawns even after they had been transhipped to Cyprus? When the practical policy of the Yishuv's political leadership is examined in relation to transshipment to Cyprus, one can clearly see that, within the sphere of political activity, everything possible was done to eliminate the camps and shorten the period of time spent there by the immigrants. Nevertheless, the participation of the Yishuv in providing material aid to the immigrants was quite modest. This was mainly because they did not wish to relieve the British authorities of their obligation to deal with the needs of the immigrant detainees, for whom they were responsible, and, by taking this line, the Yishuv made it more difficult for them to implement the transshipment policy. In as far as the issue involved the Yishuv institutions in providing assistance, helping to ease the living conditions of the detainees and in exploiting the period they spent in detention to train them for life in Palestine, the activities of these institutions remained no more than routine. Indeed, the conduct of the senior political leadership is conspicuous for its very lack of initiative. It is difficult to shake off the impression that, apart from the political consideration not to relieve the British authorities of their duties as regards the needs of the detainees, the general approach of the leadership bodies was that assistance requiring great financial expense should be provided mainly by American Jewish organizations while the Jewish Community of Palestine had only minimal obligations in this respect.

Because the Jewish Agency did not recognize the legitimacy of the transshipment policy and because it had no official status in the Cyprus camps, it was politically and economically convenient for it to place all responsibility for the detainees welfare on the AJDC which, as an American welfare organization, had the backing of the American government and en-

joyed international prestige. The Joint undertook the task without question and carried it out loyally throughout the period of transshipment without making too many accounts with the Yishuv institutions. The AJDC took the line that distressed Jews wherever they were, should be given assistance and the organization should not be deterred by political difficulties. The Joint activities in the Cyprus camps should be seen as a continuation of their activities in the Refugee Camps of Europe and of their efforts to aid the illegal immigration. The Joint had the experience and the means to implement an efficient welfare organization free of political ties and this was an important factor in itself if one considers that the immigrant society in Cyprus was divided into movement and parties representing the whole

political spectrum of the Zionist movement. The AJDC succeeded in cooperating with the military authorities, the Yishuv institutions and bodies working in Cyprus under the auspices of the latter. Such cooperation was to everyone's satisfaction and also to the advantage of the detainees. The Joint did not limit its activities in Cyprus to welfare problems and when necessary they did not hesitate to defend immigrants' rights in the face of the British authorities.

For the immigrants their period of detention in Cyprus was the last stage in their long journey to Palestine - a journey during which they had been destined to spend long weary months in detention camps under conditions of great hardship. Nevertheless, they usually overcame the problems as a united group showing great self-discipline. It appears that their ability to withstand the conditions of detention should be attributed to a number of factors.

- (a) Most of the people were young and healthy and they had already suffered greater hardships than those they underwent in the Cyprus camps. Thus, they were prepared to stand up such conditions if only to expedite their early arrival to Palestine.
- (b) Cyprus was their last stop before entering Palestine after a long and exhausting journey whose climax was the sea voyage which was, in itself, a severe physical and mental test. By reaching Cyprus their journey to Palestine was already assured. While in detention they knew it was crucial to adjust and struggle against the dangers of demoralization. Political developments in Palestine were intensive and they bred the immigrants with the hope that their period of detention would be shortened and they would reach Palestine earlier than they had expected. And, indeed, this was the case as regards most of the immigrants who passed through the Cyprus detention camps.
- (c) The fact that the British military authorities did not interfere in the internal life of the Immigrants in the Camps contributed greatly to their private and public well-being. The fact that the movements continued to exist and that families did not split up gave the immigrants extensive internal freedom despite the conditions of detention and these circumstances prevented any feeling of alienation.

All these factors together created a general feeling among the immigrants that they were very nearly home and dry in Palestine.

Asymmetric War or Ideological Mobilization The Romanian Case (1968–1989)

MIHAIL E. IONESCU

I. In this communication, we proposed ourselves to analyze the military policy of the Romanian regime between 1968 – the invasion of Czechoslovakia by the troops of five states of the Warsaw Pact, except Romania – and 1989 – the collapse of Ceausescu's dictatorship – in order to discern to what extent it represented a *Realpolitik* demarche and to what extent it was an ideological mobilization meant to support the communist regime.

The Romanian communist regime was the result of the Soviet occupation set in at the end of the Second World War and of the creation of Soviet Russia's new empire in Central and Eastern Europe. The Romanian nation remained behind the Iron Curtain, among other captive nations, being subjected to both the direct soviet occupation (1944-1958) and to one the most repressive Stalinist regimes.

The leadership brought to power by Moscow was made of old Comintern members, their theoretical qualifications being, with rare exceptions, precarious and acquired hastily after 1944 at courses attended in Russia. The “bourgeois” specialists have been used only to a small extent, which explains the slow and uncertain recovery of the Romanian economy, depleted by the war effort and also by the exploitation of the occupier. Only by the end of the '60, one can talk about some recovery due to the withdrawal of the soviet troops (1958) and to the abolition of the “sovroms”, which were joint Romanian-Soviet economic enterprises that favored, without any doubt, the occupying power.

The process of de-stalinization – launched in the USSR in 1956 and used by N.S. Khrushchev as a means of eliminating the old Stalinist guard but also of reforming the regime in order to revive the economy – was perceived by the Romanian leader, Gheorghe Gheorghiu-Dej (secretary of the communist party between 1945 and 1965), as a threat to his position. Therefore, the de-stalinization in Romania meant nothing more than the removal of the potential rivals of the dictator, while the regime remained Stalinist in essence. The Sino-Soviet divergences offered the Romanian leader the much expected opportunity to distance himself from Moscow, placing himself as a mediator, although no one requested it. This is how the distancing from Moscow was possible and its potential response avoided, the Chinese position serving as a deterrent. The attempt of the Khrushchev regime to solve the increasingly serious economic crisis by specializing the production throughout the entire “soviet empire”, ignoring the state borders (the Valev plan), gave the Romanian communist leadership the opportunity for a famous declaration of principles (April 1946), which basically proclaimed the principle of non-interference in the internal affairs of each state and the equality of rights, without putting into question, however, the affiliation to the “soviet bloc”. As, on the other hand, some cautious steps towards the defrosting of the relations with the United States had been made since the missile crisis (1962) and with France in order to bring new technology in the economy and to develop trade relations and capital investment, it is obvious that the communist regime in Bucharest was slowly, yet steadily,

distancing itself from Moscow.

After the death of Gheorghiu-Dej (March 1965), the new leader, Nicolae Ceaușescu, continued this direction, served by a team of specialists led by prime-minister Ion Gheorghe Maurer (1961-1975). The leadership in Bucharest accomplished a modest de-stalinization between 1965 and 1968 and relied heavily on western loans. In what the external affairs were concerned, the outstanding steps were the recognition of Federal Germany, the maintaining of the relations with Israel during the Six-Day War (1967) and the visit to Bucharest of General Charles de Gaulle (May 1968). As for the position of the leadership in Bucharest within the Warsaw Pact, it is worth mentioning the severely divergent stance towards “the big brother”, especially in what concerned the introduction of new command structures of the Unified Armed Forces (the meeting of the Political Consultative Committee in Warsaw in January 1965). Under the appearance of the “battle of statutes”, the Romanian leaders actually wanted to avoid the almighty Soviet influence in the alliance and to limit the possibility under which Moscow could intervene by military means in the internal affairs of each country, in this case Romania. Thus, Romania’s position in the communist bloc became less and less orthodox concerning “the big brother”. Therefore, there is no wonder why for the old neostalinist leader of Czechoslovakia, Antonín Novotný, “Romania has its own special role, the one of a «Trojan horse» in the socialist bloc”.

Even more serious seemed for the regime of Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow the intrusion of the communist leadership in Bucharest in the Soviet nuclear policy, this aspect being recently brought to light by memoirs and by the war plans and exercises of the Warsaw Pact between 1964 and 1965, by the reunion of the ministers of Foreign Affairs in Warsaw (1966) and by the reunions of the Political Consultative Committee in Moscow (May 1966) and Prague (February-March 1968)¹. The delegates of the leadership in Bucharest fought against the soviet projects of statutes, proposing that they should be reformulated in accordance with the principle of respecting the national leadership of the armed forces of each state and the right of each state to decide whether to go to war, keeping the national headquarters and, in this case, setting up a military council of the Unified Armed Forces as a deliberative body, where the decisions would be taken unanimously and the chief commander and the chief of staff being chosen for a five year period from the ranks of the allied military with the consent of all the states.

II. The starting moment of Romania’s new military policy is, of course, the summer of 1968, once with the annihilation of the “Prague Spring”. In spite of appearances, Ceaușescu was not even close of being a reformist leader. Most historians support the idea of the exclusive interest of the dictator to retain power and his opposition to any attempt of democratizing or reforming the regime. Ceaușescu’s support for the detachment of Czechoslovakia from Moscow, in any form, going as far as to the extreme examples of Tito, Mao or Enver Hodja, was based on the creation of a new Central European “independence”, from which the Romanian leadership could have only profited from.

1 Major general (r) Mihail E. Ionescu, Carmen Rîjnoveanu, Romania’s perception on nuclear deterrence during the Cold War, in Strategic Planning for War. 7th Annual Meeting of the Military History Working Group, Ljubljana, 2008, p. 85-98.

Being aware of the strategic situation of their country, the Czechoslovak leaders have repeatedly affirmed their loyalty towards Moscow during the “Prague Spring”. Their foreign policy was molded to the exigencies of Kremlin, hoping that the latter would accept the reformation of the system from within. However, Ceau escu’s support did not aim at the reforms, but only sought to encourage the distancing of Czechoslovakia from Moscow. From the point of view of Bucharest, what was needed was the immediate appearance of a dissident ally within the Warsaw Pact and COMECON, Romania continuing to be a member of both organizations. Also, Ceau escu has consistently expressed his position on the Czechoslovak issue in front of the representatives of CPSU and USSR. From this point of view, the meeting from July 12, 1968, between Nicolae Ceau escu and V. Basov, the soviet ambassador in Bucharest, is very revealing, the Romanian leader arguing that “some existing antisocialist elements are not capable to endanger the socialist construction ... we know the communist party and the Czechoslovak working class and we trust them that they will not give up the socialist path”¹. “There must be understood that the measures taken in Czechoslovakia – the Romanian leader continued – are an internal issue of the party and the comrades must be supported ... the Party Congress should be allowed to solve this problem democratically”². Without any doubt, this attitude individualized Romania in the communist bloc, but also accentuated its isolation within the Warsaw Pact, which eventually lead to the exclusion of Bucharest from the decisional process of the alliance concerning the “Prague Spring”. The leadership in Bucharest felt the consequences. During the meeting with N. Basov on July 12, 1968, N. Ceau escu directly expressed his grievance: “I must tell you that for us it is impossible to understand the convocation of a group of parties from the socialist countries, at the same time avoiding other parties from socialist countries”³. Unlike Kremlin and the leaders of the states that swore allegiance to its policy, both Tito and Ceau escu wanted to strengthen the support given to the Dub ek regime by visiting Prague (Tito on August 9-11 and Ceau escu on August 15-17, 1968). Going even further, Ceau escu not only warned A. Dub ek about the imminent invasion, but also signed a treaty of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Czechoslovakia, replacing the one from 1948⁴. All these events were perceived by Moscow as an attempt of constituting a socialist “Little Entente”⁵, obviously dissident towards USSR. For Leonid Brezhnev, it was a “collusion on the Danube”⁶.

Although predictable, the invasion of Czechoslovakia took by surprise the Romanian leader, who immediately summoned the party and state structures of decision in order to assert the new situation and to determine the needed measures. The meeting of the Execu-

1 A.N.I.C., Fond CC al PCR, Sec ia Rela ii Externe, Dos 59/1968, *Informare din partea CC al PCUS*, transmis de ambasadorul URSS la Bucure ti, în audien la Nicolae Ceau escu, privind situa ia din Cehoslovacia, nepaginat.

2 *Ibidem*.

3 *Ibidem*.

4 A.N.I.C., Fond CC al PCR, Cancelarie, Dosar 54/1968, *Protocolul Nr. 19 al edin ei Prezidiului Permanent al CC al PCR din 8 aprilie 1968 privind textul românesc al proiectului Tratatului de prietenie, colaborare i asisten mutual dintre România i Cehoslovacia, îmbun t it*, ff. 2-3, 42-47.

5 Petre Out, “*Stim m mult i pre uim sprijinul dumnevoastr*”, în “Dosarele Istoriei”, nr. 5 (21)/1998, p. 41-47.

6 7 Florin Constantiniu, *O istorie sincer a poporului român*, Univers Enciclopedic, Bucure ti, 1998, p. 507.

tive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of August 21, 1968, which started at half past six in the morning, only a few hours after the invasion, marks the climax of the dissident attitude of the Romanian leader⁷. From the stenographic record of the meeting, judgments of value get through, in contrast with the previous reservations towards the "Prague Spring". According to its appraisal, «we found out that in Czechoslovakia the party leadership was in control of the situation and we do not share their point of view (meaning the Kremlin leaders) that there are counterrevolutionary elements and we consider the military intervention in Czechoslovakia a serious mistake». Then it came the firm statement concerning the Romanian policy: «to express the position of our party that no one, in no way, can arrogate the right to interfere in the affairs of other states, that no one has any justification to address oneself to some group, that only the government, the party and the official and elected bodies bear the responsibility, that the Central Committee and the government calls the entire people to defend Romania's territorial integrity, not to allow any kind of interference in the internal affairs of our country. We should consider whether to bring this declaration to the members of the United Nations. It is clear that the path taken in Czechoslovakia [i.e. Soviet and allies invasion] is an adventurous one, which creates mistrust that these states can in any way guarantee the security and then we take all the measures to safeguard our independence and national sovereignty. Of course, it is understandable that a difficult situation arises, but we consider we have no other choice. If it ends in a military clash, the force may eventually prevail, but this is a completely other thing than to allow and to take part at the subjugation of the country. It is sad that we reached this point towards the socialist countries, but this is the situation created by irresponsible people» (highlighting by the author). Therefore, N. Ceau escu did not exclude a possible war with the USSR and its loyal allies in case Romania was invaded. As the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party and member of the Politburo (Emil Bodn ra) suggested, the provisions of this declaration «resulted from the proposals of the Permanent Presidium, so they complied with "the principle of collective leadership"».

During the meeting, the soviet policy was identified with the czarist imperialism, a comparison was made with the situation of Romania in 1940 and the policy of the invading states of the Warsaw Pact was labeled as «fascist», thus indirectly questioning the Romania's membership in this alliance. During the same day of August 21, 1968, Nicolae Ceau escu addressed himself to the Romanian nation at a grand popular rally in Bucharest, where he strongly condemned the invasion and asked for the support of the people for his actions.

There were immediately taken steps of military nature in order to strengthen the fighting capability of the army, given that at the eastern, western and southern borders, the intelligence services warned about concentration of troops with potential offensive missions against the national territory⁸. The concentrations of forces around Romania's borders were estimated at about 10-12 large soviet units, 4-5 large Bulgarian units and 2-3 large Hungarian units⁹.

7 ANIC, Fond CC al PCR, Sec ia Cancelarie, *Protocolul nr. 32 al edin ei Comitetului Executiv al CC al PCR*, în care s-a discutat situa ia din Cehoslovacia, 21 august 1968, dosar 133/1968, f. 85-87.

8 AMR, fond D.S.P.A., microfilme, rola 1466, c. 44-45, 48-49, 63.

9 Gl. corp de armat (r) Ion Gheorghe, Gl. brigad (r) Corneliu Soare, *Doctrina militar româneasc 1968-1989*, Editura Militar , Bucure ti, 1999, p. 50.

Concerning the difference in the military potential between the possible aggressor and Romania, general Earle Wheeler, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff of the US army, estimated that “if previously alerted, in two or three days 19 soviet divisions can enter Romania; these forces can quickly defeat any Romanian opposition”¹⁰.

Taking into account the eventuality of military hostilities against Romania, a party delegation led by N. Ceau escu immediately met Marshall Tito at Vâr e in order to ask his support and to assess whether the party leadership, the government and the Romanian army might retreat to Yugoslavia if the country was occupied¹¹. Tito’s conditions – that the Romanian army should be previously disarmed and then interned on Yugoslav territory, as well as his suggestion to negotiate with the Kremlin – equaled with a refusal of granting real support. In the face of this situation and taking into account other factors as well, especially his isolation in the soviet bloc, the leader from Bucharest moderated his position and tried during the following days to manage the crisis with Moscow¹².

The Western reaction to the events of August 1968 in Czechoslovakia was one of expectation, which could be explained by the configuration and geopolitical arrangements in Europe after the end of Second World War. In the spirit of the later Sonnenfeldt doctrine¹³, some American decision makers considered the Czechoslovak issue a “family affair” within the Warsaw Pact, affirming that “the Russian invasion of Czechoslovakia must not be seen as something tragic, being nothing more but a flat tire in the East-West path of cooperation”¹⁴. Nevertheless, the president of United States himself, Lyndon B. Johnson, asked Leonid I. Brezhnev “not to unleash the dogs of war” against Romania, while the Chinese prime-minister, Zhou-En-Lai, went as far as saying that “an attack against Romania will be considered an attack against China”¹⁵. Immediately after the forced acceptance of the Kremlin’s conditions by the captive Czechoslovak leaders in Moscow and after the reappointment of some of them in Prague by the soviets, Nicolae Ceau escu moderated the tone of the anti-soviet declarations and sought a compromise. The meeting of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party of August 29, 1958, marks this moment. While the invasion was still condemned and the Czechoslovak state and party leadership were assured of the entire support of Bucharest, the emphasis this time felt on “the harsh situation in the relations among the socialist countries, which makes of utmost importance not to take any measures that can deepen the rift and generate new sources of tension – but to direct all the efforts to a sole constructive direction and to the major goal of reestablishing the climate of friendship, of rebuilding and consolidating the unity among the brotherly communist parties from the socialist countries, all for the sake of the socialist cause and peace”. Therefore, the terms used only

10 Jaromir Navratil, *The Prague Spring '68*, Central European University Press, 1998, p. 494.

11 *Stenograma* întâlnirii dintre Nicolae Ceau escu, Secretarul General al PCR, și Iosip Broz Tito, Secretarul general al Uniunii Comuni tilor din Iugoslavia, desfurat la Vâr e în ziua de 24 august 1968, în „Dosarele Istoriei”, nr. 8/1998, ff. 50-58.

12 Ion P troiu (coord.), Alexandru O ca, Vasile Popa, *Înghe în plin var. Praga – august 1968*, Editura Paid-eia, 1998, p. 103-111.

13 Henry Kissinger, *Diploma ia*, Editura All, Bucure ti, 1998, p. 636.

14 Nicolae Chilie, “O pan de automobile pe drumul cooper rii Est-Vest”, în “Dosarele Istoriei”, nr. 1(6)/1997, p. 45-48.

15 Mihai Retegan, *op. cit.*, p. 222.

a few days ago, such as “Czarist imperialism” and “adventurous actions” of the Warsaw Pact countries, were now replaced with calls for friendship, unity and socialist brotherhood.

At their turn, the soviets, being confronted with the military and political difficulties caused by the invasion of Czechoslovakia, were also interested in de-tensioning the relations with Romania. The historiography took notice that both parts – Romania and the Soviet Union – created, under those circumstances, a model of managing a serious crisis¹⁶. According to the memoirs of a Romanian leader at that time, “Romania proved itself capable of successfully managing an international crisis which could have had a tragic ending”¹⁷.

An issue of great importance was and still is whether the threat of a military intervention against Romania by the five countries of the Warsaw Pact, at the same time or after the Czechoslovak invasion, truly existed. The answers offered to this day to this question have not been conclusive. The final answer depends, first and foremost, on the documents from the soviet archives.

What we know until now suggests that the soviets and their allies did not intend to attack Romania during or immediately after the Czechoslovak invasion. From the point of view of the Warsaw Pact, Romania was a secondary objective, belonging to the “second echelon”, and the elimination of the Romanian “dissidence” did not necessarily presupposed force. An eventual intervention in Romania, right after the one in Czechoslovakia, would have undoubtedly generated not only difficulties within the Pact, but also huge international complications. From the first angle of view, one could take into account the larger area of Romania, the inexistence of the soviet troops and the fact that an attack by surprise was no longer possible¹⁸. Also, the soviet spy rings in Romania had been put under surveillance as early as 1962 and gradually countered by the Romanian counter-intelligence services¹⁹.

III. The new pieces of information available thanks to the recent opening of some major archives demonstrate that the tensions between the two leaders from Kremlin and Bucharest continued long term after, being visible during the talks in 1969 and 1971. On all occasions, Nicolae Ceau escu rejected Leonid Brezhnev’s arguments supporting the Czechoslovak invasion and defended his policy of non-interference in the internal affairs of each country and also the right of the communist parties of having their own option concerning the internal development.

The virulent tone of the confrontation confers more consistence than historians assumed and affirmed to the military policy promoted by Bucharest after 1968, shifting the taken measures from the propaganda field to the real possibility of an asymmetrical confrontation. On the other hand, it is very probable that Nicolae Ceau escu became the prisoner of the stronger than anticipated reaction of the public opinion and even of the army commanders. The seriousness and the promptitude in the organizing of the resistance and the taken measures in spite of the lack of means available to Romania, all constituted, probably, a surprise

16 Mark Kramer, *The Prague Spring and the Soviet Invasion of Czechoslovakia. New Interpretations*, în “Cold War International History Project”, Bulletin 3, Issue 3, fall 1993, p. 12.

17 Paul Niculescu Mizil, *O istorie tr it*, vol. II, Bucure ti, 2003, p. 143.

18 Ion P troiu (coord.), Alexandru O ca, Vasile Popa, *op.cit.*, p. 14.

19 Gl. corp de armat (r) Ion Gheorghe, Gl. brigad (r) Corneliu Soare, *op.cit.*, p. 56.

for Nicolae Ceaușescu.

The most important result of the 1968 crisis from a military point of view was undoubtedly the promulgation of the Law no. 14 of 1972 concerning the organization of the national defense²⁰. It stipulated a series of practical measures and doctrinaire developments in the years 1968-1972, and, from this angle, it reflected well both Romania's situation and the limits of the communist leadership in Bucharest of those times.

The preamble of the law – after the reverence of Marxism-Leninism and the mentioning of the imperialism that generates an aggressive and hostile policy against socialism and after reiterating socialist Romania's loyalty to the politico-military alliances it belonged to – affirmed the determination of fighting against any aggression, regardless of where it came. It implicitly made reference to the asymmetric conflict and it tried to "compensate" the asymmetry through the doctrine of "people's war": "In today's circumstances, when the victory of an anti-imperialist and defensive war can only be achieved by the fighting of the entire people, all citizens of the country must be ready to fight, even at the cost of their lives, for safeguarding the peaceful work of the people, the sovereignty and the integrity of the homeland".

The strategic concept of "people's generalized war" had been also created under the influence of the defense laws from Yugoslavia, Sweden, Switzerland, Finland and Israel and by taking into account the Vietnamese experience (general Giáp) by the specialists from the Center of History Studies and Research and of Military Theory, founded in 1969 under the command of colonel – then general – Eugen Bantea. Inspired by the term of "popular war" coined by Clausewitz, the concept of "people's war" imposed itself as the centerpiece of the Romanian military doctrine between 1969 and 1989. Restricted by the doctrinaire logic and by the contemporary examples – including the Six Day War – the legislator of 1972 provisioned the obligation of all citizens, men and women, to take part at one of the forms of military training, the article 28 stating that military service is mandatory regardless of gender. In order to engage the entire population in the national defense, the so-called "patriotic guards" were set up, which were subordinated to the local and central leadership of the communist party, although formally they depended on the armed forces. The law provisioned ample preparations for the defense of national territory, the elaboration of the plan of mobilization of national economy and the increasing of both the capacity of the mobilization capacity and of the reserves.

The entire system of national defense was subordinated, both in peacetime and wartime, to the Defense Council, presided by the secretary general of the Romanian Communist Party, Nicolae Ceaușescu, who was also the supreme commander of the armed forces, which, needless to say, strengthened even more his dictatorship. The Defense Council was responsible for its activity to the Central Committee of the communist party.

The preamble of the law also forbade the recognition of general capitulation or of the occupation of the national territory, something that reflected the apprehensions of the communist leadership concerning the situation in Czechoslovakia from August 1968.

The implementation of the concepts imposed by Law 14 took many years. It was no earlier than 1980 when, besides the two existing armies, two other were created, each consisting in two to three mechanized divisions, one tank division, a brigade of mountain warfare,

20 Legea nr. 14 privind organizarea apărării naționale, Monitorul Oficial, București, 1973.

several brigades of artillery, engineering, missiles, artillery regiments, communication and others. Through the regulation no. 6 of National Defense, the basic echelons of the army were established: division, brigade and regiment. The army corps as intermediate echelon between army, division and brigade was created only in exceptional cases. The front echelon was also included as a response to Romania's affiliation to the Warsaw Pact, thus retaining its independence of action and command, the Romanian front under national command being supposed to cooperate with other fronts from the unified armies. In spite of the progresses concerning the endowment, both the divisions and regiments – with their numerous maintenance effectives – became more and more weighty, harder to manage and to be deployed.

The army effectives during peacetime reached between 200 000 and 250 000, while for mobilization they were supposed to account between 8 to 10 percent from the country population, which means between 1 650 000 and 2 000 000 fighters. The patriotic guards reached almost 1.5 million fighters and a doctrine was developed concerning their participation to the national defense alongside the armed forces in case of invasion.

The sporadic preoccupations of knowing the prewar Romanian military doctrines and those of western states increased dramatically after 1968. The Center of History Studies and Research and of Military Theory was meant not only to come up with a monumental military history of the Romanian people, which was supposed to reveal the local tradition of people's war, but also to develop its own military doctrine. Both in the strategic concepts and in practice, the military applications have first gone through a "de-sovietization", the "front" offensive being abandoned in favor of the active defensive exclusively on national territory.

One of the most spectacular fields of putting the law into practice was undoubtedly the national defense industry. If, in the early 70s, most of the military equipment were of foreign – and especially soviet – origins, the unitary program of developing the defense industry provisioned that 75-80% of the endowment of the armed forces to be assured by local production in the next 15-20 years. For the first time, new plants and factories of armament and military equipment were built – surpassing the interwar production – and new arms, types of shells, ammunition and optical equipment were developed under license or by Romanian design. In 1974, in collaboration with Yugoslavia, the bomber plane IAR-93 was produced (and IAR-99, in 1985), using Rolls Royce jet engines, made under license in Bucharest. At the factory of Aeronautic Constructions in Bra ov, there were built under western license (starting in 1974) the well-known IAR-316 (Alouette) and IAR-330 (Puma). In Bucharest and Bac u, there were produced the light transportation plane BN-2 Islander and the school and training plane IAR-52. In Bra ov and Reghin, there were produced gliders for training and of high performance, such as the IS-28 B2, highly appreciated for its results in the US (1979) and ordered by the air forces of United Kingdom, Denmark, Australia. The mid-size TR-85 tank, the amphibious armored transporter (TAB), the infantry fighting vehicle MIL-84 and the reconnaissance vehicle AM 425 were also produced after a Romanian design.

A special effort has been made by the researchers of the three technical military institutes: The Institute for Research and Engineering of the Army in Clinceni, the Institute for Research of Artillery and Tanks, The Institute for Aerospace Research, as well as the National Institute for the Scientific Research (INCREST), counseled by the great scientist Henri Coand . However, generally speaking, this effort has not been sustained by proper financing,

nor by the encouragement of international scientific exchanges, all of whom diminished the performance.

On the other hand, more attention has been paid to the export of military equipment, a special department in the Ministry of Foreign Trade and later on in the Ministry of National Defense being established. The Romanian exports of planes, helicopters, tanks and light armament have gone to the members of the Warsaw Pact, China, Yugoslavia, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Egypt, Sudan, Algeria, Morocco, Angola, Mozambique, etc. Therefore, the concept of Romania's independence in the field of army endowment has gradually turned into a lucrative economic enterprise.

IV. Undoubtedly, the policy of the communist leadership in Bucharest can only be judged in the context of the international situation, of the soviet-American relations post-Prague Spring and of European developments. Bringing China in the "triangle" of the bipolar Cold War, a term coined by Henry Kissinger, did little more than to open a new phase of hostility between the two powers, but also brought successful attempts of codifying the bilateral relations (SALT, CSCE)²¹.

Of course, in what concerned the fate of the countries from the soviet bloc, the "Sonnenfeld doctrine" still functioned in the American policy – being attacked, alongside "Brezhnev doctrine", during the internal meetings of the Romanian communist party. Yet, the republican presidential candidate has condemned the "freezing" of Yalta and the keeping in captivity of the nations without any concessions from the soviets²².

Coming back to the moment of 1968, one can conclude that, in fact, the real policy of confrontation took place between August 22 and August 25. The idea, which existed before the meeting in Vâr e , of creating a strategic highway together with Yugoslavia, starting from Romania, going through Yugoslavia and ending with Greece (in Salonic) – being the only large scale military initiative – was not even discussed with Tito, after his refusal of supporting the Romanian anti-soviet resistance²³.

The famous battle of statutes led by the Romanian representatives during the meetings of the Warsaw Pact came to an end in 1969 through the acceptance of the soviet proposals. This did not mean, however, that the Romanian regime was willing to subordinate itself to Kremlin. The contribution of the Romanian diplomacy to the negotiation and signing of the Helsinki Act in 1975²⁴ was a good premise for strengthening the opposition in face of the soviet dictatorship within the Pact. This opposition, for instance, was visible during the meeting in Moscow of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact on November 22-23, 1978, when Nicolae Ceau escu rejected all the soviet proposals concerning the increasing of the military budgets in order to maintain the balance in the confrontation with the US.

The opposition of the leader in Bucharest also continued during the reunion of the Committee of the Ministers of Defense from the Warsaw Pact on December 2-4, 1981, when the

21 V. Jean-Yves Hain, *Diplomacy: la cliopolitique selon Henry Kissinger*, in www.conflicts.org, 2008.

22 Coral Bell, *Kissinger in Retrospect: The Diplomacy of Power Concert*, in "International Affairs", Aprilie, 1977, vol. 53, nr. 2, p. 202-216.

23 Gl. corp de armat (r) Ion Gheorghe, Gl. brigad (r) Corneliu Soare, *op.cit.*, p. 49.

24 Actul final al CSCE i Europa de azi, ed. Valentin Lipatti, 1995, p. 103, 108.

Romanian Minister of Defense rejected the soviet proposals of military intervention in Poland in order to support the communist government besieged by the opposition²⁵. On June 28, 1983, on the occasion of the reunion in Moscow of the Political Consultative Committee, the Romanian delegation rejected the soviet proposals of placing medium range missiles in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia and Hungary. Needless to say, the proposal of installing the soviet missiles was quickly adopted by the other delegations and put into practice²⁶.

A decisive change took place once with the new policy of Mikhail Gorbachev. When, during the reunion of the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact (May 1987, in Berlin), the adoption of the military doctrine of the alliance was put into discussion, Nicolae Ceau escu proposed several amendments, hoping that they will not be accepted and stating at the same time that his country has its own defense doctrine, in accordance and in cooperation with the others states within the Pact. Gorbachev, however, adopted the proposed amendments, so that the Romanian leader had to sign them²⁷.

In spite of the new doctrine and of the entire previous conduct, the events of 1988-1989 and the gradual collapse of communism in Eastern Europe made Ceau escu to support the urgent reunion of a conference of the communist countries, of the Warsaw Pact and the military intervention in Poland and Hungary in order to "put and end to the foreign imperialist intervention". What this last attempt really meant is not yet very clear, but the anti-Gorbachev stance was obvious.

V. Therefore, after this historical reconstruction, let us try finding an answer for the following question: was the "people's war" promoted by Bucharest after the events of August 1968 an ideological mobilization or a real vector of action?

The provisions of the "Defense Law" of 1972 have gradually found their way into practice, but with difficulties, postponements and confusions. The growing importance of the army in the national economy in the 70s and especially in the 80s strongly affected its professionalism and led to convulsions at the command levels. Also, the professionalism of the army was harmed by the growing importance of the patriotic guards in the field of defense, something that led to a hostile "dichotomy" between the two vectors of a potential defense effort. The freshening of the army personnel with the "working class element" – promoting the workers taken from the field of production in the active duty to the rank of officers –, which was massive in the 80s, also contributed to a drastic decrease in the professionalism of the Romanian army.

In this context, the "Polish crisis" in the 80s, when the army took control by "martial law", should be paid more attention. For the communist leadership in Bucharest, it was a proper example that the army can play a role in the leadership of the country, and this perception determined the strengthening of the communist control in the ranks of the military.

Gradually, the initial intention of promoting through "people's war" a doctrine of real resistance in face of a potential soviet invasion gave way to a pragmatic approach. Keep-

25 Constantin Olteanu, *Coali ia politico-militar*, Bucure ti, 1996, p. 228.

26 Gl. corp de armat (r) Ion Gheorghe, Gl. brigad (r) Corneliu Soare, *op.cit.*, p. 204.

27 *Ibidem*, p.p. 212-213.

ing “people’s war” as a national doctrine, different from the one of the Warsaw Pact and consequently a symbol of the political independence, but also a psychological deterrent for a potential invasion, became more and more a vector of social mobilization and of plenary control over the entire society.

If, initially, the fear of a soviet threat and the credible news concerning a covert action by Moscow to replace the team of N. Ceau escu led to the approach of “people’s war” as the only way of resisting the foreign aggression, the subsequent internal and international developments decisively altered this orientation.

Internally, the economic crisis that started in mid 70s worsened the social management, amplifying the general discontent once with the implementation of radical measures of control. Externally, the successive crises of the Cold War – the invasion of Afghanistan, the “Polish crisis”, the “medium range missiles crisis” – have created a space of maneuver between the two poles of the bipolar world for the communist leadership in Bucharest.

Under such conditions, the doctrine of “people’s war” shifted in practice to the statute of vector of social mobilization, becoming predominant once the initial orientation was abandoned. What in the summer and autumn of 1989 could have been an intention of the regime of N. Ceau escu of provoking a soviet military intervention in Poland or Hungary (or even in Romania in December 1989) was a desperate attempt of salvation. If this had happened in December 1989 in Romania, it would have encountered nothing more than a deeply rooted anti-Russian mentality, but not a real means of resistance. The doctrine of “people’s war” had long failed to create such a means, being hijacked from its initial intentions.



